ANTE PORTAS

ANTE PORTAS
Security Studies

Table of contents:

II. Analysis

III. Reviews

IV. Pro Memoria

EDITOR'S NOTE

The COVID-19 pandemic changed the world in many ways. Societies are changing, the world's economy is worsening. A crisis arises. Today's security and safety challenges are much different than a year ago. In this new context, the old conflicts evolve, and new difficulties occur. Current world problems require scientific analysis and research.

We are pleased to share the newest issue of "Ante Portas – Security Studies". Our Authors prepared articles concerning regional and global threats and challenges that we are recently witnessing.

Professor Svetlana Cebotari brought the topic of the COVID-19 pandemic and its influence on the conflict zones (together with Carolina Budurina-Goreacii), and also the U.S.-Chinese confrontation in the World Health Organization (together with Victoria Bevziuc). We are sure that soon we will be hosting many more articles concerning the COVID-19 influence on safety and security.

Polish and Lithuanian Authors depicted other serious challenges concerning new technologies, such as data security (Aleksandra Olender), European cybersecurity (Tomasz Gajewski) and military futurology (Vadim Volovoj).

Much space was devoted to the Georgian and East-European security. Professor Vaktang Maisaia analysed the issue of EU Defence Policy towards the Caucasus (together with Col. Miranda Mikadze), Gorda Gibradze interpreted the Georgian relations after the Russo-Georgian War, and Maya Urushadze brought closer the problem of Kremlin propaganda.

The pandemic has not diminished the significance of the existing threats, such as the connection of terrorism and immigration in Europe (Col. Crăişor C. Ioniţă), NATO's role in civil protection (Claudiu Bratu, Mariana Barbu) and the defence management (Prof. M. Kubilay Akman).

This issue is special but in a very sad way. In May 2020, we said goodbye to our friend, who has repeatedly published in "Ante Portas – Security Studies", professor Leonid Gusev. Rest in peace…

Editorial Board
"Ante Portas – Security Studies"

I. ARTICLES

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Georgia

THE ROLE OF KREMLIN PROPAGANDA MACHINE
IN THE 'FRAME-GAMES' OF INTERNATIONAL AGENDA[2]

Abstract:

Nowadays, when the international agenda resembles a training ground for 'frame-games' of influential international players, all political actors try to strengthen their interpretation and position themselves as a force to be reckoned with. Among the propaganda machines that are operating at full capacity the Russian propaganda machine is the one one of which we should talk about today. Although Russia's soft power is not named among the influential soft power forces in the international rankings, its influence in the post-Soviet space is still noticeable. The Kremlin is not a dominant interna-tional actor that would be able to use widely the components of economic or cultural soft power, but the informational influence is still high. Moscow successfully exploits the contributions of other forces and adopts them to its own interests. Therefore, it is impossible to talk about strengthening the Regional Cooperation in Europe and the Euro-Atlantic Area without considering Russia's factor. I will try to briefly illustrate the obvious and hidden scale of information pressure by which Russia, as an external force, is able to realize its political, military and economic goals. I would also like to point out that the military actions aimed at expanding the Kremlin's influence outside Russia have started with military aggression against Georgia.

Keywords:

Propaganda, Russian policy, fear factor, the Immortal Regiment, Russia, Georgia

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[2] This research (PHDF-18-280) has been supported by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia (SRNSFG) and by Caucasus International University.

Propaganda as a tool of the soft power

According to the political theorists propaganda can have the most powerful influence through activating the fear factor in people. That's why it's very important to identify the impact on the political decision-making process made by propaganda indirectly, through the activation of fear factor within the society and instigation of a social turmoil in this way. Nowadays the best example of how it works is the Kremlin Propaganda-machine in action. The main target of Kremlin external propaganda is the post-Soviet area, which is still perceived as the sphere of its own influence by Moscow. Kremlin was reinforcing the propagandistic network since the start of the current century and even today it's capable to provoke some challenges using the old Soviet-era narratives.

Historical examples testify that one of the strategic goals of the external 'soft power' is usually to polarize society. "Intense polarisation exemplifies differences between in-groups and out-groups. In these conditions, it becomes easier to tap into peoples' insecurities and enlarge them, by crafting messages that confirm their biases about the outgroup and directing public anger against it"– wrote H. Grabbe[3] in 2018, after the European Parliament elections, in her article 'Polarization as a political strategy', in the *Communication Director* (online edition). Definitely the condition described above is highly desirable even for external actors driven by their own particular interests.

In order to accomplish the goal of polarization soft power needs support – both ideological and institutional.

It's easily understandable how the soft-power works. First, a platform is created - a non-governmental organization, a media network, a public movement and/or a company disguised as a commercial entity, capable of hiring highly paid employees. The existence of such companies is particularly important as it provides possibility of a direct funding for people which is strengthening the soft power actions. Successful organizations gather around people with authority. Among them are real ideological supporters of soft-power, some of them are dependent on funding, so they act solely on material interests. There is also another category, for example, those who are blackmailed and forced by their past mistakes to deliberately stand for a foreign soft power. Thus, through the organizations listed above and the individuals shortened to them the soft power is able to form a kind of pillar, the backbone of the ideologic supporters, whom it can dictate to speak and act when needed. Additionally, a striking example of such a force is the Russian patriotic movement 'The Immortal Regiment.

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[3] H. Grabbe, *Polarisation as a political strategy*, <https://www.communication-director.com/issues/making-difference-communicating-corporate-citizenship/polarisation-political-strategy/> (30.06.2020).

'The Immortal Regiment'

This regiment organized its first march in Tbilisi on the 72nd anniversary of the victory over fascism in 2017. At first, the march was relatively small. The Russian soft power mobilized only its own resources and a small number of elderly veterans, but this was enough for international Russian news channels to report on the matter. A slightly larger procession took place in 2018. The Russian international media, of course, gave this event an even more important connotation. In May 2019 the Regiment was held in the capital of Georgia, already accompanied by the Soviet propaganda and the Soviet patriotic songs. There was no emphasis on the scale of the march in the international agenda, it was only reported that the march had taken place. However, on October 4, 2019 the Russian Immortal Regiment was transformed into a political organization in Georgia, and the 'Georgian Patriotic-Social Movement Immortal Regiment' was officially registered.

In 2016, the Immortal Regiment also reached Warsaw[4]. In 2019, according to the official website of the 'Russkiy Mir', hundreds of people joined the procession of the Immortal Regiment on May 9 in Warsaw[5]. The Immortal Regiment held its memorial march in Bucharest for the first time in 2016 at the Center for Russian Science and Culture[6]. Since then the event has become an annual one. The website of the Immortal Regiment indicates that there are more than a 100 members of the Romanian Immortal Regiment[7]. In 2019 this event was also supported by the Russian Patriarch, who was visiting Romania at that time.

In 2019 the Immortal Regiment marched in the cities of the U.S., Canada, France, Italy and Spain[8]. The story of this organization is as follows. The idea of an immortal regiment was established in the Russian city of Tomsk in 2011-12, officially registered in 2014, as a non-governmental organization, but with the Kremlin's financial backing it received international attention in 2015 when the action was held in 17 countries. In 2016 the Immortal Regiment has been already deployed in 42 countries. Last year, on May 9, they marched in about 50 countries, and today the movement has expanded to 80 countries. Traditionally, this organized Russian march is considered the most important event in Russia itself and in the territories occupied by Russia – in case of Georgia – in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region, and in case of Ukraine – in Crimea and eastern Ukraine.

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[4] *Immortal Regiment march held in Warsaw for first time*, <https://tass.com/society/874606> (30.06.2020).

[5] *Hundreds of People Took Part in Immortal Regiment in Warsaw*, <https://www.russkiy-mir.ru/en/news/256693/> (30.06.2020).

[6] R. Ionescu, *ROMANIA, BUCHAREST - MAY 9 2016: Veterans, young people took part in Russian Science and Culture Center in Bucharest celebrating the victory against German Nazi paying tribute to World War Two heroes*, <https://www.shutterstock.com/video/clip 24248003-romania-bucharest---may-9-2016-veterans> (30.06.2020).

[7] *Akcyja «Biessmiertnyj połk» w trietij raz proszła w Buchariestie*, <https://iregiment.com/news/romania/1354/> (30.06.2020).

[8] *Immortal Regiment marches across the globe*, https://www.rbth.com/lifestyle/330343-immortal-regiment-2019-world> (30.06.2020).

This military-patriotic march has become a powerful ideological weapon of Putin's Russia in recent years. The official idea of the movement is to honor the memory of the soldiers who died in World War II. In fact, this large-scale 'international movement' sponsored by Moscow, as the Russian president says himself, serves to 'preserve the historical truth' that 'society and people must be spiritually reconciled and do not have the right to revise history'. Of course, here they mean that the only truth is Russian official interpretation of history.

Experts in Georgia explicitly state that "this is a weapon of information warfare. Their official transformation into a political organization means that the doors are open to the Russian hybrid war with its propaganda components, as well as to other components, for example the economic one: trade dependence of Georgia on the Russian market is raised, which is traditionally used by Russia against the Georgian statehood".[9]

We are far from thinking that ordinary participants of this march support the interests of foreign countries. These are the only deceived people who, in pursuit of their ideals, unwittingly support Russian propaganda. However, it is clear that the organizers of these actions are usually those who act in the scopes of foreign interests. They gather like-minded people around themselves and provide them with both ideological and financial interest, the so called influence agents.

Kremlin's 'Propaganda Machine' and its structure

Fig. 1. Structure of the Kremlin's 'Propaganda Machine'.

* SEO - Search Engine Optimization
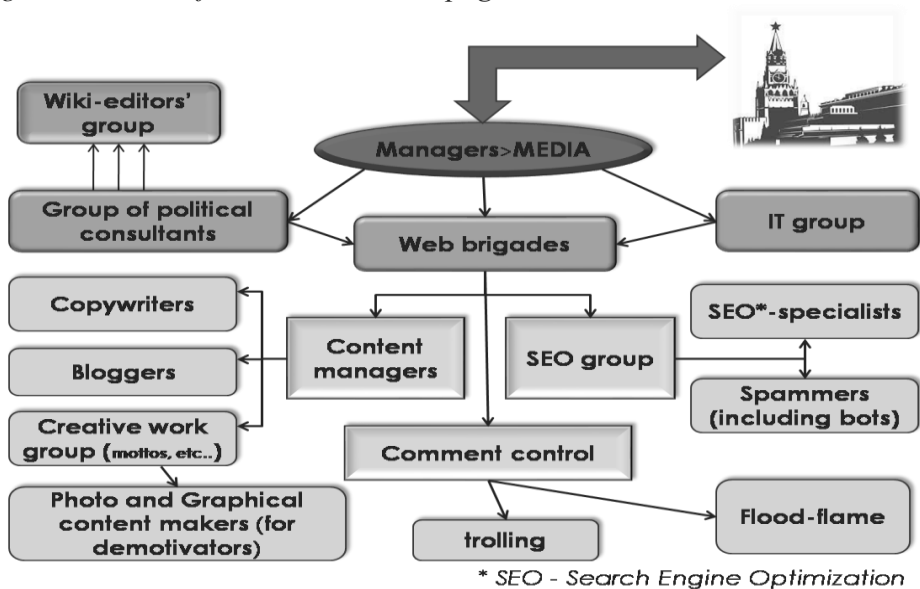
Source: *own work.*

[9] D. Sikharulidze, The Atlantic Council of the Chairman of the Board interview to TV "Mtavari Arkhi" ("The Main Channel"), October 11, 2019.

14

The Kremlin's propaganda machine today, if you look at its structure, looks like the picture shown above. 'Propaganda machine' is a strictly hierarchical propaganda system. It is staffed by specialists from different professions. The system consists of subsystems, most of which are disguised as 'independent' or 'public' media holdings. The subsystems can be set up as independent units, such as media and online-media, NGOs, institutes, etc., or successfully integrated into an existing organization, as its part or a branch. Directives come straight from Kremlin, which communicates directly with the propaganda machine management, which includes leading Russian media owners (including international 'Russia Today', 'TASS', 'Ria Novosti', etc.) and top executives, Russian President's ideologists, lobbyists and the political consultants. This environment is itself a guarantee that the main message coming from the Kremlin will be disseminated to the public through various media controlled by members of the same group.

However, the Kremlin's propaganda machine has a background support – the so called Web Brigades, which create an artificial web of supporters on the Internet, who replicate the Kremlin's narrative. These brigades have their own content managers, including copywriters, bloggers and creative staff, such as photo and graphic specialists, caricatures and demotivators, their own SEO groups and commentary specialists – the so called Internet Trolls.

Some subsystems of the Propaganda-machine have the so-called Wiki-groups, which are engaged in constant editing of the Wikipedia articles (not only Russian but articles on various languages, including English) and conforming them to official Kremlin interpretations.

We won't waste your time on a detailed description of this machine, as its structure already has been much talked about and written about. We can only say that this machine successfully penetrates the international media agenda today and affects the media, which show international affairs to the politically active societies of our countries.

Hence, the question in our focus is: what influence does Kremlin's propaganda have on a policy-making process in post-soviet countries? We examine who can give a hand to the Kremlin from internal political actors of post-soviet countries (doesn't matter if done on purpose or unwittingly) to have an impact on people's minds, what kind of influence it might be and what outputs might Kremlin get *when* the real campaign is turned on.

Saying 'when' instead of 'if' was an artificial accent, because our history shows that ignoring the alert signals might be harmful for European society and it takes a lot of financial resources to fix the mistakes caused by ignorance.

Kremlin's key messages

To identify the influence of Moscow propaganda we measure its weight in the international agenda. We distinguish harmful and useful narratives for long-term strategic development of the country and find some similarities in the

political preferences of the post-soviet countries, namely, in Georgian, Romanian and Polish local political actors' agendas and narratives, which activate fear factor in local society's consciousness and which intersect with outside propaganda.

Still, what are the Kremlin's key messages to our countries that it still considers its sphere of influence? First, soft power seeks values that are emotionally charged, painful, and therefore important to society at a given time, such as young people's lives, social welfare and justice.

It is well known that the Kremlin uses the cliché of 'centuries-old friendship' and 'elder brother' in its positioning (of course, 'elder' among the brothers means Russia).

In the international agenda, the Kremlin is also positioning itself as a 'defender of fairness' and the 'supporter of the oppressed', including the interests of ethnic and religious minorities. We will return to this question since the Kremlin uses this narrative to gather minorities and their organizations around its soft power.

Of course, the Kremlin uses these clichés when explaining its actions in international politics, which is natural. It is well known that the Kremlin used as an excuse the imaginary need to protect the ethnic Abkhazians and South Ossetians living on the territory of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as a pretext for aggression against Georgia, as well as the need to protect the ethnic Russians living in eastern Ukraine during the aggression against Ukraine.

At this point, however, we will not focus on clichés that are easy to read. Even more important is the timely and accurate identification of narratives beyond which the Kremlin does not appear directly, but the dominance of the idea is its straightforward interest.

One of the narratives of the Kremlin, which is spread among various, politically active social groups in our countries, is that we can give ourselves the right to be neutral, and if we strive for large alliances, this harms our national interests.

Of course, like all other considerations, this assumption has a right to exist, since membership in any alliance carries additional obligations. Therefore, it can be attractive to the part of society that is not deeply knowledgeable in political science and establishes logical connections situationally, based only on the information directly offered by local agenda makers.

How we define useful and harmful narratives

However, when we talk about harmful and useful narratives for the long-term strategic development of the country we mean that these narratives are relevant to the main documents on national security in force or contradict them. And these documents were adopted taking into account key national interests that ensure the long-term strategic development of the country.

For example, Georgia's national security concept explicitly states that the European and Euro-Atlantic integration is the country's national interest.

Thus, the Russian narrative that a small country can remain neutral, that it doesn't need an alliance with anyone else, directly contradicts the core values by which the country chose the pro-European and pro-Atlantic path. These values are democracy and human rights, including the right to private property.

It should be noted here that the most cunning (insidious, treacherous) propaganda attacks aimed to provoke politically active circles to demand a revision of constitutions and key legislative security documents. Therefore, mostly, external propaganda intersects with precisely those political statements that directly or indirectly contradict these laws.

It should also be noted that Russian propaganda is quite flexible, though it usually and steadily uses social and economic factors to strengthen its narrative.

For example, the aspiration of Georgia for the European and Euro-Atlantic integration runs counter to the narrative of 'the country's economic dependence on the Russian market'. After the Russian embargo on Georgia stimulated development rather than paralyzing the Georgian economy, the aforementioned narrative was temporarily transformed into the 'Advantages of the Russian Market' propaganda. Today, however, there is a tendency to think that the Russian propaganda will return to the old harsh wording and to make apocalyptic predictions for Georgia's economy, such as a 'complete disaster' without the Russian market.

Due to our ongoing research, our focus is the fear factor, which is widely used by Russian propaganda for countering the pro-European and pro-Euro Atlantic direction of development of post-soviet countries. The main narrative of the Kremlin for the frame-games in the international agenda is that openness forces us to open the borders and adds threats from outside. In the case of Georgia, there is the unchanged mainstream narrative of the Kremlin about, on the one hand, the threat of 'Turkization' in the region, and on the other hand, the international problem of the 'Islamic threat' – these narratives are still in use. Against this backdrop, in case of Georgia, there is a widespread interpretation that 'without Russia Georgia will face all these serious international challenges alone, because the small country is insignificant for the West, and neither Europe nor NATO and the United States will risk spoiling their relations with strong Russia because of small Georgia.'

It is interesting that the Turkish campaign against the Kurds in mid-October 2019 and the confrontation between Russia and Turkey in Syria led to a significant increase in the Russian narrative of the 'threat of Turkization' in social networks and information space in Georgia. At the moment, when the attention of the whole world is focused on events in Syria and the actions of Turkey, the various forms of this narrative were spread in the Georgian media agenda, and the main distributors were the representatives of ethnic Armenian minorities, which are affiliated with the Russian soft power. Despite some efforts this harmful narrative did not take the form of a real informational

campaign. This may be explained by the fact that the narratives about 'Turkization' and 'Islamic danger', which coincide with the Russian narratives and arouse rational and irrational fears in Georgian society, came into conflict with each other and, thus, at this time have been balanced with one another.

Fear Factor in Propaganda

Definitely, here we must outline the fear factor in propaganda. Here is the opinion of Dr. Simon Scheller, researcher at the Munich Center for Mathematical Philosophy: "Fear appeals constitute a frequent theme of populist rhetoric. One potential motive for this is that they decrease people's reliance on partisan habits and increase openness to new information. Political actors can use this effect to attract more ideologically distant groups of voters, but not without drawbacks."[10] Dr. Scheller speaks about the strategic use of fear appeals in the framework of the Bounded-Confidence model, where he found that attracting undecided voters between two opinion clusters is decisive for the success of a party's fear appeal strategy. "Hence, fear appeals can increase a party's reach for new supporters, yet only if the party manages to clearly differentiate itself from ideological competitors"[11], Dr. Scheller said.

Of course, this opinion is true even when supporters need to gather not around any internal party, but in general over a particular rhetoric. So, when we speak about the fear-factor, used by the Russian propaganda against Georgian society, we must also mention the common fears, for instance the interpretations about 'Western threats to erase nationality in Georgia'. This kind of narratives are permanently reproduced and translated to Georgian society in the background mode. In particular, in this context, special emphasis is placed to perceive certain ideas as negative, for example liberalism as a 'harmful' ideology, tolerance as a 'harmful' value, and sexual minorities as an 'unhealthy' part of society. Ultimately, the narrative is aimed at radicalizing society and reaching out to sexual minorities.

Religious fears are also intensified in the background campaigns. Of course, it is directed to radicalize society - the Kremlin also successfully uses its religious identity. For example, in November 2019 in Georgia a huge campaign was started and aimed to discredit the Church.

Here are some fear appeals forced by the Kremlin to spread in Georgian media agenda. One fear-factor-based anti-NATO narrative claimed that Georgia's NATO membership would lead to the loss of Georgian territories and further conflict with Russia. Here we have a different interpretations – some of them warn Georgia of an increased risk of military conflict with Russia and negative consequences if Georgia joins NATO. Another interpretation asserted

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[10] S. Scheller, *The Strategic Use of Fear Appeals in Political Communication*, "Political Communication", vol. 36, issue 4, 2019, pp. 586-608.
[11] *Ibidem*.

that the Alliance is providing a false promise of membership to Tbilisi. In this version, Georgia's NATO integration process came to a halt in 2008 when Russia asserted its position by waging a war against Georgia. According to another interpretation, NATO is preparing for a war with Russia, quoting an 'expert' insinuated that NATO officers were training to fight an armed conflict in the Caucasus.

Permanent repetitions of these accents by the media in the background regime have led to the fact that today in Georgia Russia is perceived as 'the force to be reckoned with' twice as often as it was 10 years ago. That is why it met a fertile ground in Georgian society, experiencing the permanent propaganda pressure to get frightened, when a message from Dmitriy Medvedev was received on October 19 2019, when the Russian Prime Minister said that Russia would respond to Georgia's NATO aspirations by military action. It is noteworthy that the main purpose of Medvedev's interview with the Serbian media was not a threat to Georgia but a message to Europe that it was time for Europe to find a model of security without NATO. However, reinforcing this message with Georgian examples, in the scopes of the current reality, of course also included threats. The announcement made by Medvedev was preceded by a new wave of Russian creeping occupation of territories of Georgia, when Russian troops occupied new villages and continued 'borderization'. What was the official reaction of Georgia? The weakest, I can say. The only thing that the frightened government took care of was, on the one hand, the excuses to Russian government that Georgia's aspiration to NATO is not against Russia but only for the well-being of Georgian citizens, and, on the other hand, forcing Georgian society to 'calm down'. Of course, the public became more outraged. As a result we got escalated polarization of the society, additional homeless people and new Georgian villages controlled by the Russian military forces. That is the tactical success of Russian both forces in a particular round – soft power with military power.

Polarization of the society as a goal of the harmful propaganda

During the last year there were a number of conversations about polarization in Georgia. The President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, even commented on the issue in his Batumi speech[12]. One of the components of polarization, though not the sole factor, is division in society over actors, issues, and institutions.

With persistent and growing talk of 'polarization' in Georgia, CRRC-Georgia[13] examined the actors, issues, and institutions that people think divide the society. The April 2019 research of CRCC (Caucasus Research Resource

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[12] *President of European Council: 'Don't Let Yourself Become Divided',* <https://civil.ge/archives/312983> (30.06.2020).

[13] CRCC/NDI, *What Divides and What Unites Georgian Society?,*<http://crrc.ge/ka/blog/what-divides-and-what-unites-georgian-society/1113> (30.06.2020).

Center)/NDI[14] shows that there are fewer perceived reasons for division in rural areas and among ethnic minorities.

Fig. 2. What factors divide or unite Georgian society

Do the following divide or unite us as a society? (%)

(CRRC/NDI Survey, April 2019)

	Unites	Divides	DK	RA
Politicians	8	81	11	
Russia	9	73	17	1
Current economic system	12	73	14	1
Georgian Media	14	72	14	
Country's leaders	20	68	12	
NGOs	29	43	28	
Law enforcement	33	45	21	1
NATO	45	31	24	
EU	46	30	24	
Educational institutions	53	25	20	1
Religion	62	29	9	

● Unites ● Divides ● DK ● RA
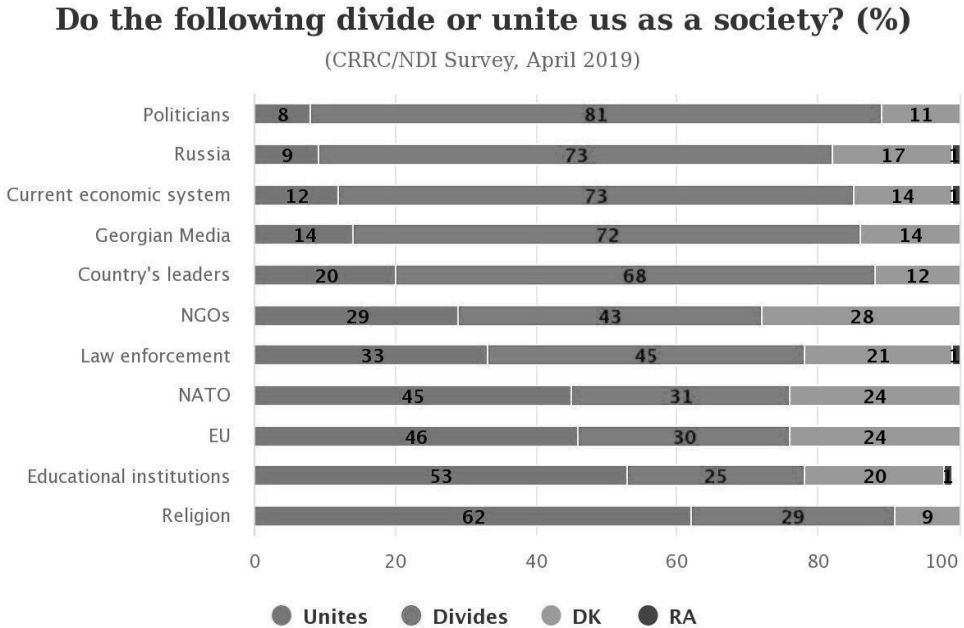
Source: *Public attitudes in Georgia, Results of the survey of April 2019*, <https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/na2019ge/codebook/> (30.06.2020).

The results of the poll are interesting. Although ethnic minorities perceive fewer divisions, they also think that different issues divide the country: minorities are more likely to think that western actors create division, while ethnic Georgians are more likely to blame Russia and domestic institutions. One factor does unite ethnicities however: the most commonly cited source of division, no matter the respondent's ethnicity, was politicians.

The study shows that minorities that receive information mainly from Russian-language sources perceive the West as a divisive factor, and Russia as a unifying factor, while the Georgian-speaking population calls Russia one of the main factors that divide them.

Does this mean that minorities in Georgia really have problems? If we look at the official sources, then we will clearly see that the vast majority of non-governmental organizations operating in the country study the issues of

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[14] *Public attitudes in Georgia, Results of the survey of April 2019*, <https://caucasusbaro-meter.org/en/na2019ge/codebook/> (30.06.2020).

minorities and work to deal with these problems. Nevertheless, the language barrier remains a problem, since it is well known that the soft power of Russia usually works especially effectively with minorities who receive information in Russian.

Of course, all this indicates the fact that much work remains to be done with ethnic minorities in Georgia, in contrast to other post-Soviet countries, which due to their geographical location integrated much faster and closer to Europe.

Fig. 3. What factors divide or unite Georgian society.

Do the following divide or bring us together as a society? (% of those responding either divides or unites)

(NDI/CRRC-Georgia, December 2018/April 2019)
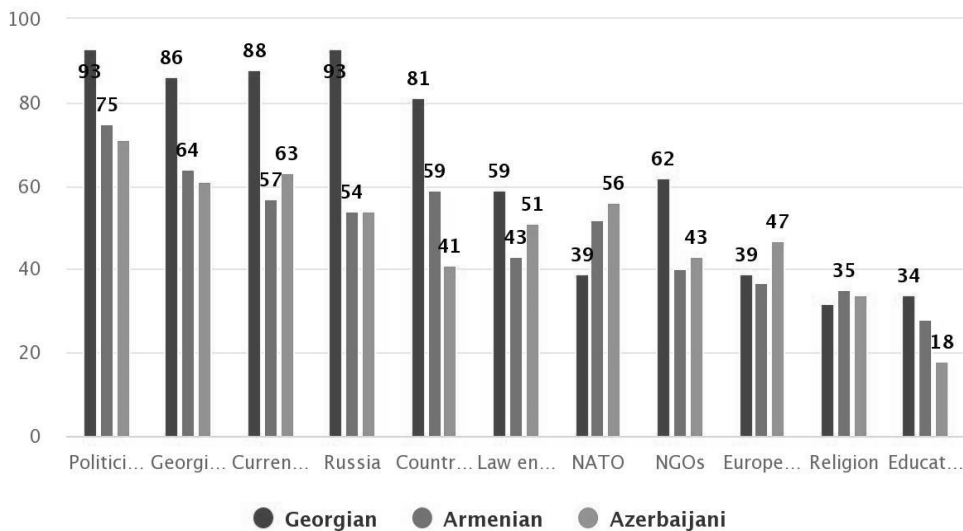
Source: *Public attitudes in Georgia, Results of the survey of April 2019*, <https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/na2019ge/codebook/> (30.06.2020).

The table shows the differences between positions of the ethnic Georgian, ethnic Armenian and ethnic Azerbaijanian citizens of Georgia. Pay your attention to the chart, where the data is shown for Russia, NATO and Europe.

With ethnicity, there are three sources of the observed differences. First, ethnic minorities express uncertainty more often than ethnic Georgians. This is particularly true of ethnic Azerbaijanis who report 'don't know' more often than ethnic Armenians.

Second, among those that said each of the above issues either united or divided the country, there are differences in attitudes related to foreign policy. Ethnic Armenians and ethnic Azerbaijanis are significantly less likely to report

that Russia divides the country, and significantly more likely, albeit to a smaller degree, to report that NATO divides the country. Ethnic Azerbaijanis also report that the EU divides the country at a greater rate.

Third, ethnic Georgians are much more critical of domestic actors. Georgians are more likely to say that politicians, educational institutions, the Georgian media, the country's leaders, the current economic system, law enforcement, and NGOs divide the country.

We have this picture despite the fact that the European and Euro-Atlantic integration is recognized as a national interest in the main document of national security of the country. That means Georgia still does not use enough tools or channels to provide the minority with an easy-to-understand, clear information and its sufficient interpretation.

In spite of the fact that the Atlantic Council[15], the NATO Information Center on NATO and the EU[16], and a number of other, institutionally quite powerful NGOs work in Georgia, there are still a lot of gaps that point directly to the weaknesses of state policy. Specifically, research shows that it is necessary to establish institutional mechanisms for the process of strategic communication planning, execution, and coordination.

Conclusion

All of the above proves that not only fake news are harmful to our societies. Of course, there is undoubtedly the particular harmfulness of the lies propagated by the fake news and officials due to the propaganda interests. Chernobyl example[17] is the proof of this, when information hidden by the Soviet authorities about the scale of the tragedy claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and the health and well-being of millions of Europeans. Yes, false information is harmful. But it is also necessary to protect our societies from the irrational fears generated by external propaganda.

In a given situation, political maturity is crucial. Thus, the only way to raise resistance towards propaganda is education.

Second, it is necessary to coordinate the strategic communication of state organizations. Between 2013 and 2019, both the number and remuneration of public employees in PR in Georgia continued to grow. But the second issue is how coordinated their work has become. This question raises doubts in light of the results that the research on people's attitudes and behaviors show us today.

And third, it is also particularly important. As external forces seek out those weak signs in the governance of our states that will allow their narratives to

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[15] See: *The Atlantic Council of Georgia*, <http://acge.ge/language/en/> (30.06.2020).

[16] See: *Information Center on NATO and EU for Effective Communication*, <http://info-center.gov.ge/en> (30.06.2020).

[17] K. Brown, *Chernobyl: The secrets they tried to bury – how the Soviet machine covered up a catastrophe*, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/global-health/terror-and-security/cherno-byl-secrets-tried-bury-soviet-machine-covered-catastrophe1/> (30.06.2020).

gain popularity, it is important to pre-detect and cover these niches. Of course, this sounds a bit utopian – what state does not want to fill the gaps in governance. On the other hand, however, understanding and striving for the weaknesses of one's own government to eliminate these weaknesses is a good tool in the fight against the interests of the external forces that direct the propaganda against the state. However, on the other hand, understanding the weaknesses of own governance and eliminating those weaknesses is a good tool against those outside forces acting against the state by using propaganda.

In the case of Georgia, based on the information we have discussed in our study, one of these niches is the timely analysis of minorities' needs, responding quickly to their problems and providing them with accurate and timely information, delivering this information to them via the widest possible range of channels and forms. The other niche is the condition of veterans who do not feel respected enough and appreciated by the state. Apparently, this is what is forcing many of them to gather around the foreign soft power. The same cannot be said in the case of post-Soviet Poland and Romania. Unlike Georgia, these countries have managed to appreciate and provide their veterans with material support. It seems that at the state level it is well-known that veterans should be particularly respected, as these are the people whose example should inspire young militaries and make the desire to defend their homeland even greater.

And the last condition I want to share with you is that Georgia is part of Europe; the turmoil inspired by external forces in Georgia - points to the open possibility of inspiring turmoil in post-Soviet Europe (and not only); External influences that affect Georgia can, in the same way, affect Europe's security. Georgia's example illustrates a scenario that can be used to prevent the likely development of events in any European post-Soviet country. Therefore, when we speak about European security mechanisms, the common instruments of defense, the pursuit of peace through co-operation and the effective peacekeeping mechanisms, it is necessary to consider Georgia in this area, to assess and evaluate its experience. Otherwise, neutralization of the dangers that Europe currently faces, would be much more difficult.

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TERROR IN EUROPE AND ITS SOURCES IN ILLEGAL MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH. HOW TO DISTINGUISH ONE FROM THE OTHER AND CONTAIN BOTH

Abstract:
Currently, Europe has to face new risks and threats, including terrorist attacks, illegal migration, and hybrid warfare that transcend the common security aspects and have further roots beyond its borders, in unsolved hot spot areas, like Eastern and Southern neighbourhood. Today rapid developments in the political and economic fields made terrorism a common problem for all the countries in the world. This is also true for European countries because, with the Madrid bombing of the Atocha Rail Station, where, for the first time in the history of terrorism, two organizations were involved together (Al Qaida and ETA) in committing a violent action, we can speak about the internationalisation of terror and the shift of its political objectives towards those nations supporting the United States in the International War on Terror. Since the 2014 Ukrainian crisis and Syrian conflict, including here military actions to counter the Salafi Jihadist militant group and alleged former Al Qaida affiliate in the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), a period of increased Islamic terrorist activity has taken place in Europe, often referred to as the Wave of Terror in Europe. Terrorists employed a wide range of tactics to support implementation of their overall strategies. In Europe, as we saw in the past events, terrorist organisations have mostly been employing old tactics such as bombing, arson, assassination and suicide attack to achieve their goals. The big issue for terror in Europe is the mix of some of these classical acts with new methods including the use of computer devices, driving transportation means against crowds, shooting and stabbing their targets, in order to transmit proposed messages. The European security context forced more and more European states to take "hard" measures for eliminating the danger of those

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terrorist organizations. A lot of books have been written and many analyses have been made since the 90s. However, the terrorists modify their tactics and weapons according to new conditions. Moreover, they co-operate with each other and gain a more Mafia like characteristic. Even, terrorist organizations and other crime organizations are going faster than the sovereign countries in the field of cooperation. Consequently, the terrorist organizations, instead of being annihilated, gain more power, with every countermeasure.

Introduction

Nowadays, the geostrategic situation in Europe is not too brilliant. Moreover, there are important voices mentioning that we are in a new security dilemma, in which new risks and threats have emerged towards the European common security and Euro-Atlantic collective defence. There are numerous facts demonstrating that the conflict physiognomy has evolved, and the old geopolitical tendencies in the area seemed to return. Especially with the Russian Federation coming back among regional powers, with tendencies to regain her status of 'superpower'.

Those tendencies are also influenced by new risks and threats to the European common security, such as: European terrorism; massive illegal migration in Europe; BREXIT; and, last but not least, the new hybrid-type of warfare. European terrorism is not a new phenomenon, disappearing from Europe for almost 40 years. In addition of using old, established tactics – such as: bombing, arson, assassinations and suicide attacks – this new face of terror has developed new methods of spreading panic among European populations, especially in the West. Through ethnic and religious terrorism, cyberterrorism, crowd smashing, shooting and stabbing innocent people, there are sending terror messages to politician and population without clear political objectives.

When we speak about terrorism in Europe, we can think on three distinct periods from the past till present days. The Cold-War Era and the terrorist groups activities in the Western Europe is a very distinct period being characterized by individual actions with limited objectives, as well as state-sponsored terrorism. The post-Cold Era sporadic terrorist acts period that took place until the Syrian Crisis and Ukrainian Crisis had few important terrorist actions, but with greater scope and implications. With the Madrid bombing of Atocha Rail Station, where, for the first time in the history of terrorism, two organisations were acting together (Al Qaida and ETA), we can speak about the internationalisation of terror. And finally, a period of increased Islamic

terrorist activity in Europe, often referred to as 'the Wave of Terror in Europe' that has been taking place since 2014.

The Cold War period, as everybody is aware, was characterised by the indirect confrontation between the two superpowers – USSR and the United States – to achieve world dominance. None of the two superpowers were prepared or willing to conduct military actions against the other, even if they repeatedly tried to achieve supremacy on all continents.

As a secondary issue, the respective period had also an additional aim in Europe of containing Soviet communism in its borders. The rise of the Berlin Wall and the establishment of the Iron Curtin represented some 'soft' approaches of the two superpowers to contain each other. In order not to directly act against the US, Moscow tried different schemes and tactics to destabilise the US Allies in Europe and control its own. One indirect action against Western Europe was the establishment of terrorist groups in many European countries, like: Armata Corsa and the National Liberation Front of Corsica (FLNC) in France; Red Army Faction (RAF) in Germany; the Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA) in Spain; Red Brigades (BR) in Italy; Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) in Northern Ireland; Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHCP/F) in Turkey; Revolutionary Organization 17 November and Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) in Greece[2]. The USSR covertly trained and sustained those terrorist groups, by providing military equipment and armaments, as well as logistic and financial support, asking them to conduct specific terrorist actions to gain Kremlin's political objectives. We should not forget about the bloody war in the Northern Ireland, as well as about kidnappings, arson, hijacking, hostage – taking, assassinations, bombings, or ambushes conducted in France, Italy, Spain or Germany in 1970s-1980s.

Amazing, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the distraction of Berlin Wall represented a 'cease-fire' of terrorist activities in Europe and the disintegration of old European terrorist groups. Being either arrested or moving outside Europe to be part of jihadist movements, European terrorists disappeared and very few terror activities took place in Europe in the last decade of the 20th Century and beginning of the 21st one.

The new geostrategic tendencies in the region refer both to replacing the old strategic interest of regional powers to concur territories with that of controlling/influencing events, and to giving up the idea of physical presence to the one-off controlling to influence and, if necessary, interfere. These tendencies have the effect of defusing existing 'frozen conflicts', avoiding, as

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[2] G. Chaliand, A. Blin, *From 1968 to Radical Islam*, [in:] *The History of Terrorism. From Antiquity to Al Qaida*, ed. G. Chaliand, A. Blin, London 2007, pp. 223-225; see also H. Ozel, *Terrorist Tactics and their Destructions* – a presentation delivered by the PfP Training Centre-Turkey Mobile Training Team (MTT) at the Romanian PfP Regional Training Centre in Bucharest, 2.04.2003.

much as possible, direct armed confrontation, changing the need to cause substantial damage to the opponent and minimising them, and acting at the edge of respecting international laws.

This is also about the revival of terrorist activities in Europe with different approaches regarding tactics and political objectives, whilst no terrorist group was established to activate on the old continent. The so-called internationalisation of terrorism, after the Atocha Rail Station bombing in Madrid and the use of Hybrid Warfare tactics by Russia in Europe, as well as the mass migration of Islamic population in Southern and Central Europe seems to be the main causes of the new wave of terror in Western European countries.

Therefore, my article is aimed at analysing the biggest changes that take place in the terrorism syndrome today, underlining some causes of them, as well as efficient counter - measures for dealing with terrorist activities. At the end, I'll try to answer to some important questions, like: What is the difference between the Cold War Era and the current situation regarding terrorist activities in Europe? Is any regional power (like Russia, Iran etc.) indirectly involved in by supporting terrorism? Is terrorism an international, European or national matter?

Terror in Europe and its possible source in Northern Africa

Most people have a vague idea or impression of what terrorism is. They lack a more precise and truly explanatory definition of the word. This imprecision has been done partly by the modern media. Pick up a newspaper or turn on the television. Someone can find such different acts as the bombing of a building, the assassination of a head of state, the massacre of civilians by a military unit and the poisoning of produce on supermarket shelves described as incidents of terrorism. Indeed, any unacceptable act of violence that is perceived against society is often labelled 'terrorism'.

Other difficulty when we want to define the word of terrorism is that almost all states regard terror actions as freedom and separatist movements or ordinary incidents. These states condemn terror actions but if these actions are consistent with their interests, they either tolerate or support them. It is well-known the statement that: 'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'.

Brian M. Jenkins, a well-experienced American expert on terrorism and transportation security, mentioned about terrorism as "…being a theatre, because terrorist acts are often deliberately spectacular, designed to rattle and influence a wide audience, beyond the victims of the violence itself"[3]. If we investigate the definition of terrorism, we see that it has more than one definition. For example, the Oxford English Dictionary's definition give us little help, by defining terrorism as "…a policy intended to strike with terror

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[3] B. M. Jenkins, *International Terrorism: A new kind of warfare*, California 1974, p. 4.

those against whom it is adopted, the employment of methods of intimidation, the fact of terrorizing or condition of being terrorised"[4].

Another definition says that terror, as a concept, means 'intimidating', but this intimidating is in great intensity and capable of creating sudden feelings of fear on individuals explaining the manner of violence. In Figure 1 Nicholas Pratt, from the George C. Marshal Center, defines terrorism from a trinity point of view of aim, action and target[5].

Fig. 1. Defining Terrorism
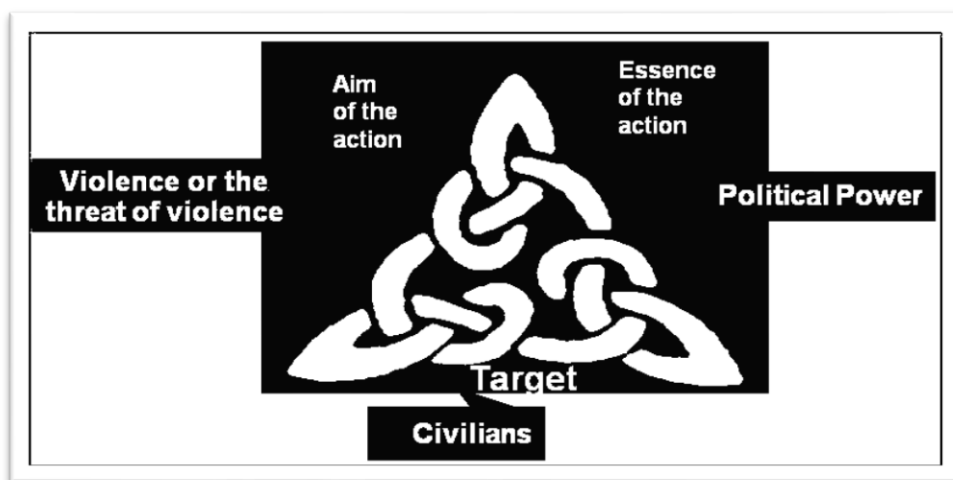
Source: R. Kangas, *NATO…, op. cit.*

According to AAP-6, NATO's definition on terrorism is "The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence, instilling fear and terror, against individuals or property in an attempt to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, or to gain control over a population, to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives"[6].

The new "wave of terror in Europe" is often seen as part of the spill over of the Syrian Civil War and linked to the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and the

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[4] Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, *Terrorism*, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/terrorism> (11.03.2020).

[5] R. Kangas, *Recommended US Response to Russian Activities Across Central Asia*, [in:] *Russian Strategic Intentions. A Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) White Paper*, ed. N. Peterson, Departament of Defence 2019, pp. 99-104; see also R. Kangas, *NATO and the Challenge of Terrorism: Expanding the Area of Responsibility,* presentation delivered at the George C. Marshall Center in Garmish Partenkirschen, 10.08.2006.

[6] NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions nr AAP-6 (2019), *Terrorism*, NATO Standardization Agency, p. 154.

Levant/Syria (ISIL/ISIS). It has also been linked to the rise of radical Islam among some disaffected Muslims minorities in Europe, and to the European mass migrant crisis.

A captured German ISIS trainee, Harry Sarfo told the New York Times that his commander had said, in mid-2015, that "ISIS had called on its fighters for a coordinated wave of attacks in European countries"[7]. The majority of the attacks have taken place against countries participating in the Syrian Civil War in the military intervention against ISIS as part of Operation 'Inherent Resolve'; for instance France with Operation 'Chammal', Germany with Operation 'Counter Daesh' and Belgium, which is also a participant. Russia who have a separate campaign and are allied with the Syrian government, have also been targeted. However, even non-combatants such as Sweden have been attacked. While law enforcement officials have been targeted by ISIS militants, the overwhelming majority of the deaths, over 300 to date, have come from indiscriminate attacks against civilian population in dense urban areas. The majority of the victims are European civilians, but also several civilians from Asia, Africa, and the Americas were killed in terrorist attacks. Some of the attacks have been carried out by lone wolf Salafist jihadists, not officially part of ISIS.

The spill over of the Syrian Civil War is the impact of the Syrian Civil War in the Arab World. Since the first protests during the so-called 'Arab Spring', the increasingly violent Syrian Civil War has been both a proxy war for the major Arab powers, Turkey and Iran, and a potential launching point for a wider regional war after the involvement of Russia. Fears of the latter were realised when ISIS, a Salafi Jihadist militant group and alleged former Al Qaida affiliate, established itself in Syria in 2013, and later combined with the Iraqi Civil War into a single conflict the following year. The spill over of the Syrian Civil War is often dubbed as the 'Arab Winter'.

A campaign of Islamist attacks occurred in France, beginning with the Île-de-France attack on 7 January 2015, between the French Government and ongoing terrorist acts committed by jihadist terror groups like AQAP and ISIS, or isolated individuals who sympathize with the jihadist movement. Since 2015 and until July 2016, eight Islamic terrorist incidents have occurred in France, including fatal attacks in Île-de-France, Saint-Quentin-Fallavier and Paris. The November 2015 attacks in Paris were motivated by ISIS as retaliation for the French role in Syrian Civil War and Iraqi War.

There is evidence about the fact that ISIS intended to create momentum behind a campaign of attacks in Europe which requires less direct input from it over time. In 2015, the ISIS goal in Europe was to provoke overreactions by European governments that would alienate Muslim communities and radicalise them over time. ISIS designed a campaign to inject violence into European

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[7] S. Osborne, *ISIS Commanders call for a coordinated wave of terror attacks in UK, Germany and France*, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/696404/ISIS-commanders-co-ordinated-wave-terror-attacks-UK-Germany-France> (19.08.2019).

societies in order to jumpstart a campaign of low-level attacks against non-Muslim populations in Europe that would further polarize European communities[8].

The scope and volume of low-level attacks that fit ISIS's calls for 'lone jihad' in Europe nearly quadrupled in Europe from January 2014 to September 2017. This trend could signal a growing resonance of ISIS's messaging to vulnerable populations despite ISIS's territorial losses in Iraq and Syria. If so, this trend would demonstrate ISIS success generating a campaign of violence in Europe that requires progressively less direct input from ISIS to sustain.

The 2015 conflict between Turkey and the PKK broke out following a two-year period of long peace negotiations, which began in late 2012, but failed to progress in light of the growing tensions on border with Syria in late 2014, when the Siege of Kobani created an unprecedented wave of Kurdish refugees into Turkey. Some Kurds accused Turkey of assisting ISIS during the crisis, resulting in widespread Kurdish riots in Turkey involving dozens of fatalities. The tensions further escalated in summer 2015, with the 20 July's bombing in Suruc, allegedly executed by an ISIS-affiliated Turkish group against Kurdish supporters. On 21 July, same year, PKK killed a Turkish soldier and wounded two more in Adiyaman. Some PKK supporters then claimed responsibility for the 23 July's killing of two Turkish police officers in Ceylanpinar, describing it as a retaliation to the fact that Turkey was training Islamic State terrorists in a camp disguised as a training ground for the Free Syrian Army. In PKK's opinion, Ankara's help to the 'moderate' Syrian opposition is not as innocent as portrayed and Turkey was perceived more as 'a friend' of Islamic State, than an enemy[9]. The rise of Islamic radicals in Europe is also linked to the new wave of terror. The Islamic extremism was defined by the British High Court as any form of Islam that opposes "democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs"[10].

Zeyno Baran, a Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Eurasian Policy at the Hudson Institute, also defined the Islamic extremism, sometimes using overlapping terms that described distinct aspects of extreme interpretations and pursuits of Islamic ideology – "the use of violent tactics such as bombing and assassinations for achieving perceived Islamic goals" and "an extremely conservative view of Islam, which does not necessarily entail violence"[11].

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[8] J. Cafarella, J. Zhou, *ISIS's Expanding Campaign in Europe*, Washington 2017, p. 3.
[9] *Captured ISIS fighter says "trained in Turkey, ISIS thinks it's safer here than Syria"*, <https://www.rt.com/news/327222-isis-fighters-turkey-training/> (19.08.2019).
[10] D. Casciani, *How do you define Islamist extremism?* <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-27777892> (20.08.2019).
[11] B. Zeyno, *The Roots of Violent Islamist Extremism and Efforts to Counter It*, Hearing Before The Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs United States Senate, One Hundred Tenth Congress Second Session, 10.07.2008, Washington 2009, pp. 119-124, <https://fas.org/irp/congress/2008_hr/roots.pdf> (20.08.2019).

There is no single profile or pathway for radicalisation, or even speed at which it happens. Nor does the level of education seem to be a reliable predictor of vulnerability to radicalization. It is, however, established that there are socio-economic, psychological and institutional factors that lead to violent extremism. Specialists group these factors into three main categories: push factors, pull factors and contextual factors. 'Push Factors' drive individuals to violent extremism, such as: marginalisation, inequality, discrimination, persecution or the perception thereof; limited access to quality and relevant education; the denial of rights and civil liberties; and other environmental, historical and socio-economic grievances.

'Pull Factors' nurture the appeal of violent extremism, for example: the existence of well-organized violent extremist groups with compelling discourses and effective programmes that are providing services, revenue and/or employment in exchange for membership. Groups can also lure new members by providing outlets for grievances and promise of adventure and freedom. Furthermore, these groups appear to offer spiritual comfort, 'a place to belong' and a supportive social network. Contextual factors are those factors that provide a favourable terrain to the emergence of violent extremist groups, such as: fragile states, the lack of rule of low, corruption and criminality.

The following behaviours, in combination, have been identified as signs of potential radicalisation: sudden break with the family and long-standing friendships; sudden drop-out of school and conflicts with the school; change in behaviour relating to food, clothing, language or finances; changes in attitudes and behaviour towards others: antisocial comments, rejection of authority, refusal to interact socially, signs of withdrawal and isolation; regular viewing of internet sites and participation in social media networks that condone radical or extremist views; and reference to apocalyptic and conspiracy theories. Is it a kind of 'burgeoning wave of terrorism?' asked Gilles Kepel, a leading French expert on fundamentalist Islam, who also claimed that in London or Londonistan as he calls it, "they gave shelter to radical Islamist leaders from around the world as a sort of insurance policy against jihad terrorism. But you know when you go for dinner with the devil..."[12].

As a general conclusion, some of the proponents of Islam emphasised peaceful political processes, whereas Sayyid Outb in particular called for violence, and those followers are generally considered Islamic extremists and their stated goal is Islamic revolution with the intent to force implementation of Sharia law and/or an Islamic State Caliphate.

The European migrant crisis, or the European refugee crisis, another potential event linked with the new wave of terror, began in 2015 when rising numbers of people arrived illegally in the EU, travelling across the Mediterranean Sea or overland through Southeast Europe. These people included not only asylees seeking to apply for refugee status and the right of

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[12] G. Kepel, *Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West*, Cambridge 2002, p. 54.

asylum in claims to be individually determined as genuine or not, but also encompassed various others, such as economic migrants, and a small number of hostile agents including 'Islamic State militants'.

In January 2016, 18 of 31 men suspected of violent assaults on women in Cologne on New Year's Eve were identified as asylum seekers, prompting calls by German officials to deport convicted criminals who may be seeking asylum; these sexual attacks brought about a fresh wave of anti-immigrant protest across Europe. The message presented by Geert Wilders, the President of the Dutch Freedom Party and member of the Dutch Parliament, in front of the US Congress on 29 September 2015 represented, in fact, the official recognition of the Islamisation of Europe. He made a clear statement when he mentioned that: "We are in the final phase of the Islamisation of Europe. This is not a current and transparent danger for the future of Europe itself, but also for America and the entire survivability of the West"[13].

According to an IOM official, a rise in arrivals in Italy since the beginning of 2016 can be explained by a growing number of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, in particular from Nigeria, Gambia and Mali. The number of migrants from Morocco has also been on the rise, with 483 arriving in January 2016 against 93 in January 2015.

According to UNHCR, almost 22% of the refugees that managed to cross the Mediterranean Sea were from Northern and Sub-Saharian part of Africa. 4% of them were coming from Eritrea. Other countries include Nigeria (2%), Somalia (2%), Sudan (1%), Gambia (1%), Mali (1%), Senegal, and Morocco[14].

It is worthwhile mentioning here the rise of Salafism in Europe as a potential link to the terrorism on the old continent. It is not about the political Salafism, which directs its recruitment efforts towards non-Muslims and non-Salafist Muslims to gain influence in society. Here, we discuss about the jihadist Salafism, a minority movement in Europe that advocates gaining influence by the use of violence and nearly all identified terrorist cells in Germany and France came from Salafist circles.

Main Causes and Objectives for Terrorist Acts

From the violent actions been undertaken after 2010, we can state that the new terror in Europe has an international character and is conducted/organised by International terrorist groups having their location in Middle East and Africa/Sahel. In fact, what happened in Europe represents the abroad extension of terrorist groups' activities in their respective country/region, having the possibility (means, support, state-sponsored) to act oversees.

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[13] *Speech Geert Wilders for US Congressmen, Washington DC, Conservative Opportunity Society, 29.04.2015*, <https://www.geertwilders.nl/94-english/1921-speech-us-congressman-29042015> (23.06.2018).
[14] *Migration to Europe in charts*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44660699> (17.07.2019).

Why Europe? Because the US is very well protected and difficult to be internally hit. What happened in 2001 with the World Trade Centre will never be repeated, ever. And the European interest and implications in the conflicts happening in the Middle East and Africa are not well received by belligerents.

Moreover, without financial and logistic support, terrorist groups like al-Qaeda or ISIS cannot operate in other regions of the World. And this is true if we remember the Madrid Bombing of Atocha Rail Station of 2004. Without ETA logistic support that attack couldn't ever happen. In fact, that specific terrorist act represents the internationalisation of terrorism. The Figure 2 presents an analysis of such internationalisation of terror, through a network of networks.

Fig. 2. International Terrorism: a Network of Networks
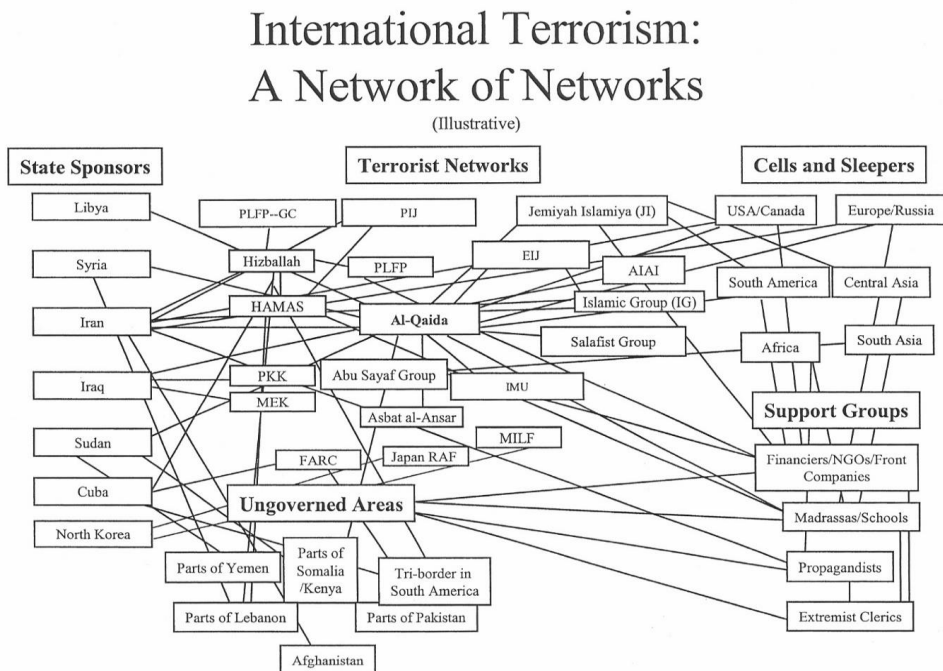
Source: R. Kangas, *NATO…, op. cit.*

On any single day, acts of terrorism take place around the world for a variety of motives. Whether the terrorists style themselves as separatists, anarchists, dissidents, nationalist, what marks them as terrorists is that they direct their violence against non-combatants, with the goal of terrorising a wider audience than the immediate victims, thereby attempting to gain political influence over the larger audience. It is assumed that many reasons involve with the cause of terrorism but only a few will be analysed here.

The first and upmost important cause is represented by socio-cultural reasons. Cultural change causes quite a few changes in social life, in other words, social life changes in proportion to cultural changes. However, if these changes in social structure are much too fast and take place only in a certain section of the society, making the rest remain undeveloped and fall far behind, problems occur and social balance is not maintained any longer. Consequently, conflicts among the people in society forms of course, it is impossible that every people think in the same way. Yet, there should be common agreements on some subjects for the good of society itself. These abnormalities mostly occur to be anarchy, violence, and losing social identity and unity. Actually, the ones in favour of violence and anarchy bring the individuals who constitute the society into the dilemmas of what is right or wrong causing confusion on the concepts regarding culture, language, religion, morality, and family. Therefore, they form an atmosphere to impose their claims and ideologies.

The economic reasons represent the second most important cause of terrorism. Economical problems affect people not only materially but also psychologically. That is why, the unbalanced sharing of income in the society is one of the most important elements terror organisations make use of. This is used as a material of propaganda and a tool for exploitation. Consequently, uneducated and ignorant people are very subject to be manipulated.

Many positive consequences, fast developments in the economic and social life can lead to inharmonious and unstable effects on a group of young people in their sensitive period. The lack or insufficiency of basic institutions dealing with such problems among young people is unfortunately enhance the inharmonious manners. System may not work right if economic development and growth are not supported with social integration.

Educational reasons are also important to note. Education has the power of changing the thoughts of individuals and society thoroughly. There is an opportunity to make people even as it is always missed and expected through a good education.

The peace of societies depends on completely proved and affirmative education, which its members get. Briefly, the better and the more sufficient and affirmative the education is, the more useful individuals the society has, or the other way round. The role and duty of families, schools, institutions and media is to make people have decent characters leading them to serve the society, and the role of the government is to make this education possible supervising and controlling it at the same time.

The aim of the new wave of terror seems to be destroying the European political support gained by some local authorities/belligerents in different conflicts from the Middle East and Africa in the long run. Nevertheless, there should be some other aims in the short run. It is possible to summarise these short run targets as follows: destruction of the politic system in European states and weakening the existing Regional organizations, like the EU; letting the European public hear their claim; weakening the European public's power of

resistance with the help of intimidating people and forcing the people accept their case or take measures against state authorities; providing the support of people and participants in the society

Regarding the strategies terrorists use in achieving their goals, we can mention the tendency of forming an atmosphere of despair, fear and destruction among the groups determined as targets. If the psychological consequences of an activity of violence are more influential and affective than the physical destruction, it is explained as terrorism.

Moreover, terrorists never recognise any morality or rules of war. In their point of view, nobody can be neutral, that is, a person should be in favour of them or stand on the opposite side as an enemy. Therefore, they use brutal, barbarian methods and weapons, without any discrepancies.

The common strategy of the terrorism is to commit acts of violence that will draw the attention of people, the government, and world to their plight. The media play a critical role in this strategy. This is particularly true of terrorism in Europe, where terrorist groups have become increasingly more violent and spectacular in order to capture headlines. Victims of terrorism are seldom the actual targets of the terrorist attack. The target is more often the general public or perhaps even the business sector. By threatening, or carrying out acts of extreme violence against a victim, the terrorist is attempting to produce fear in the victim and in the target, who are both dependent on the government for protection.

Simultaneously, terrorist groups, actually or tacitly, makes demands on the government which in return, must react in some way to the terrorist, the target, and the victim. Violence or the threat of violence on the part of terrorists creates fear in victims and, through the media, fear in the target group or population. This fear generates dependence, on the part of victim and target, on government protection. Terrorist rhetoric and demands placed on government further aggravate this complex set of relationships. Terrorists employ a wide range of tactics to support implementation of their overall strategies.

In Europe, as you're all aware, terrorist organisations have mostly been employing old tactics such as bombing, arson, assassination and suicide attack to achieve their goals. The big issue for terror in Europe is the mix of some of these classical acts with new methods including the use of computer devices, driving transportation means against crowds, shooting and stabbing their targets, in order to transmit proposed messages.

Combating Terrorism Measures or Containing its Sources

It is very difficult for a single country, being well-developed or modernised, like France or Germany, to face, by her own, multiple terrorist attacks, some of them being conducted simultaneously and concentrated upon well-established target groups and objectives. Therefore, a combined reaction/counter-action of international and regional security organisations (the UN, NATO and the EU),

together with European countries involved, represents the most effective way to break the new wave of terror.

The International Community (UN and other regional organizations) up to date created 19 conventions – 12 of them are UN ones – on different aspects of the international terrorism. Amongst these conventions the most important are: The International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, New York, signed on 15 December 1997; The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, New York, approved on 9 December 1999; and The UNSC Resolution No. 1373, which approved the establishment of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (known as CTC), made up of all 15 members of the Security Council, to increase capability of states to fight terrorism.

Also, according to the Resolution no 56/261, the General Assembly adopted counter-terrorism programmes for implementing the Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice, many of them dealing with public awareness, maintaining existing databases, collecting and disseminating information and strengthening the capacity of States to face terrorist activities.

In particular, the most important UN activity was to prevent radicalisation and conduct deradicalisation where it happened, through education, as key dimensions of preventing violent extremism. The role of education in preventing violent extremism and de-radicalizing young people has only recently gained global acceptance. An important step in this direction was the launch, in December 2015, of the UN Secretary General's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism which recognizes the importance of quality education to address the drivers of this phenomenon. Education has been identified as preventing radicalisation through: developing the communication and interpersonal skills they need to dialogue, face disagreement and learn peaceful approaches to change; developing critical thinking to investigate claims, verify rumours and question the legitimacy and appeal of extremist beliefs; developing resilience to resist extremist narratives and acquire the social-emotional skills they need to overcome their doubts and engage constructively in society without having to resort to violence; fostering critically informed citizens able to constructively engage in peaceful collective action.

The UNSC also emphasised this point in its Resolutions nr 2178 and nr 2250, which notably highlights the need for "quality education for peace that equips youth with the ability to engage constructively in civic structures and inclusive political processes" and called on "all relevant actors to consider instituting mechanisms to promote a culture of peace, tolerance, intercultural

and interreligious dialogue that involve youth and discourage their participation in acts of violence, terrorism, xenophobia, and all forms of discrimination"[15].

UNESCO has emphasised the Global Citizenship Education (GCED) programme as an emerging approach to education that focuses on developing learners' knowledge, skills, values and attitudes in view of their active participation in the peaceful and sustainable development of their societies. GCED aimed to instil respect for human rights, social justice, gender equality and environmental sustainability, which are fundamental values that help raise the defences of peace against violent extremism.

In order to possible deradicalise existing islamists all over the World, there have been initiated and operationalized several projects inside the UN. The Sabaoon Project is one of them and was initiated by the Pakistan Army and run by the Social Welfare Academics and Training organisation (SWAaT) since 2009, to deradicalise and rehabilitate former militant youth who were involved in violent extremist activities and apprehended by the army in SWAaT and the surrounding areas in Pakistan.

Kenya's initiatives to address radicalisation of youth in educational institutions is another project to tackle the issue of violent extremism and radicalisation in schools. It represented a Kenyan Ministry of Education, Science and Technology's new national strategy of targeting youth in 2014, entitled *Initiatives to Address Radicalization of the Youth in Educational Institutions in the Republic of Kenya*. The Strategy adopted measures that service the students' interests and well-being (for example, it includes efforts to create child-friendly school environments) and encouraged students to participate in 'talent academies' to pursue an area of their own interest. The Strategy also included the discontinuation of ranking schools based on academic performance. This was to lessen the over-emphasis on examinations and to reduce student pressure, incorporating other indicators of student achievement, such as abilities in sport and artistic talent. The purpose was to reduce the stress of students' lives at home and in school that may be vented through escape tactics, including joining outlawed groups. The Strategy also employed other effective means to prevent violent extremism, including the integration of Preventing of Violent Extremism through Education (PVE-E) in curricula and school programmes; adopting a multi-sectoral and multi-stakeholder approach; encouraging student participation through student governance processes and peer-to-peer education; and the involvement of media as a stakeholder.

Another measure adopted by the UN was regarding the Gender disparity. Violent extremism was considered, indisputably, a gendered phenomenon. Indeed, while it was being increasingly reported that women played an active

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[15] *Security Council, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2250 (2015), Urges Member States to Increase Representation of Youth in Decision-Making at All Levels*, Security Council Statement on 9.12.2015, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc12149.doc.htm> (20.08.2019).

role in violent extremist organisations and attacks as assailants and supporters, men are still more often the perpetrators of violent extremist acts and therefore the targets of recruitment campaigns.

After the 2001 terrorist attacks against the US, NATO declared the attacks to be an attack against all NATO member countries. The Allies – for the first time in NATO's history – invoked article 5 of the Washington Treaty and two operations were simultaneously conducted – one Air Operation Eagle Assist in the US and one Maritime Operations Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean Sea. While NATO's contribution to the fight against terrorism has already been significant, efforts were undertaken to better equip the Alliance and to allow it to play its full part in the long-term effort. At the Prague Summit (21-22 November, 2002) was adopted a package of measures to strengthen NATO's preparedness and ability to take on the full spectrum of security challenges, including terrorism and the spread of WMD.

A new NATO military concept for defence against terrorism was developed in order to underline the Alliance's readiness to: act against terrorist attacks, or the threat of such attacks, directed from abroad against populations, territory, infrastructure and forces; provide assistance to national authorities in dealing with the consequences of terrorist attacks; support operations by the EU or other international organisations or coalitions involving Allies; and to deploy forces as and where required to carry out such missions.

After 2014, NATO adopted new measures to counter the new threat on terror in Europe thorough: defence against WMD; a Partnership Action Plan on Terrorism (PARP-T); protection on civilian populations; Missile Defence; Cyberdefence; and cooperation with other international organisations – NATO Support to the AU.

Defining terrorism as one of the most serious violations of fundamental freedoms, human rights and of the principles of liberty and democracy, the EU has first raised this issue at the Tampere European Council in 1999 and again at the Santa Maria da Feira European Council in June 2000, finalising it with the approval of the Council Framework Decision of 13 Jun 2002 on combating terrorism. This Framework Decision defines a terrorist group as "a structured organisation consisting of more than two persons, established over a period of time and acting in concert. Moreover, instigating, aiding, abetting and attempting to commit terrorist offences will also be punishable"[16]. It also includes some recommended measures, like: provisions in the national legislation for such acts; establishing jurisdiction of Member States; and assistance for victims and their families

The EU supports the Sahel countries – Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger – in issues of shared interest such as: Security, Migration,

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[16]*Council Framework Decision of 13 Jun 2002 on combating terrorism*, Eur-Lex. Access to European Union Law, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/GA/TXT/> (20.08.2019).

Terrorism, the Humanitarian situation and Long Term Development[17]. Therefore, in March 2011, the EU adopted a comprehensive approach to the Sahel region, using as reference an EU Strategy for Security and Development (Sahel Strategy). This Strategy remains the key framework for EU action at both individual and collective levels to help countries in the wider Sahel-Sahara region address key security and development challenges.

In March 2014, EU Foreign Affairs extended the Strategy to Burkina Faso and Chad in addition to Mali, Mauritania and Niger. Ministers also asked for the development of a new Regional Action Plan for the implementation of the EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel. The Action Plan was adopted by Ministers of Foreign Affairs on April 20 2015 and was reviewed and updated beginning of June 2016. With the establishment of this comprehensive framework for EU's action in the Sahel region, the EU reiterates its readiness to continue working closely with the Sahel countries to support their efforts to achieve peace, security and development[18].

In March 2016, the EU and Turkey reached an agreement to stop irregular immigration through the Aegean Sea, and improve the conditions of more than 3 million Syrian refugees in Turkey. An exchange program that would return migrants that previously entered Europe to Turkey and settle Syrian refugees in EU countries failed to curb the immigrant flow, as the high rate of illegal migrants intercepted by Turkey indicates.

We can state that the EU has failed in adapting its rules and regulations to support the massive wave of immigrants. Moreover, it did not succeed to accommodate Islam extremists inside the Europe's supposed values of enlightenment and humanism. Instead, European countries increased their number of border walls to not allow immigrants to enter on their territories.

Europe had five border walls in 2014, built following the 1985' Schengen agreement amid concerns about immigration at the bloc's external borders. By 2017, it had 15 barriers, according to the not-for-profit Transnational Institute, and a heavily patrolled maritime border. 10 of 28 member states (Spain, Greece, Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria, Slovenia, United Kingdom, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania) have built walls on their borders to prevent immigration, all of them belonging to the Schengen area except for Bulgaria and the United Kingdom. One country that is not a member of the European Union but belongs to the Schengen area has built a wall to prevent migration (Norway). Another (Slovakia) has built internal walls for racial segregation. A total of 13 walls have been built on EU borders or inside the Schengen area. Two countries, both members of the European Union and the Schengen area, (Spain and Hungary)

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[17] *Factsheet, EU relations with Sahel countries - Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger,* Brussels 2017, p. 1, <http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/factsheets/docs/sahel-european-union-factsheet_en.pdf> (21.08.2019).

[18] *Annual Report on the Sahel Regional Action Plan*, Joint Staff Working Document, Brussels, 23.12. 2016, SWD (2016)/482, pp. 4-7, <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-5009-2017-INIT/en/pdf> (20.08.2019).

have built two walls on their borders for controlling migration. Another two (Austria and the United Kingdom) have built walls on their shared borders with Schengen countries (Slovenia and France respectively). A country outside of the European Union, but part of of the so-called Balkan route (North Macedonia), has built a wall to prevent migration[19].

The EU has pulled the plug on its naval involvement in the Mediterranean anti-smuggling Operation 'Sophia'. The move showed that the bloc has failed to establish a common policy on refugees.

Between 11 and 12 November 2015, a summit between European and African leaders was held in Valletta, Malta, to discuss the migrant crisis. The summit resulted in the EU setting up an Emergency Trust Fund to promote development in Africa, in return for African countries to help out in the crisis.

At the same time, European states have taken some measures to eliminate the dangers of terrorist organisations. A lot of books have been written and many analyses have been made since the 90s. However, terrorists modify their tactics and weapons according to new conditions. Moreover, they started to co-operate with each other and gained a more Mafia like characteristic. Even, terrorist groups and other crime organisations are going faster than the sovereign countries in the field of cooperation. Consequently, the terrorist organisations, instead of being annihilated, gained more power, with every counter-measure.

In 2017, Italy struck a deal to supply the Libyan Coast Guard with vessels and anti-smuggling training. The agreement promised 325 million USD if Libyan agents would intercept migrants crossing the Mediterranean and return them to Libyan detention centres. In 2015, Germany broke the Dublin Regulation, a key EU procedure and accepted Syrian refugees fleeing civil war and not return them to border countries that have been accepting unprecedented waves of migrants. Moreover, other EU countries, like Malta and Italy, put pressure on refugee sea rescue missions – the 'criminalisation campaign' against NGO.

A new migration route to Europe was seeing the day – the crossing via the Black Sea, north of Turkey. In less than a month, 500 migrants (Syrians, Iraqis, Afghans and lastly Pakistanis) have been intercepted in Romanian waters in their desperate attempts to reach the European mainland. Human rights activists are trying to warn of the perils involved in the dangerous crossing.

Romania has also received a significant number of asylum seekers through the EU relocation scheme. She agreed to take in around 4,200 asylum seekers. As of the end of August, 727 people had been relocated to Romania – 45 from Italy and 682 from Greece, while another 3,453 must be transferred in accordance with its share. Another 11 people have been resettled from Turkey so far.

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[19] G. Diez, *The Migrant Crisis and the Future of Europe*, The American Prospect, <https://prospect.org/world/migration-crisis-future-europe/> (20.08.2019).

Migrants generally do not want to stay in Romania, because the country 'doesn't offer them much'. According to the International Organisation for Migration Report, some have had 'tolerated' status for 10 years and "there is no financial support, no doctors help you"[20].

In conclusion, the World's goal is to eliminate terrorist safe havens, dry up the terrorists sources of revenue, break up their cells, disrupt their movements, bring them to justice for their crimes. It is never easy to stop terrorism but we can reduce the ability of terrorism by taking necessary precautions.

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[20] *Mixed Migration Flows in the Mediterranean*, Compilation of Available Data and Information, January 2020, International Organization for Migrations, The UN Migration Agency, New York 2019, p. 28, <https://displacement.iom.int/system/tdf/reports/FCR-%20Jan%202020_final.pdf> (21.08.2019).

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RISK ANALYSIS AND DATA PROTECTION IMPACT ASSESSMENT CONDUCTED IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

Abstract:
The European Parliament and Council Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of 27 April 2016 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data and the repeal of Directive 95/46/EC introduced a new one, a proactive model of protection of personal data processed in the organization, based on a risk-based approach. It imposed on the administrators new obligations related to conducting analyzes of the risk of violation of the rights and freedoms of persons whose data they process. Considering the scope, scale and categories of personal data processed, public sector entities face a huge challenge to meet the restrictions of the EU legislator. An additional difficulty is often a very extensive organizational structure, complicated processing processes, limited financial resources and unadjusted IT systems. The article discusses issues of risk analysis and impact assessment for the protection of personal data processed in the public sector in order to meet the requirements of the GDPR. The key issue in this respect is the adoption of an appropriate methodology in the risk estimation process, because properly carried out it enables the implementation of security measures adequate to potential threats.

Keywords:
analysis, risk, protection, data, RODO.

Introduction

The flourishing of the information age, the development of advanced technologies and increased globalization of data flow constantly creates new challenges and threats to ensuring the security of processed information.

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Information has become the most valuable commodity in the modern world. Proper management of information resources and adequate protection of owned data is increasingly a priority for the proper functioning of modern organizations. The widespread use of information systems not only improves the operation of entities but also reveals new vulnerabilities used by threats. Therefore, along with technological development, it is required to constantly improve the methods of protecting our information resources.

Personal data of individuals is a model type of data processed by almost all modern organizations. The European Union law provides them with special protection, which is already grounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 emphasizing that no one can be subjected to integration in his private home, family or correspondence, or become the object of attacks detrimental to his good name and honour. The protection of personal data is one of the basic aspects of the right to privacy[2]. Works on the comprehensive coverage of this issue in the EU legal act have lasted since 1990, but it was only the adoption of Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free flow of such data and the repeal of Directive 95/46/EC (General Regulation – GDPR) introduced a unification of the provisions on the protection of personal data in all the European Union countries. This legal act is intended to facilitate cross-border business operations and covers all entities processing personal data within the European Union[3].

The GDPR places special emphasis on the perception of legal obligations in accordance with the pro-social approach to managing administrative and business entities. This point of view makes risk management a key element in the practice of applying and enforcing EU legislation[4].

The general regulation addresses the issues of managing personal data protection from a risk perspective, which is included in the recitals of this legal act. The EU legislator, taking into account the dynamics and diversity of the changing reality, precisely defines the expectations towards data processors, while the issues of the adequacy of the entities' behaviour to meet these expectations is left undefined. This solution requires business entities, offices, management staff and employees themselves to pay more attention to issues of social responsibility, because EU law prioritises the protection of privacy and personal rights of each person and obliges organizations to respect these overarching values, while introducing high penalties for their failure.

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[2] M. Krzysztofek, *Ochrona danych osobowych w Unii Europejskiej po reformie. Komentarz do rozporządzenia Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady (UE) 2016/679*, Warszawa 2016, p. 36.

[3] P. Litwiński, *Rozporządzenie UE w sprawie ochrony osób fizycznych w związku z przetwarzaniem danych osobowych i swobodnym przepływem takich danych. Komentarz*, Warszawa 2017, p. 17.

[4] J. Zawiła-Niedźwiecki, *Analiza ryzyka służąca spełnianiu wymagań RODO*, https://sip.legalis.pl/document-view.seam?documentId=mjxw62zogi3damjzhaydooa (15.06.2019).

The article addresses the issues of risk analysis and impact assessment for the protection of personal data processed in the public sector, serving to meet the requirements of the GDPR. The purpose of the article is to approximate the obligation to use a risk management approach when processing personal data in public entities. Given that public institutions process personal data of all citizens, often also specific categories of personal data (e.g. information on origin, race or ethnicity, political views) the processing of which may involve a high risk of violating the rights and freedoms of individuals, they pay particular attention to conducting correct risk analysis for processed data. Adopting the right methodology in the risk assessment process enables the implementation of safeguarding measures adequate to the potential threats[5]. The paper confirms the hypothesis that conducting a thorough assessment of the effects on data protection continues to be a challenge for public sector entities. The main research problem was included in the question: what is the significance for persons whose data is processed in public sector entities of conducting reliable and adequate risk analysis and assessment of personal data protection effects?

Risk-Based Data Protection Model

The Regulation 2016/679 developed by the EU authorities introduces a new, proactive model for the protection of personal data processed in the organization, set on a risk-based approach. The use of this type of solution is intended to facilitate the administrator taking appropriate steps to protect the information resources held, including in particular the personal data of natural persons. Depending on the estimated level of risk for the data being processed, the processor should implement adequate measures to minimize the negative effects of using system vulnerabilities by potential threats.

Risk is equated with uncertainty, which results from the fact that entities never operate under conditions of certainty, but only with greater or lesser probability. Risk can be understood differently. For the purposes of this article, a negative definition should be cited, which assumes that "risk means being able to fail to achieve the desired effect (damage, loss)"[6]. It can also be assumed that the risk is a "scenario that describes the event and its consequences, estimated in terms of the severity (amount of damage that an event can cause) and the likelihood of the event that constitutes a violation".

Administrators, in complying with the requirements of the GDPR, should diligently apply the issue of risk analysis and apply appropriate countermeasures. Currently, it is not the legislator who decides what safeguards should be introduced to effectively protect data, but such an obligation rests with the entities that process these data. The administrator or processor must decide for himself what protection

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[5] M. Byczkowski, *Zabezpieczanie danych osobowych w RODO*, Warszawa 2017, No. 2.
[6] P. Sienkiewicz, *Ewaluacja ryzyka w zarządzaniu kryzysowym*, [in:] Ryzyko w zarządzaniu kryzysowym, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, P. Górny (ed.), Toruń 2012, p. 25; M. Gawroński (ed.), *RODO. Przewodnik ze wzorami*, Warszawa 2018, p. 265.

measures to take. Thus, the public authority will not receive specific guidance for protecting its resources. They will have to show greater flexibility in assessing what measures should be used for the register of processing activities that they have.

The administrator is obliged to introduce technical and organizational protection of the processed data, which will be adequate to the risk scale, considered in terms of the possibility of losing information attributes (i.e. availability, integrity and confidentiality), taking into account the context, scope, purposes of processing and in particular the risk of violation of rights and freedoms of data subjects. In addition, when deciding to apply specific security measures, it should take into account the current state of technical knowledge and the cost of implementing a given solution. The introduction of security features for information resources must also have economic justification. It is possible that conducting some kind of processing is unprofitable due to the fact that the costs of data protection outweigh the profits from conducting this process. However, when referring to resources processed in the public sector, it may not be possible to opt out of certain data processing operations. This is due to the fact that public entities process data mainly based on the premise of an obligation incumbent on the administrator or an important public interest. This situation necessitates the implementation of often costly solutions to eliminate vulnerability.

Risk Management Process in Personal Data Protection

The risk management process should be one of the key issues in managing an organization as it relates to a variety of resources. In connection with the data protection requirements that the GDPR imposes on data processors, the following areas can be identified in which risk is analyzed:
- risk in processing security (associated with threats to confidentiality loss, data integrity and availability, e.g. DDoS attacks, ransomware),
- risk of failure to fulfil formal obligations (related to the requests of data subjects, e.g. the right to provide information about data processed by the administrator, to be forgotten, rectification of data, etc.),
- risk analysis and assessment / Data Protection Impact Assessment (DPIA) – related to the permanent assessment of the impact of data processing on the rights and freedoms of persons whose data subject is processing; requires implementation when designing processing as well as during data security management[7].

Information security risk management is not an innovative approach and it has been used for a long time, therefore it is a good practice to use the already developed solutions in the risk analysis for the protection of personal data. The ISO 27005 standard describes a methodology that can be implemented in both small and large organizations. However, the GDPR does not indicate that there

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[7] J. Zawiła-Niedźwiecki (ed.), *Poradnik RODO. Podejście oparte na ryzyku*, vol. 2, Warszawa 2017, p. 5-25.

is any best methodology to apply the risk assessment process and its management. It is important that the result of the process is a reliable and objective assessment of the level of risk.

The main difference in the approach used so far is that the previously used information security management methodologies focused on the risk and consequences for the organization, while the GDPR places great emphasis on issues related to the risk of violation of the rights and freedoms of data subjects.

Stages of Risk Management in Data Protection

Proper risk management requires reference to the processing context, followed by identification, estimation (which makes up the risk analysis) and risk assessment. Once these steps are completed, a decision should be made about how to deal with the estimated risk and accept the residual risk.

Defining the context requires indicating all information assets, taking into account the scope, nature and purposes of the data being processed, as well as specifying the risks associated with loss, destruction or unauthorized access to data. Identification and classification of information assets in an organization should be carried out at a level of detail ensuring that the necessary information is identified for the purposes of risk analysis. The administrator at this stage should pay attention to the current state of the collateral held and specify the criteria for acceptable risk.

The next step is to identify potential threats and indicate the vulnerability to assets resulting from these threats materializing. In order to assess the risk values are assigned for the probability of occurrence of a given event and values for potential effects of hazard materialization broken down for each of the safety attributes. The risk estimate is the product of these values. Depending on the estimates decisions are made regarding the management of individual risks (reduction, behaviour, avoidance or transfer of risk)[8].

The risk analysis for the personal data being processed is the starting point for the decision about the need for further, more formal risk analysis. Pursuant to art. 35 of Regulation 2016/679, the concept of impact assessment for the protection of personal data has been introduced. This process is required when processing may pose a high risk of violating the rights and freedoms of natural persons. Unless there is a formal requirement to carry out a risk analysis of all processing activities, in practice it is necessary due to the assessment of whether a given processing process is not exposed to high risk and thus does not require the administrator to carry out an impact assessment on the protection of personal data. Therefore, the imposition of a new obligation means that in practice the entities that process personal data must constantly conduct an analysis and risk assessment for the data being processed. Activities, including the processing context, control mechanisms, risk assessment, risk management are constantly looping and are designed to permanently monitor and improve the process (near Deming).

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[8] *Ibidem*.

Impact Assessment for Data Protection

The data protection impact assessment should be carried out where there is a high probability of a high risk of violating the rights and freedoms of persons whose data the controller processes. It should be used in particular in the case of data processing using new technologies. Regardless, several cases have been identified that always require an in-depth risk analysis. He belongs to them:
- – making decisions based on data processed in an automated manner, based on a comprehensive and systematic assessment of personal factors of natural persons (including profiling),
- – processing sensitive data and data on convictions and large scale violations of law,
- – systematically large-scale monitoring of publicly available places (GDPR)[9].

The President of the Office for Personal Data Protection also published a list of types of processing operations that require an assessment of the effects on personal data protection[10].

Violations of personal data, leading to property or non-pecuniary damage or physical damage to persons whose data is processed may occur due to the use of vulnerability by threats. The GDPR lists among others the basic catalogue of threats: situations where data processing could result in identity theft, discrimination, damage to good name, financial loss, disclosure of specific categories of data, deprivation of the possibility to exercise control over own data, creation of personal profiles based on the assessment of personal factors, processing of children, processing large personal data scale. In such cases, the EU legislators propose the use of special data protection methods, e.g. in the form of pseudonymisation or encryption. There is also a high probability that in the above cases it will be necessary to carry out an in-depth risk analysis of the data subjects' rights and freedoms.

The methodology for conducting an impact assessment for the protection of personal data should be carried out taking into account all the criteria indicated in the GDPR. The use of a comprehensive approach will allow compliance of the processing with regulations. The list of criteria is presented in the Working Group Guidelines 29 on data protection impact assessment and helps determine whether processing may cause high risk for the purposes of Regulation 2016/679[11]. After a proper assessment and taking steps to minimize the risk the administrator must

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[9] *Art. 35 Rozporządzenia Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady (UE) 2016/679 z dnia 27 kwietnia 2016 r. w sprawie ochrony osób fizycznych w związku z przetwarzaniem danych osobowych i w sprawie swobodnego przepływu takich danych oraz uchylenia dyrektywy 95/46/WE (ogólne rozporządzenie o ochronie danych).*

[10] *Komunikat Prezesa Urzędu Ochrony Danych Osobowych z dnia 17 czerwca 2019 r. w sprawie wykazu rodzajów operacji przetwarzania danych osobowych wymagających oceny skutków przetwarzania dla ich ochrony,* (M.P. 2019 poz. 666).

[11] *Wytyczne dotyczące oceny skutków dla ochrony danych oraz pomagające ustalić, czy przetwarzanie „może powodować wysokie ryzyko" do celów rozporządzenia 2016/679,* (WP 248 rev.01), <http://www.giodo.gov.pl/pl/file/12864> (15.06.2019).

decide whether the processing operation requires consultation with the supervisory authority, because if the administrator does not find sufficient resources to reduce the risk to an acceptable level (when the residual risk is still high), required there is such an action. The administrator must first of all present the purposes of the intended processing, measures to protect the processed data and an assessment of the effects on data protection. The supervisory authority issues recommendations in relation to the planned processing operation, then (after implementing the administrator's recom-mendations) decides whether the processing does not violate the provisions of the EU Regulation. A summary of the general risk assessment procedure and the data protection impact assessment is provided below at Figure 1.

Fig. 1. General risk assessment and data protection impact assessment.
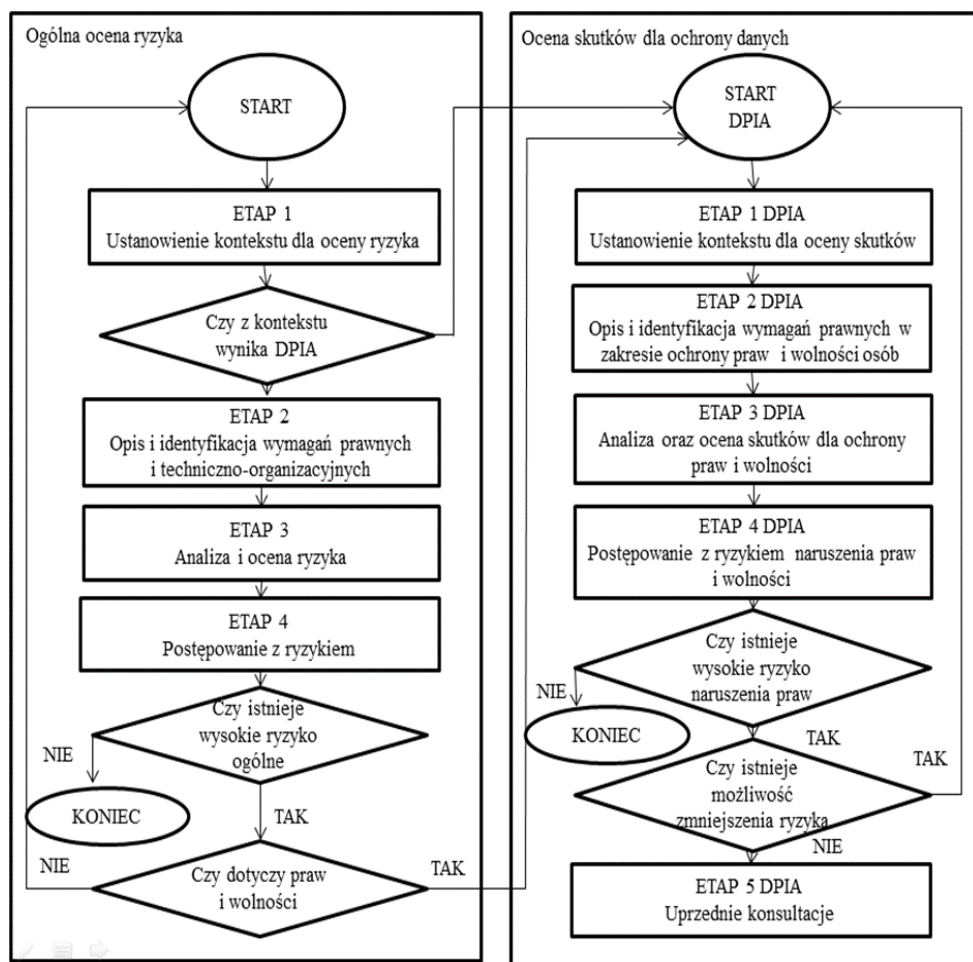
Source: J. Zawiła-Niedźwiecki, *Poradnik RODO…*

According to the presented scheme, the impact assessment for data protection is carried out after an overall risk assessment, when high general risk is assessed, unless the obligation for an in-depth analysis is required by law. Consultations with the President of the Office for Personal Data Protection are required when the administrator is not able to reduce the risk of violation of the rights and freedoms of natural persons as a result of processing their data.

The introduced requirement of risk analysis is covered by such seriousness that in the event of a high level of risk of violation of the rights and freedoms of natural persons, and the administrative and technical measures taken by the administrator are not able to reduce the risk to an acceptable level, the entity will be forced to resign from such processing.

The administrator, in special cases, before starting the processing operation must consult the natural persons whom the operation will concern, their representatives or experts. Opinions can be requested in any way. Such consultations are aimed at taking into account the perspective of others. However, it is recommended that in case of doubt as to whether an impact assessment should be carried out, it is recommended to implement it.

Conducting an impact assessment for the protection of personal data by the administrator is required before processing a given data set. This is due to the principles of including data protection in the design phase (privacy by design) and default data protection (privacy by default). DPIA is a continuous process that allows you to verify the adequacy of security measures used and improve security inadequate to dynamically changing threats. It should also be noted that in the case of DPIA it is not possible to transfer the risk of processing to another entity by dealing with risk, therefore it is crucial to attach special importance to the protection of the rights of individuals not only when planning a specific processing operation, but by default, also during all processing[12].

Impact Assessment for Data Protection in Public Sector Entities

As mentioned in the previous part of the article, the obligation to carry out an impact assessment on the protection of personal data is required if the processing activities meet the conditions specified in art. 35 GDPR or the criteria indicated in the Communication of the President of the Office for Personal Data Protection regarding the list of types of personal data processing operations that require an assessment of the effects of processing on their protection. In relation to public sector entities, running a DPIA is required, for example, at labour offices when profiling the unemployed for access to various forms of assistance without their consent. The assessment of the effects on data protection is also subject to monitoring carried out with the use of cameras placed on the uniforms of public officers, e.g. police, municipal police, fire

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[12] K. Pszczółkowski, *Metodyka zarządzania ryzykiem w ochronie danych osobowych, Fundacja Bezpieczeństwa Informacji Polska*, Warszawa 2018, p. 31.

brigade, because it uses elements of recognizing the properties and features of objects in the monitored area. Moreover, the recording of an intervention by an officer may involve the processing of specific categories of data, and therefore also be subject to an in-depth risk assessment.

The protection of the data subjects' rights and freedoms is directly related to the obligation to secure the processed data, contained in art. 35 GDPR. The level of security applied in the public sector raises concerns, as evidenced by the audit carried out last year (i.e. 2018) of NIK regarding the protection of electronic information resources. 31 local government units in Podlasie were inspected. In almost all entities the level of security of IT systems and network services was at an unsatisfactory or very low level[13]. This level of protection carries a risk of unauthorized access, theft and data loss. Therefore, it may lead to a violation of the privacy and property of citizens whose data is processed in the information systems.

Currently, few public sector entities are sufficiently aware in the sphere of data protection of which they are the administrator. Still, information security issues are neglected and the requirements of the general regulation based on the risk analysis of the data being processed are not respected.

According to the latest report on the activities of the President of the Office for Personal Data Protection in 2018, the President of the Office for Personal Data Protection carried out an inspection in the field of personal data processing as part of municipal video monitoring in two local government units. The audit identified weaknesses in the fact that no impact assessment on the protection of data processed under monitoring was carried out. Data processed using vision cameras, due to the lack of facial recognition and person tracking capabilities, do not constitute data of a particular category (biometric). However, given that cameras cover a large part of the city, data processing in the form of citizens' image takes place on a large scale, and therefore requires a data protection impact assessment. Because according to art. 35 section 3 letter c) GDPR, this assessment is required in particular in the case of systematic monitoring of publicly accessible places on a large scale[14].

In addition, the report emphasized that the documentation from the risk analysis carried out did not describe corrective actions and did not carry out a risk assessment for individual threats identified for processing activities requiring an assessment of the effects on personal data protection.

Another example of deficiencies in public administration turned out to be revealed in connection with the introduction by the Minister of Finance of the e-PIT portal threats resulting from the selection of authorization for the portal. Access to the taxpayer's PIT was possible after providing the amount of

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[13] *Informacje o obywatelach przechowywane przez instytucje samorządowe nie są bezpieczne*, <https://www.cyberdefence24.pl/bezpieczenstwo-informacyjne/informacje-o-obywatelach-przechowywane-przez-instytucje-samorzadowe-nie-sa-bezpieczne> (15.06.2019).
[14] *Sprawozdanie z działalności Prezesa Urzędu Ochrony Danych Osobowych*, <https://uodo.gov.pl/437>, (15.09.2019).

revenues for previous years and the PESEL number of the taxpayer. Such a catalogue of information necessary for authorization meant that the circle of people who could access the data could be extended to include an employer or an accountant[15].

The introduction of a new solution related to the processing of personal data of millions of taxpayers should be preceded by an impact assessment on the protection of personal data. It is true that the data contained in e-PIT are not, by definition, a specific category of data, however, taking into account the approach of Poles to the issue of remuneration - this information is usually important and constitutes the category of data that we usually protect more. The risk to the rights and freedoms of taxpayers associated with the processing of their data should be taken into account at the design stage of the portal (privacy by design). Perhaps such an analysis would allow us to identify the risk that was revealed at the stage of using the portal. In addition, it would give the opportunity to react and minimize the likelihood of negative consequences for portal users. Even if the basic analysis showed a high level of risk of violation of rights and freedoms, mandatory consultation with the supervisory authority could help identify weaknesses in the proposed solution. Currently, issues of ensuring user privacy should be a key element in the design of new information systems. This is of great importance especially for systems used in administration, mainly due to the scale at which data is processed. Performing a detailed and reliable risk analysis and (in justified cases) impact assessment for the protection of personal data allows you to respond to any threats at the production stage, and thus prevent the materialization of threats identified for individual processing processes.

As can be seen from the examples above, conducting risk analysis and impact assessment on data protection in the public sector remains a serious challenge. Considering that public sector entities process personal data of all citizens and individual processing processes are usually not able to opt out due to the high level of risk assessment, the processing will often require additional financial resources for security.

Summary

Risk analysis and impact assessment of personal data protection are a useful tool for data controllers to implement processing operations in accordance with applicable law. Therefore, a proactive approach to data protection based on risk management should not be treated as an annoying obligation, but as support in protecting the rights of persons whose data is processed. Observing the complexity of information management processes in the public sector the

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[15] S. Wikariak, *Niebezpieczeństwa wycieku informacji można było uniknąć*, <https://prawo.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/1399802,niebezpieczenstwa-wycieku-informacji-mozna-bylo-uniknac.html> (15.09.2019).

implementation of risk assessment methodologies for the protection of personal data into existing risk management systems seems necessary.

Undoubtedly, maintaining the security of processed data, aimed at minimizing the risk to the rights and freedoms of natural persons, is associated not only with the need to carry out impact assessments for the protection of personal data, but also analysis in areas related to the possibility of loss of confidentiality, integrity, availability of information resources or related to the claims of persons under the provisions of the GDPR. Only a holistic approach will allow the administrators to fulfil their obligations and the ability to demonstrate accountability.

Public sector units, in accordance with the National Interoperability Framework to ensure information security, should be adapted to the minimum requirements for public registers, exchange of information in electronic form and for ICT systems[16]. These national guidelines have been in operation since 2012, however, as indicated in the article, some institutions performing public tasks still have problems with managing IT systems. The attitude of management in public sector entities (especially in small entities) to the issue of ensuring information security is worrying.

It should be kept in mind that a proper management of personal data security in public sector entities is an extremely difficult task. This is due to the fact that many offices have a very extensive organizational structure and complicated processing procedures. In addition, they process specific categories of data and data on judgments that require the implementation of specific protection measures, which, with a often limited budget, can be a breakneck challenge. In addition, the use of appropriate protection measures reduces the likelihood of violations resulting in customer claims and loss of reputation. Conducting a risk analysis allows you to identify potential threats and decide what to do if it occurs. Due to reliable analysis, the administrator's reaction time is shortened when a threat materializes, which means that persons whose data have been violated have greater possibilities to minimize the possible negative effects of this event. As a result, the entity based on the risk-based model has a greater impact on the level of security of personal data being processed, and thus the security of persons whose data is being processed.

In conclusion, public sector entities, due to the scope, scale and categories of processed personal data of natural persons, should constantly monitor the level of security of processed information resources. The use of risk analysis and impact assessment for data protection is an instrument to assess what action should be taken to protect citizens' rights and freedoms. The use of risk assessment methodologies allows not only to meet the requirements of the GDPR, but also to increase the standards of the organization's functioning.

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[16] *Rozporządzenie Rady Ministrów z dnia 12 kwietnia 2012 r. w sprawie Krajowych Ram Interoperacyjności, minimalnych wymagań dla rejestrów publicznych i wymiany informacji w postaci elektronicznej oraz minimalnych wymagań dla systemów teleinformatycznych* (Dz. U. 2012 poz. 526).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the new provisions on the protection of personal data have been in existence for over a year, the examples of audits carried out in public sector entities and the introduction of technological solutions bypassing the principles of personal data protection indicate that not all entities already have developed and verified risk analyzes. Therefore, the development of reliable and adequate risk analysis and impact assessment for the protection of personal data is still a current challenge for public sector entities, which have a duty to protect the privacy of all data subjects.

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CONFLICT ZONES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Abstract:
One of the problems that are present not only on the international arena, but also on the work table, in the laboratories of virologists, in the scientific discourse of polymologists, political scientists, economists and specialists in other fields refers to the problem of the impact of COVID-19 virus on conflict zones. Although in the first three months of 2020 all the attention of the international community was focused on the emergence of COVID-19 virus and its impact on citizens, society and interpersonal relationships, it is worth paying attention to the conflict zones present in the world. At the end of the virus emergence, the international community's attention to conflict zones seems to be redirected to the issue of COVID-19. The purpose of this article is to analyze the impact of COVID-19 virus on conflict zones that are present on the international arena, such as those on the African continent, the Middle East, the Latin American continent and Europe.

Keywords:
international community, international relations, virus, conflict zones, Middle East, Africa, Latin America, European continent

One of the problems present on the work table and in the laboratories of virologists and biogenetists, but also in the scientific discourse of polymolo-

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gists, political scientists, economists and specialists in other fields refers to the problem of the impact of COVID-19 virus on conflict zones. Although in the first three months of 2020 all the attention of the international community was focused on the emergence of the COVID-19 virus and its impact on citizens, society and interpersonal relationships, it is worth paying attention to conflict zones around the world. Following the emergence of the virus, the international community's attention to conflict zones seems to have been abandoned. All attention was shifted to the issue of COVID-19. Although the emergence of COVID-19 virus is the main global problem, the presence of conflict zones in the international arena deserves special attention. In epidemics, especially in the case of viruses, the greatest disasters with local, regional and global impact appear.

Given the emergence of the virus, special attention should be paid to conflict zones. Namely, the population of the countries affected by the conflict – regardless of the war or its consequences, they are more vulnerable to the spread of the virus. In many cases, prolonged war or unrest, exacerbated by crisis management, the presence of corruption, and international sanctions, have weakened national health systems, demonstrating to the world the inability to cope with the COVID-19 virus. Thus, for a better understanding of the repercussions conditioned by the presence of the COVID-19 virus on conflict zones, there is a need to highlight the specific situation in these areas[3]. Starting with the reasoning and the situation prior to the emergence of COVID-19 virus, the Ebola epidemic in Guinea in 2014, Liberia and Sierra Leone, had a devastating impact on these states[4]. According to the Crisis Group, "at first, the virus spread uncontrollably, not only because of limited epidemiological monitoring and the lack of capacity and responsiveness of the health system, but also because people remained sceptical of government statements and its directives"[5].

In the case of conflicts, it is difficult for humanitarian, national and international actors to obtain help from the population in conflict zones. In 2019, the World Health Organization (WHO) and international NGO's fought the Ebola epidemic in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In some cases, the fighters targeted doctors and medical institutions themselves. Although the Congolese authorities and the WHO apparently managed to end the epidemic, it lasted and claimed many victims (a total of 2,264 confirmed deaths).

In many cases the impact of COVID-19 on refugees and displaced persons will continue to affect women, who are the majority of the displaced population in conflict regions. Stigmatized because of the real or presumed connection

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[3] *La vulnérabilité des populations vivant dans des situations de conflit*, <https://www.icrc.org/fr/nos-activites/coronavirus-pandemie-de-COVID-19> (04.05.2020).
[4] *Deportation and Disease: Central America's COVID-19 Dilemmas*, < https://www.crisis-group.org/fr/global/sb4-COVID-19-and-conflict-seven-trends-watch> (04.05.2020).
[5] *Ibidem*.

they had with the armed groups, these women face huge difficulties in accessing services and feeding their families. Displaced women and children, exposed to sexual exploitation or violence and whose reintegration into communities is not a priority of the weak or indifferent governments, will be the first to be affected by the economic crises that will accompany the spread of the virus.

The vulnerability to COVID-19 of the refugees and displaced persons is partly explained by the fact that the virus could seriously weaken the capacity of international institutions to act in conflict areas. WHO and representatives of other international agencies are concerned that virus will disrupt humanitarian supply chains. But humanitarian organizations are not the only actors in the multilateral system that can be affected. The potential effects of COVID-19 on specific stress points are amplified by the fact that the global system has already been redirected. Thus, the current period differs from other international crises. When the financial crisis caused a global economic slowdown in 2008, the United States still had enough effect to shape the international response through the G20 even though Washington was careful to involve Beijing in the process. In 2014, the United States took responsibility, albeit belatedly, for the West African Ebola crisis, with the help of countries such as the United Kingdom, France, China and Cuba. Today, the United States - whose international influence has already weakened considerably - simultaneously managed the national response to COVID-19, failed to unite other nations, conditioning international resentment. President Donald Trump not only insisted on the Chinese origin of the disease, but also criticized the EU's restraint[6].

Thus, for a better understanding of the problem, there is a need to develop an analysis of the situation in conflict areas. According to the position put forward by Catherine Chatignoux, the COVID-19 virus can eliminate, but can also intensify the dynamics and energy of wars[7].

The first area, characterized as one of the most conflict-ridden, is the Middle East. The Middle East is currently facing a convulsion that will have cross-border implications and will destabilize countries that managed to keep conflicts out of their borders. In countries where state capacity has become either severely diminished or non-existent, the consequences of COVID-19 could be transformative, extending the reports of gendarmes, terrorists and other armed substate actors who have filled government gaps by providing community services, in some cases combining this work with brutal subjugation. Hundreds of thousands of citizens were killed and millions displaced. Currently, the question arises, the COVID-19 virus that has affected

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[6] *Conflits, pollution, délinquance... les bonnes surprises du coronavirus*, <https://www.lesechos.fr/monde/enjeux-internationaux/conflits-pollution-deliquance-les-bonnes-surprises-du-coronavirus-1190152> (04.05.2020).
[7]*Ibidem.*

the entire world will diminish or intensify the dynamics and evolutions of conflicts in the world[8].

The outbreak of COVID-19 in Syria conditioned the ceasefire between the two main actors – the Russian Federation and the United States. The three million people living in the ceasefire area in the north-western region of the country, Idlib, had little hope that the agreement between the major geopolitical actors would be respected. However, both the United States and the Russian Federation, for fear of spreading the coronavirus throughout the devastated country, during the virus period seem to have accepted an armistice.

According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, the month of March recorded the lowest number of civilian deaths since the beginning of the conflict in 2011 (103 deaths). Also, the multiple administrations in Syria – the government in Damascus, the Kurdish autonomous administration in the northeast of the country and the alliance led by jihadists in Idlib, in order to manage the coronavirus have reached a common denominator. "This epidemic is a way for Damascus to show that the Syrian state is effective and that all territories should be returned under its governance"[9], said the analyst F. Balanche. However, the pandemic and global mobilization could precipitate the departure of US-led troops from Syria and neighbouring Iraq, which could create a vacuum in which the Islamic State jihadist group, which still withdrew from the disappearance of its 'caliphate' a year ago, could seek to intensify their attacks. For various actors on the ground – the regime, the Kurdish forces in the northeast and the anti-Damascus factions in Idlib – proper management of the epidemic would strengthen their credibility, but this would contribute to a security vacuum that would encourage a revival of the ISI (IS) group, whose 'caliphate' in Syria collapsed in March 2019. In nine years, the Syrian conflict has killed more than 380,000 people, and contributed to the displacement of millions of people who are vulnerable to the effects of virus[10].

Data provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 2019 indicates that more than 70 million people worldwide fell into the category of internally displaced persons, and this figure has certainly increased since then, especially as a result of events in Syria. History has shown that the effect of contamination is often exacerbated among people not only in ordinary places, but also in refugee camps. This risk exists for the COVID-19 pandemic, although in some regions the medical services in the camps are sometimes better than those in the surrounding region. UN officials are particularly concerned about the al-Hol camp in north-eastern Syria, which is home to more than 70.000 people, including women and children who fled the Islamic State's

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[8] R. Alaadin, *COVID-19 will prolong conflict in the Midlle East*, <https://www.broo-kings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/04/24/COVID-19-will-prolong-conflict-in-the-middle-east/> (04.05.2020).

[9] D. Lauras, *Virus 'disaster in the making' in war-torn Syria*, <https://tiny.pl/71k35> (30.06.2020).

[10] R. Alaadin, *op. cit.*

last stronghold at the time of its fall, including Syrian, and Iraqi citizens and about 10,000 citizens of other countries[11]. The number of those who were forced to live a life of destitution and misery is much higher. The war in Syria has displaced more than 12 million people (half its population) both internally and externally. A total of 6.5 million people have been displaced in Iraq and Yemen. In Libya, more than 435,000 people have been displaced. The astonishing statistics continue: About 11 million people need humanitarian aid in Syria; in Yemen – 24 million; in Libya – 2.4 million; and in Iraq – 4.1 million[12]. Many of the refugees sleep in fields or under trees, and the lack of running water and soap, as well as crowded homes or shelters, makes it impossible to apply basic hygiene and social distancing. Tests delivery was delayed by several weeks. Aid fears that a virus outbreak in Idlib will completely exceed the province's medical capacity, which would prevent the treatment of war victims. Syria's territory is currently divided into three areas: regime-controlled territories, north-eastern Kurdish territory and Idlib. COVID-19 raises the prospects for another wave of refugees that extends the capacity of neighbouring countries such as Turkey and Lebanon to respond to the humanitarian needs of these refugees. It also puts increasing pressure on the Western groups, such as the Kurdish-dominated Syrian Defence Forces (SDF), on which the West depends to maintain operations against ISIS and manage prison cells for detained ISIS fighters. The SDF also supports refugee camps such as Al-Hor, which host 70,000 refugees, including ISIS fighters and their families. Humanitarian development in Syria will worsen if these enclaves do not adopt a collective response to the pandemic. Field actors need to refrain from targeting supply lines and allow space for external assistance. Pro-Turkish forces have disrupted water supplies in Kurdish-owned areas in the northeast, compromising the ability of humanitarian agencies to protect vulnerable communities during the pandemic. Meanwhile, the Assad regime has refused to extend the support it receives from the WHO to areas outside its regime. This implicitly becomes a WHO indictment, which refuses to operate beyond Damascus. Such institutions are paralyzed and inadequate to conflict zones by design because of international norms that limit them from working under the limits of sovereignty, even though the Assad regime should certainly no longer enjoy the benefits of state sovereignty, having in view its irregular behaviour[13].

Also, the security barriers in areas currently affected by the conflict may impede the measures to combat COVID-19. Thus, Syria and Yemen have already suffered a health crises during the civil wars. The case of the polio epidemic in Syria in 2013-2014 and the cholera epidemic in Yemen in 2016 slowed down the violence in the area.

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[11] *Conflits, pollution, délinquance…*
[12] *Ibidem*.
[13] R. Alaadin, *op. cit.*

The war that has been going on since 2015 brought an already very weak health system to Yemen. More than 24 million people are in need of humanitarian aid. The COVID-19 epidemic could quickly overwhelm relief efforts and could cause one of the worst humanitarian disasters in the world. In Yemen and beyond, internally displaced persons, asylum seekers and refugees due to their precarious living conditions and limited access to healthcare are particularly vulnerable to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Saudi-led military coalition, which operates in Yemen in support of the governmental forces has announced a ceasefire saying that the unilateral decision is to prevent the spread of the coronavirus. The Huthi rebels, backed by Iran, have not yet responded. "We are preparing the ground to fight COVID-19 disease", said Saudi officials. Despite the UN ceasefire in March 2020 violence has risen in the country, which has been led by a five-year armed conflict. In recent years, negotiations have stalled in Yemen, which has suffered the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, according to the UN. Yemen also has a poor health care system while 24 million people, more than two-thirds of the population, need humanitarian assistance, according to the UN[14].

The Yemeni government and Hutus rebels initially responded to the UN call for a ceasefire, as neighbouring Saudi Arabia did, this time leading a military coalition in support of the government. That rare glimmer of hope in the five-year conflict was short-lived. The Saudi air defence intercepted ballistic missiles over Riyadh and a border town ceded to Iran-backed rebels. The Saudi-led coalition retaliated by hitting rebel-held Huthi targets in the Sanaa capital. Repeated discussions have failed. However, under the created conditions, the UN representative, M. Griffiths, organizes daily consultations in an attempt to cease fire at national level. As the world fights the pandemic, according to the Griffiths position, the parties must focus on mutual confrontation to ensure that the population does not face even greater risks. More violent outbreaks in Yemen could generate a humanitarian crisis and cause a coronavirus outbreak of a catastrophic proportions. In a country where health infrastructure has collapsed, where water is a scarce commodity and where 24 million people need humanitarian assistance, the population is afraid of being destroyed if it does not stop the fire and will not receive adequate help. "People will die on the streets, corpses will rot in the open air", said Mohammed Omar, a taxi driver in the port city of Hodeida from the Red Sea[15].

Unlike China, Europe and the USA, these countries are not affected by COVID-19. A spread in these often poor countries in conflict could have devastating consequences. The pandemic can lead to aggravation of conflicts, the humanitarian situation as well as the migration flow. The disease could also

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[14] *COVID-19: quel impact sur les conflits au Moyen-Orient?*, <-https://www.lapresse.ca/ international/moyen-orient/202004/09/01-5268664-COVID-19-quel-impact-sur-les-conf-lits-au-moyen-orient-.php> (04.05.2020).

[15] *COVID-19, accélérateur ou réducteur de conflits dans le monde?*, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1679756/coronavirus-impacts-conflits-planete> (04.05.2020).

reduce the energy of belligerents who will fight, say some experts. According to Robert Malley, chairman of the Washington-based International Crisis Group, the virus will certainly diminish the capacity and the will of states as well as the international system. These conflicts, brutal and violent as they are, will become imperceptible and inaudible to many states. However, the UN representatives, who are struggling to cope, are monitoring the evolution of conflicts and the situation of countries in crisis[16].

In some sub-regions of the Middle East, there are conflicts with high rates of violence, social instability and fragility in political structures, circumstances that contribute to creating scenarios of misery and devastation, under the control of external actors and institutional vulnerability which are considered an opportunity for terrorism to return to its agenda. The Islamic State can reorganize and take advantage of the situation to resume strategic positions in Iraq and Syria, an opportunity that is combined with the withdrawal of international forces following the resolution of the Iraqi parliament in January 2020 or the unrest in Idlib and Homs in Syria. The outbreak of COVID-19 in the region is a possibility of violence in the future.

Terrorism occurs in the chaos of the world. When history itself inherits war and decay, combined with circumstantial facilitators, regions become areas of risk and threat; they become a fertile ground for the emergence of new violence or the consolidation of old crimes.

There are cases where there is a perception of a cooling in tensions or international conflicts in itself, a secondary effect that is often temporary, because the actors have to return to participate in internal complications. However, when the situation resumes, the initial conflict conditions change also or they can stop, which may have different dimensions of temporality or severity. This makes the conflict not be the same after the conflict, exceeding the variable that interrupted it.

It can be the case of the conflict between the United States and Iran, which reached a critical point in January 2020, with the conduct of several conventional and unconventional military operations. Direct confrontations led to a slight recession, military activities were limited to offending Allied militias on other fronts in the Middle East, expanding to cyber actions, and the point of greatest pressure shifted to diplomatic and economic spheres. Iran faces four sides that add to the severity of the impact of COVID-19: one that comes from economic sanctions and restrictions; the derivative of the volatility of fossil fuel prices; increasing social discontent; and the latent - though seemingly passive - military threat to its regional rivals. On the other hand, the United States has become the most affected country in recent days in terms of the number of infections and deaths on the planet. For these reasons, both countries have taken a mandatory step back to solve their internal problems, creating a temporary relaxation that will present different conditions after its resumption. On the

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[16] *Ibidem.*

other hand, the temporary elimination of the conflict does not mean the dissolution of military action[17]. Western countries have been hit by the pandemic, which could lead them to divert both military resources and the ability to mediate peace. Iraq is no longer in full conflict, but remains vulnerable to the resurgence of Daesh in some regions. With most non-US troops that are formed by the coalition of France and Britain now gone and some bases evacuated, the US personnel is regrouped in some locations in Iraq. Washington has launched Patriot air defence missiles sparking fears of a new escalation with Tehran, whose representatives blame them for rocket attacks on bases housing the American troops.

Similar to the situation in Yemen, the main protagonists of the Libyan conflict initially welcomed the UN call for a ceasefire, but quickly resumed hostilities. Fierce fighting has shaken southern Tripoli's capital suggesting that the risk of a major outbreak of coronavirus is not enough to silence the weapons. Turkey has played a key role in the conflict, throwing its weight behind the government. Thus, according to F. Balanche's position, the accelerated disconnection of the West from the conflicts in the Middle East could limit Turkish support for the GNA. This could ultimately favour forces loyal to the powerful of Eastern origin, Khalifa Haftar, who launched an attack on Tripoli in 2019 and has the support of Russia, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. Western countries have been hit by the pandemic, which could lead them to divert both military resources and the ability to mediate peace from external conflicts. A report by the International Crisis Group said that European officials had reported that efforts to ensure a ceasefire in Libya were no longer effective due to the pandemic[18].

The protagonists of Libyan conflict welcomed the call of the United Nations for a ceasefire in March 2020. The fight, however, intensified affecting several residential areas in the Capital. The violence has displaced 200.000 people since the beginning of the year, the vast majority in the capital, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Agilities have damaged a hospital in Tripoli where COVID-19-infected patients are being treated. "There is still a huge gap between statements and actions", said Guterres, the UN envoy on the situation in Libya. In this conflict, Turkey supports the UN-recognized government in Tripoli, which has been facing an offensive against Marshal Khalifa Haftar for a year. According to F. Balanche, a Western disengagement from conflicts in the region could favour pro-Haftar forces supported by Russia, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. Western countries have been hardly hit by the pandemic, which could push them to divert military resources from external conflicts, but also to weaken the

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[17] *El COVID-19 y el estado de los conflictos internacionales*, <http://revistafal.com/el-COVID-19-y-el-estado-de-los-conflictos-internacionales/> (04.05.2020).

[18] *What impact is COVID-19 having on Middle East conflicts?*, <https://www.bang-kokpost.com/world/1893535/what-impact-is-COVID-19-having-on-middle-east-conflicts-> (04.05.2020).

negotiation process. According to a report by the International Crisis Group (ICG), efforts to ensure a ceasefire in Libya are "no longer receiving attention" from Western states[19].

In Libya, as F. Wehrey pointed out, the pandemic has given the militia a boost giving them an opportunity to channel healthcare to their fighters and to instrument the crisis to reward and strengthen patronage networks and favoured communities. Disturbingly, the hospitals in Libya are threatened by rocket attacks, which are aggravating the situation[20].

Iraq is no longer in full conflict, but remains vulnerable to a resurgence of IS in some regions. Iran and the United States are two of the most affected countries by the coronavirus, but there has been no sign of giving up their fight for influence, which has been largely played on Iraqi territory. With most of the non-US coalition troops now missing and some bases evacuated, US personnel are now regrouped in an area of Iraq. Washington has launched Patriot air defence missiles, raising fears of a new escalation with Tehran, whose representatives blame them for launching rocket attacks[21].

In Iraq, ISIS has stepped up its attacks in northern Iraqi villages and is moving to exploit the growing list of crises in Baghdad - from escalating US-Iran, falling oil prices and nationwide protests. During a public health crisis, ISIS can revive and expand its influence by responding to the needs of local communities in a way that other authorities – such as the Baghdad government – didn't do. At least, the failures in Baghdad allow ISIS to position itself as a viable alternative[22]. Even though the war in Iraq has already ended, the country remains threatened by a resurgence of IS in some regions, while tensions between the United States and Iran show no signs of a possible compromise. Washington has just deployed anti-aircraft batteries, raising fears of a new escalation with Iran, whose Iraqi deputies are responsible for the missiles launched on the Green Zone in Baghdad, where the US embassy and bases hosting US soldiers are located[23].

Fear of the pandemic has not stopped ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan, and leaders of the extremist group of Islamic State have openly encouraged supporters to launch global attacks. Meanwhile, blockades, quarantine and travel bans can weaken ceasefire monitoring and peacekeeping missions in conflict zones around the world[24].

The peace process launched between the Taliban and the government of President Ashraf Ghani on the background of the virus seems to be successful.

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[19] *COVID-19: quel impact sur les conflits au Moyen-Orient?*, *op. cit.*
[20] R. Alaadin, *op. cit.*
[21] *What impact is COVID-19 having on Middle East conflicts?*, *op. cit.*
[22] R. Alaadin, *op. cit.*
[23] *COVID-19: quel impact sur les conflits au Moyen-Orient?, op. cit.*
[24] *Peace and the pandemic: the impact of COVID-19 on conflict in Asia*, <https://devpolicy.org/peace-and-the-pandemic-the-impact-of-COVID-19-on-conflict-in-asia-20200414/> (04.05.2020).

There are chances of a ceasefire in Afghanistan. President Ashraf Ghani is facing an ongoing political crisis, the US anger over a compromised peace process and a growing coronavirus epidemic, which officials fear could upset the country's prisons.

Talks on the exchange of detainees between the Kabul government and the Taliban insurgents hit a roadblock after the insurgents left the dialogue rejecting the release of Kabul as captives 'unacceptable'. The Taliban plan to release 5.000 of its fighters in exchange for 1.000 Afghan soldiers according to the US-Taliban agreement. Kabul wants to release fewer fighters, the release being done in stages. He also wants the intra-Afghan talks to be successful until the release of the last Taliban fighters. The Taliban group is willing to temporarily suspend fighting against Afghan forces in areas hit by the coronavirus, rejecting news reports that the group could declare a ceasefire amid the pandemic[25].

Fear of the COVID-19 virus promptly shut down the flow of migration to the Greek-Turkish border. Fear of contamination has convinced Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the Turkish president, to close the border posts with Greece, which have been opened a week earlier on March 18, providing a corridor for tens of thousands of trouble-free migrants and asylum seekers in Turkey to move to Europe. Thus, the Coronavirus defeated one of the most authoritarian leaders in the region – President Erdogan[26].

Against the background of the coronavirus, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict does not bring any respite. Israel continues its attacks on the occupied West Bank villages and towns and calls for the release of about 5,000 Palestinians from Israeli prisons. The requests were rejected by Tel Aviv. Palestinians have launched a plan demanding $137 million from international donors for their response to COVID-19, but officials say there is little funding available as Western countries tackle their own crises. The Palestinian government could struggle to pay full salaries to its employees, but tens of thousands of Palestinians working in Israel to support their families returned home with no payment during the crisis. Despite the coronavirus, Israelis and Palestinians do not seem to break the ice on difficult issues.

In the context of the analysis of the COVID-19 virus repercussions on the conflictogenic areas, the Kashmir area also deserves attention. Thus, Indian-administered Kashmir is equally affected by the virus. COVID-19 hit the most militarized area in the world. India has not paid attention to the UN's 'ceasefire' call, as its military continues to besiege villages and the state internally. Despite the pandemic and the region's poorest health infrastructure, India has also launched a new 'settlement' plan to allow non-local Indians who meet certain criteria to take up jobs and properties in the disputed region. India also rejected

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[25] *No Ceasefire For African Conflicts Amidst COVID-19*, <https://theowp.org/no-ceasefire-for-african-conflicts-amidst-COVID-19/> (04.05.2020).
[26] *Conflits, pollution, délinquance…, op. cit.*

calls for the release of thousands of Kashmiri prisoners in Indian prisons. Meanwhile, the armies of Pakistan and India, *de facto*, have skidded on the border-line of Control that divides Kashmir into administered portions of Pakistan and India[27].

As the COVID-19 pandemic spreads to conflict areas, the impact will be unpredictable and catastrophic. These areas are usually inaccessible, dangerous and politically complex. COVID-19 is already beginning to expose fractures, prejudices and weaknesses among many marginalized or conflict-affected populations. Existing discrimination against minority ethnic or religious groups is intensifying as they are considered to be spreading the virus. In Pakistan, Shiite minority Muslims have been accused of importing the virus from Iran, creating serious implications for community tensions and a challenge for those who organize a comprehensive response[28]. From urban neighbourhoods in India to rural areas in South-East Asia- advice from the UN and WHO officials on COVID-19 was rejected.

This example shows how sudden crises can break patterns of behaviour, sometimes generating a common interest in ending violence. In other cases, a major crisis such as COVID-19 can lead to more conflicts. Governments are already taking advantage of emergency legislation and a distracted international media to suppress their rivals. In February 2020, the Government of Myanmar carried out air and ground attacks on a group of Arakan's army in a heavily populated area of Rakhine State, which struck hard while the world was distracted[29].

No less worrying is the situation in the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh: more than a million people live in overcrowded shelters and sanitation services are kept to a minimum. Because the government bans internet access and mobile phone services in camps, residents have limited access to information on disease prevention, which could save lives. At the same time the high rate of malnutrition can increase the risk of contagion between refugees and the local population. If COVID-19 enters the camps, according to humanitarian mission representatives, the virus will spread, which could trigger a hostile reaction from Bangladeshis living in the surrounding areas and already exasperated by the prolonged presence of refugees.

There is a growing concern about a possible outbreak of COVID-19 in Bangladesh-Rohingya's largest refugee camp. Dhaka has detained nearly one million refugees in Myanmar's Rakhine state. According to humanitarian agencies, approximately 350.000 displaced people are vulnerable to the disease. Experts have warned that Cox disease in Bazaar (Bangladesh) could spread rapidly through crowded, sewer-soaked alleys, where the persecuted Muslim minority is housed in canvases and bamboo boats[30]. The Bangladeshi

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[27] *What impact is COVID-19 having on Middle East conflicts?*, op. cit.

[28] *Peace and the pandemic: the impact of COVID-19 on conflict in Asia*, op. cit.

[29] *Ibidem*.

[30] *Deportation and Disease: Central America's COVID-19 Dilemmas*, op. cit.

government has also restricted mobile internet access for nearly 900.000 Rohingyas from refugee camps around Bazaar. People suspected of carrying the virus are stigmatized, which leads to underrepresentation of symptoms and failure to seek treatment.

There are precedents for the cooperation of states with the aim of resolving or reducing the intensity of conflicts. International agencies have supported cooperation across the lines of conflict when organizing mass vaccination campaigns. Non-state armed groups have already assumed some responsibility for COVID-19 responses. Myanmar's strongest non-state armed group, the Wa Wa State Army, quickly introduced travel restrictions and launched public health information campaigns[31].

In Mali, the situation remains also tense. Mali held late parliamentary elections, despite an insurgency in the central and northern regions. Mali's main opposition leader, Soumaila Cisse, was ambushed in March 2020 while campaigning in the northern region of Timbuktu. The attackers killed his bodyguard taking Cisse and six members of his delegation hostage.

Since 2004, southern Thailand has been fighting a bloody confrontation between the local armed cells and the Thai army. Hundreds of shootings, bombings, reprisals and revenge attacks have killed more than 7.000 people. The threat of COVID-19 has led to a minor decrease in the situation, as the main rebel faction has informally decided to postpone hostilities until the pandemic is present[32].

In the context of the emergence of the COVID-19 virus, the African continent is now the prelude to a possible tragedy. States on the continent have faced diseases such as Ebola, AIDS or malaria. Government in many cases is unable to help due to internal concerns, the reduction of the COVID-19 outbreak. Although the epidemic could disrupt some of the violence and terrorist insurgencies in the strip stretching from Somalia to Senegal, this is by no means a consolation, because, in a likely emergency, the violence will take on a different dynamic. There are conflicts and violence that are just beginning. The challenges that now threaten global public health as severely as the international economic system will have difficult-to-diagnose implications for the development of pre-existing conflicts. The 'civil' war in Libya, beyond showing signs of distinction, has increased in intensity, despite the growing number of outbreaks in North Africa. Both the UN-recognized Tripoli government - backed mainly by Algeria, Qatar and Turkey – and Khalifa Haftar's national army - backed by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, France and Russia – know they can't stop the conflict even in the event of a pandemic. In this case, the emergence of COVID-19 can act as a catalyst for conflict[33].

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[31] *Peace and the pandemic: the impact of COVID-19 on conflict in Asia, op. cit.*
[32] *Ibidem.*
[33] *El COVID-19 y el estado de los conflictos internacionales, op. cit.*

Somalia, a country in the Horn of Africa, is also affected by the virus. Coronavirus could, in fact, be more widespread and could soon overwhelm the health system of a country that has been in conflict for almost three decades. Somalia was plunged into chaos with the fall of autocrat Mohamed Siad Barre in 1991, and is now facing regular attacks by the al Qaeda-linked militant group Al Shabab.

Defence forces in southern Cameroon (SOCADEF) are noticing a temporary ceasefire due to the coronavirus outbreak. Its leader, Ebenezer Akwanga, said his group would cease fire between March 29 and April 12, 2020 in order to allow humanitarian assistance and testing the people in the area. According to SOCADEF, the majorly French-speaking nation has been marginalized. For three years, Akwanga's group has been fighting the government forces in English-speaking regions trying to create a separate state called 'Ambazonia'. However, there is no indication that the Red Dragon, Tiger and Ambassador Defense Forces – major rebel groups seeking independence in Cameroon's English-speaking areas – will cease fire on the back of the coronavirus[34].

Northern Mexico is a no less pessimistic picture. It gives the image of a state whose population is economically affected, a circumstance that reflects the strengthening of groups associated with criminal acts against society in regions where there is a lack of governance. Mafias dedicated to the production or distribution of illicit substances in the world, as well as those responsible for the illegal trafficking of goods, have been affected by the sharp drop in demand. The reaction of each organization will depend on their specific circumstances, in some cases they will have to migrate to other illegal activities, such as theft, extortion or cybercrime; in other cases, they will become more violent and try to use the opportunity to expand. Otherwise, in some regions of Latin America or Asia criminal groups will become important allies in monitoring compliance with social isolation[35].

In Venezuela, as the Crisis group announced in 2016, the clash between the Chavist government and the opposition has compromised health services. States trying to stop the spread of the virus will certainly be worried about the arrival of new flows of refugees. Colombia and Brazil, for example, which initially welcomed those fleeing the crisis in Venezuela, have closed their borders, but the need to escape the worsening poverty and health risks in Venezuela could lead to the illegal crossing of Venezuela border of an increasing number of migrants.

The COVID-19 crisis could also worsen the humanitarian crisis in Central America, partly linked to the Trump administration's immigration policies and an increase of the already high number of violent crimes. After announcing the

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[34] *How COVID-19 is impacting major global conflicts*, <https://www.trtworld.com/life/how-COVID-19-is-impacting-major-global-conflicts-35292> (04.05.2020).
[35] *El COVID-19 y el estado de los conflictos internacionales, op. cit.*

closure of its southern border for all traffic, starting March 21 2020, the United States is looking for measures to prevent the flow of migrants and refugees from Central America. El Salvador and Guatemala banned all flights of Central American nationals expelled from the United States in mid-March. The ban has been lifted in Guatemala, but it is unclear whether the United States can continue evacuations while the two countries have banned all international passenger flights.

In a context in which Central America's already fragile economies are under strong pressure, expulsions from the United States and Mexico could expose an increasing number of these displaced populations to a cold reception in their country, as national populations can be worried about spreading the virus. Many deportees may have no choice either to return to the border with the United States, using human trafficking networks, or becoming victims or accomplices of criminal groups and gangs that are present throughout the region.

One of the largest centres of virus spread in Europe was Italy. Rome's decision to quarantine the entire country and isolate the population - 60 million people - provoked an immediate reaction from neighbouring states. Austria, Slovenia, Hungary and Switzerland are strengthening control at the Italian borders, checking the health of passengers and requiring medical certificates. Flights and travel are limited. As of March 16, Germany has closed its borders with Austria, Denmark, France and Switzerland. The virus virtually eliminates the European free movement area[36].

The coronavirus pandemic did not cause the disappearance of international conflicts, but the intensity of some became lower. Thus, according to the statements made by S. Markedonov, an employee of the Euro-Atlantic Security Centre MGIMO, due to the spread of coronavirus, international conflicts have not disappeared – the conflict continues in Syria, Donbass and Nagorno-Karabakh. For example, in Donbass there was an exchange of prisoners of war, people returned to their families. But many problems remain unresolved. In addition, as Markedonov noted, the COVID-19 virus has not affected the confrontation between the Russian Federation and Western countries, and no one has begun to lift sanctions from Iran in the midst of a pandemic[37].

To date, large outbreaks of COVID-19 have occurred in prosperous and relatively stable countries – these are China, Iran, Japan, Italy and South Korea. Each of these states has a strong central government and organized medical services. But in countries with less developed health systems the virus will be harder to fight and detect. This is true for some African states, as well as for the war-torn territories of Syria, Libya or Yemen. Another major problem is the many refugees in the Middle East in Europe. In fact, these people were beyond

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[36] *Koronawiruswlijajet nie tolko na mirowuju politiku. Objasniajem poczemu*, <https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/7968279> (04.05.2020).

[37] *Ekspiert ocenił wlijanijekoronawirusa na mieżdunarodnyje konflikty*, <https://ria.ru/20200420/1570317749.html> (04.05.2020).

any social guarantees. They live in crowded camps, in poor sanitation. This makes them the most vulnerable target for a pandemic. Millions of immigrants are scattered in Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey, Syria and Iran. The uncontrolled movement of people without access to basic care will only increase the spread of the disease.

Thus, analyzing the situation in conflict zones, we can conclude that the repercussions of COVID-19 virus can be devastating not only for poorly developed states but also for the developed ones.

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- ✓ *No Ceasefire For African Conflicts Amidst COVID-19*, <https://theowp.org/no-ceasefire-for-african-conflicts-amidst-COVID-19/>
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WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION
– SCENE OF AMERICAN-CHINESE CONFRONTATIONS

Abstract:
The activity of the World Health Organization is now becoming a topic in disputes between the big power centres – the USA and China. The role of the WHO is also becoming a research topic not only for researchers in medical sciences, but also for political specialists in international relations. With the COVID-19 crisis, the WHO is becoming a scene of the major challenges – the USA and China. This Article aims to highlight the USA and China relations with reference to the work of the WHO, including the effectiveness of the organization with a global pandemic such as that of the COVID-19.

Keywords:
China, USA, WHO, COVID-19 crisis, pandemics, confrontation.

The role of the World Health Organization (WHO) in dealing with the COVID-19 crisis is one of the topics that is present not only in disputes between the big power centres – the USA and China, but also in the speech of representatives of the academic community concerns the work and role of international organizations, in particular. The COVID-19 crisis is becoming a subject of deciphering not only of the researchers in medical sciences but also of the political specialists about half a year after the emergence of the biggest

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global crisis that existed after World War II[3]. Thus, in order to better understand the situation created around the WHO's work, there is a need to take a brief look back on the WHO's appearance and activity, and to submit the triad to the analysis of relations USA and China, USA and WHO, China and WHO.

The World Health Organization has a history of 72 years and functions as a special agency within the United Nations. It was founded on 7 April 1948[4]. Initially, the International Health Bureau was created at the initiative of the US, in 1902 to ensure better health security for the United States of America. The work and existence of the Bureau focused on the philanthropic measures of American billionaires. However, practice has shown the Office's inability to end the diseases and epidemics present on the international arena, over the years. Instead, the work of the Bureau made it conditional, without having too many barriers, on the expansion of USA influence throughout the world into new areas of the world. The specific diseases have been selected to develop vaccines, so diseases are the most problematic ones can be defeated or mitigated without costly social programs and without calling into question the privileges of the rich. One of the Bureau's aims was not to create a truly healthy world, but simply to prevent or mitigate pandemics, as they expand, have a fairly damaging effect on profits and social stability. The International Health Office is thus replaced by the World Health Organization (WHO) which has officially become the coordinating authority in the field of global health since 1948[5].

After World War II, the WHO had found its supremacy. The WHO's efforts to vaccinate the world against pox in 1979 have led to the epidemic being cleared. The 80 clashes between the USA and the USSR contributed to the decline of the WHO's activity on the international arena. In line with the position of the then President of the United States Ronald Reagan, the United Nations and the post-war order retained the 'development' of the United States and thus reduced the financing of the United Nations, which in turn reduced the WHO budget. Therefore, in the years 1980s and 1990s the WHO activity became more irrelevant and unable to organize efforts to combat diseases.

Today the organization brings together 192 Member States, which it supports in developing health and strengthening health services. It also lays down the international standards and norms, conducts staff training, promotes research and supervises pandemics. In the latter area, the WHO Member States adopted the International Health Regulations (RIS) in 1951. Under this

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[3] D. Morley, *L'impotenza dell'OMS e le relazioni tra Cina e Stati Uniti*, <https://www.ri-voluzione.red/limpotenza-delloms-e-le-relazioni-tra-cina-e-stati-uniti/> (15.06.2020).

[4] N. Ronzitti, *Le istituzioni internazionali di fronte all'emergenza*, <https://www.affair-internazionali.it/2020/04/COVID-19-e-istituzioni-internazionali/> (11.06.2020).

[5] *Cine finanţează Organizaţia Mondială a Sănătăţii, cea mai populară instituţie a crizei COVID-19: OMS are mai mulţi bani decât Crucea Roşie şi Medici Fără Frontiere la un loc*, <https://www.zf.ro/business-international/cine-finanteaza-organizatia-mondiala-a-sanatatii-cea-mai-populara> (12.06.2020).

Regulation, States have undertaken to "prevent the international spread of diseases [...] and respond to them with proportionate public health action [...], avoiding the creation of unnecessary barriers to international trade and trafficking"[6].

According to the provisions of the Regulation, the organization has the right to declare an international public health emergency (which was declared on 30 January 2020, requiring the States to take measures to combat coronavirus). For the first time the Regulation was revised in 1969, but, given the evolution of infectious diseases and epidemic crises which have been increasing since the end of the 20th century, it proved to be inadequate to the WHO work. After ten years of crisis and epidemic-driven reflections (particularly the SARS epidemic), the text of the Regulation was reviewed in 2005. The new amendments were introduced in the text of the Regulation allow the WHO General Directorate to declare an international health emergency, which allows it to take action, make recommendations and call for the mobilization of the international community as a whole. The WHO General Directorate may also convene the Emergency Committee composed of experts, whose opinion shall be purely advisory. In 2009, during the H1N1 pandemic, the decision to keep the identity of the 16 members of the secret Committee in order to protect them from external influences actually contributed to the suspected collision between the WHO and the pharmaceutical industry. It also requires the States to develop means to ensure the control of 'public health events' on their territory. The epidemic situation demonstrated in autumn 2019 that only 57% of countries developed the minimum capacities needed to cope with an exceptional state. The Ebola epidemic recalled the need to support fragile States in West Africa in 2014 in advance to strengthen their health systems and to intervene rapidly when an epidemic occurs on their territory. For this reason, in 2016, the WHO implemented a health emergency program with its own budget, and which develops operational response capacities more quickly, in particular in fragile States (who, for example, sent test packages on the African continent?)[7].

Although the Regulation is a legal document, there are no special enforcement mechanisms for a country that the WHO can exercise. Its work is supported by the Member States, including the USA. This legislation requires countries to alert the international Community through the body when they have problems with the presence of certain diseases. The first test was the H1N1 influenza pandemic for this Regulation since 2009. In the case of this, the WHO was accused of rapid and exaggerated action at a time of economic crisis. A few years later, in 2014, the position was opposed of the criticism concerning the WHO activity: it is considered that the WHO has belatedly

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[6] F. Forni, *EE.UU. y suspensión de pagos a la OMS: Líderes mundiales se lanzan en picada contra Trump*, <https://www.latercera.com/la-tercera-pm/noticia/eeuu-y-suspension-de-pagos-a-la-oms-lideres-mundiales-se-lanzan-en-picada-contra-trump/> (29.05.2020).
[7] M. Louis, *¿Para qué sirve la Organización Mundial de la Salud?* <https://nuso.org/articulo/para-que-sirve-la-organizacion-mundial-de-la-salud/> (12.06.2020).

reconfirmed the outbreak of Ebola in Western Africa (the disease has claimed more than 11.300 lives)[8].

As a result, the states should establish national surveillance mechanisms and report 'public health events' (such as the detection of infectious diseases such as COVID-19) to the WHO. The Ebola epidemic stressed in West Africa in 2014 that it needed well-organized and well-funded health systems. The WHO is then responsible for disseminating information to other Member States and for coordinating the international response[9].

Thus, the World Health Organization does not have autonomous investigative powers in the Member States, which is clearly the leading institution in the health field, but relies on the reports that has to send in accordance with the provisions of the international health regulations, revised in 2005 after the SARS epidemic. According to the provisions of the official documents, the WHO may declare the existence of a pandemic[10].

Established in Geneva, the organization employs over 7.000 people from 150 countries and has an income of $4,4 billion in 2019. The organization's money is used on programs for access to medical services, but also on projects in cases of medical emergency. The organization's biggest financiers are the United States, the United Kingdom and the foundation funded by the founder of Microsoft its giant Bill Gates and his wife Melinda. "The functioning of the WHO is based on two major sources of income. One is the contributions that the 192 Member States make each year, and other contributions from donations and sponsorships coming to the organization. The USA side is the largest contribution to the Organization's budget, ranging from 200 to 450 million USD annually, which corresponds to 15% of the organization's total funding. This value depends on year-on-year basis and is the highest contribution provided by the WHO States, as opposed to the contribution of China which is around 40 million USD annually"[11]. China's input was mostly close to 76 million USD in 2018 and 2019, according to the WHO website. The WHO also has a significantly more significant budget than the Red cross and borderless doctors put together. The WHO budget is 60% higher than the Red cross budget and three times higher than the budget of doctors without Borders[12].

If we look at the funding, only for the period February-April 2020, the WHO needed money: a total of 675 million USD, including 61,5 million USD for despite emergency situations, the WHO received up to 29,5 million USD

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[8] I. Gutiérrez, *La OMS, un órgano sin poder ejecutivo atrapado en el fuego cruzado entre EEUU y China en plena pandemia*, <https://www.eldiario.es/internacional/oms-ejecutivo-eeuu-china-coronavirus.html> (12.05.2020).

[9] A. Guilbaud, *Que peuvent les organisations internationales face au coronavirus?* <https://www.latribune.fr/opinions/tribunes/que-peuvent-les-organisations-internationales-face-au-coronavirus.html> (11.06.2020).

[10] N. Ronzitti, *op. cit.*

[11] *Cine finanţează…, op. cit.*

[12] *Ibidem.*

from the US, including 9,5 million from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the United States' largest donor. Funding for the organization is always difficult, as Member States are reluctant to invest in the organization. This 'donor dependency' limits the WHO's room for manoeuvre and underlines the extent to which its coordination role depends on cooperation with the funding States[13].

The work of the WHO is currently subject to criticism. A first example of the work of the organization under criticism is its fight against the SARS epidemic in 2003. The criticism of his work is due to the fact that, in that crisis, the WHO had the courage to force China into its insufficient response to the pandemic and to dictate to the world the measures needed to combat the disease, which eventually spread less than the current coronavirus. Unlike the USA-centre of power, China held a less influential position in the international arena in 2003. Therefore, the WHO, with the support of the United States, has managed to make its presence felt on the international arena. The financial crisis of 2008 marked a fundamental moment in the history of the WHO's work and the so-called swine flu epidemic from 2009 (it has not proved to be particularly lethal) has seen the who as being rather aggressive in efforts to isolate States, which has obviously caused damage to the economy[14].

The World Health Organization became the most popular institution during the COVID-19 crisis. The coronavirus crisis has become a battlefield between China and the USA[15]. At the same time, the Organization was threatened by the USA President Donald Trump that it would remain without USA funding. President Trump accused the WHO of being subordinate to China and of not being strong enough and transparent during the period of the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, an investigation by the associated press shows that Chinese officials concealed important data at the beginning of the pandemic and that WHO officials were aware of the situation but preferred only to publicly thank China for their collaboration.

Thus, on 8 May, the United Nation was unable to give a resolution on the coronavirus pandemic. It was unable to adopt this resolution because of the differences between the USA and China. The United States wanted the resolution to attribute the spread of the virus to the lack of 'transparency': in other words, it wanted the Chinese state to take responsibility for the emergence of the pandemic. China has opposed it, insisting that the resolution refers to the role of the body of UN – the World Health Organization. The United States, for their part, have contested this recommendation and no resolution has therefore been adopted. This refusal to recognize the role of the WHO, according to Icíar Gutiérrez is the new tactic of Trump administration, although the overall strategy is not a new one[16]. The USA administration has

[13] A. Guilbaud, *op. cit.*
[14] D. Morley, *op. cit.*
[15] I. Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*
[16] *Ibidem.*

blamed the WHO for the crisis and seeking to distract the international community from the management of the pandemic, saying that the WHO has covered the mistakes made by China. As a result, the USA has spoken out for the reduction of the organization's funding, which is a relevant one, because the USA government is (and has been) its main donor. Washington's decision appears as a strategy to influence Beijing's policy.

The WHO activity during the COVID-19 epidemic is increasingly challenged, with the main reasons being: Initial underestimation (e.g. in terms of infectiveness); untimely interventions (e.g. the declaration of an international public health emergency – PHEIC – and subsequently a pandemic); Conflicting guidelines (e.g. on the use of personal protective equipment (PPE); concessions to the Chinese Government, despite its responsibility for spreading contagion, even when it tried, to transfer responsibility to other States, in particular an EU Member State – Italy. The WHO is also particularly accused of not having verified in time the information provided by China on the origin and evolution of the contagion, thus contributing to the delay in global action to combat the pandemic. It should also be noted that Taiwan is still excluded, with the exception of the brief parenthesis between 2009 and 2016, from the activities and flow of information of the WHO, and this isolation is difficult to manage in the context of the presence of a pandemic.

In fact, the crisis that the WHO is experiencing in terms of effectiveness, transparency and credibility is not new, but has been going on for several years. In 2010, the WHO recognized its own weaknesses in the management of the H1N1 influenza epidemic, in particular excessive alarmism, which led to an accumulation of unused vaccines and raised suspicions about the organization's opaque links with some large pharmaceutical companies. In 2015, the WHO acknowledged that it had reacted belatedly to manage the Ebola outbreak that had occurred a year earlier in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

There are also questions as to whether the current WHO General Director, Tedros Adhanom Genebyesus, is suitable for this post. As Ethiopian Minister of Health, he was criticized for handling three cholera epidemics during his term of office (2005-2012); In addition, the privileged political and economic ties it has established with China during its time as part of the Ethiopian governments (2005-2016) cast an undoable shadow over the impartiality of its actions[17].

The international institutions have entered a phase of weakening, partly due to a USA withdrawal and partly to the discord of the major powers. It follows that the WHO does not play the central role it should have in the COVID-19 crisis. It was informed too late by China, to the detriment of other States' ability to react and comply with Chinese provisions before declaring a state of pandemic. The WHO gives the meaning that it echoes a 'Chinese line' on the

[17] *Activitatea Organizației Mondiale a Sănătății (OMS) în timpul epidemiei de* COVID-*19*, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/O-9-2020-000034_RO.html> (29.05.2020).

fight against the virus. China, by the way, is taking advantage of the benefits of the investments it has made in the UN system in recent years. This brings us to the second starting point: The rise of China and Asia in the World Affairs.

COVID-19 gives a somewhat negative illustration of this, but it is immediately clear. The original opacity policy promoted by Beijing contributed to the spread of the pandemic. But the most striking element is the other. On the one hand, due to the structure of today's value chains, the closure of a large part of the Chinese economy has had and continues to have major effects on the world economy. Unlike the 2008 crisis, the 2020 financial crisis is only the second shortage of supply and demand in the real economy. On the other hand, the 'competition between the big powers' not only puts international solidarity on the sidelines, but also translates into an amazing competition of 'soft power' between China and its main rivals.

From this point of view, we have seen an unprecedented demonstration. The People's Republic of China was in difficulty at the beginning of the crisis due to its initial attitude of repression of the whistle blowers in Wuhan; the forced closure of its factories; and then they emerge to overcome the epidemic due to authoritarian quarantine measures combined with an unprecedented use of artificial intelligence. Finally, China has emerged from its calvary, while Europeans, now the main area of infection, have belatedly implemented measures to combat the pandemic, while the Trump administration has demonstrated its completely disorderly incompetence. China is reviving its economy at a time when the Western stock markets are collapsing. They are fighting against Donald Trump's xenophobic insinuations and acting as a lifeline for Italy and Serbia, caused by the clumsiness of their European partners. In the wake of the COVID-19 crisis, China is emerging as the power that can help states internationally. It attributes the role that the United States once held. The organization, whose main purpose is to encourage global cooperation, has not been able to call for an end to the USA-China contradictions regarding the COVID-19 pandemic[18]. President Trump used the power to react to the behaviour of one of those who support multilateral health cooperation and, in particular, the current response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

According to Sylvie Briand, director of the WHO's Department of Pandemic and Epidemic Diseases, in times of crisis, a guilty must always be found. Also, in the context of Briand's statements, several analysts agreed that the WHO leadership is an easy target to be criticized because it is an international organization that seems to have more power than it actually does. For Richard Horton, editor of The Lancet, the WHO 'has run out of power and resources'. "Its authority and coordination capacity are weak, and its capacity to respond internationally to a life-threatening epidemic is non-existent"[19].

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[18] D. Morley, *op. cit.*
[19] I. Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*

Thus, China, Germany and New Zealand are some of the countries that are protesting against them in the context of the measures put forward by the USA. UN Secretary-General António Guterres was one of the first to react to the situation, who said it was "not the time" for confrontations. Guterres also believes that the World Health Organization needs to be supported, and this is absolutely fundamental to the states' efforts to win the war against COVID-19. In Germany, Foreign Minister Heiko Maas stressed the importance of the fight and joint efforts to combat the pandemic. According to Maas' position on his Twitter account, the virus knows no borders. Josep Borrell, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs, held the same position. In the context of disputes over WHO's effectiveness, Borell criticized the contradictions between the USA and China, noting that "there is no reason to justify this move at a time when states need to rely more to combat the pandemic of coronavirus"[20].

The President of the African Union Commission, Moussa Faki Mahamat, also described the situation as "deeply lamentable". Mahamat's position was also supported by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern. According to the official, it is necessary to share information correctly when the international community is present in such a situation. The officials also spoke in support of the organization[21].

Unlike the positions of Guterres, Maas, Borell and Mahamat, the Prime Minister of Australia, Scott Morrison, highlighting the "significant amount of work" done by the organization, supported the statements of President Trump. China, in turn, called for reasonable behaviour on Washington's part to comply with its obligations to the WHO. "This decision will reduce WHO capacity and minimize international cooperation against the epidemic", said Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian. Trump's decision also sparked reactions in the United States. The American Medical Association (AMA), the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CCPB), and the House Foreign Affairs Committee are the opposition institutions of the White House[22]. Some analysts believe that the Trump administration's actions are aimed at preventing the growth of China's global influence, especially within international bodies. In this context, and in line with Trump's claims in The Wall Street magazine, ways are being sought to include more American officials in the organization.

Thus, analysing the activity of the World Health Organization in the presence of the COVID-19 pandemic, we can highlight that international organizations, including WHO: primarily have the role of coordinators and catalysts of international community solidarity. The epidemic of COVID-19 coronavirus is global[23]. In mid-March 2020, more than 150 countries reported cases of COVID-19, and the WHO reported more than 200.000 infected people

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[20] F. Forni, *op. cit.*
[21] *Ibidem.*
[22] *Ibidem.*
[23] A. Guilbaud, *op. cit.*

worldwide. More than 7.000 people have died, and the number has continued to grow at an alarming rate[24]. International cooperation is essential in combating crises and epidemics.

Secondly, in the activity of international organizations we can also highlight an incompetence in crisis management that manifests itself worldwide, such as the situation conditioned by the COVID-19 crisis.

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[24] D. Morley*, op. cit.*

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GEORGIA RELATIONS AFTER THE 2008 WAR

Abstract:
The article discusses the role of NATO in the Russian-Georgian military conflict, their impact on regional security. The origin of the conflict was mainly caused by the new Geopolitical situation in the epoch of formation of multi-polar world order, where the main focus was made on the period of the establishment of new relations between the United States and Russia. The main reasons for the origin of the conflicts and the dynamics of their development are also presented in the work. The role of the countries involved in the conflict between the parties, which have a great impact on the geopolitical situation of the region. How did Georgia go through 10 years, what conclusions did it make or did not manage to make after the war with Russia, what has changed or has not changed in the country's domestic and foreign policy priorities. For the security system of Georgia tendencies existing in the relations between Russia and the West, internal political developments in Russia and Ukraine are particularly important. Research of the ways of originating the conflicts in the modern world is becoming increasingly important. The article analyzes the directions that have contributed to the origin and development of the conflict. For all the international turmoil and tensions, it caused, the Five-Day War in Georgia was a limited military operation for a military organization such as Russia's. On a strategic level, the war was combined with other measures such as diplomatic ones, but militarily it cannot qualify as a grand military operation. It was successful in that it reached the main military objective of the operation, to take irreversible control of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, but the Russian casualties and the deficiencies and problems it struggled with during the operation have implications for the future development of its military. This is obvious from the analyses made in Russia and from statements from its military and political leadership.

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The disappearance of the Soviet Union from the political map of the world has become a geopolitical catastrophe for certain groups of society. The new epoch of international relations, together with global geostrategic change, was established by the corrections of the world political map. New sovereign states appeared in the post-Soviet space. Conflict research and their problems in the modern system of international relations have become subjects of interest. Conflict settlement is one of the biggest problems in the modern world.

As a result of the military conflict in August 2008, an acute crisis emerged in Russian-Georgian relations that triggered termination of all institutional relations, the internal Georgian crisis was transformed into a crisis of bilateral relations. The concept of the foreign policy of Russia underlines the fact that being surrounding by NATO member states is directly threatening the Northern neighbour. On March 2, 2014[2], a special session was convened in response to Russian aggression against Ukraine, where all members of the North Atlantic Council agreed that Russian military actions were "a violation of international law and are contrary to the principles of the NATO-Russia Council, as well as the principles of the Partnership for Peace program"[3]. In March 2014, a meeting of the NATO-Russia Council was held, where the issue of Ukraine was discussed. Despite these attempts, Russia is more intentionally escalating aggression in Ukraine. All of the above-mentioned actions of Russia serve one main purpose – to return to its position of the main actor on the world stage.

The pro-Western course announced by the government of the National Movement and the policy towards NATO membership has caused great concern in Russia. The more intensified Georgian positive attitude towards the pro-Western and pro-European tendencies, the greater the resistance from Russia. In Russian-Georgian relations, perhaps the deceive role was played by the factor of Saakashvili's government, which was very irritating to Putin. The ruling government of the time has made Russia antagonistic towards Georgia[4], followed by the change of power in 2012, the 'reset' policy pursued by the new government did not make any fundamental changes in Russian-Georgian

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[2] K. Liik, M. Maigre, *NATO-Russia dialogue and the future of the NATO-Russia Council*, European Council on Foreign Relation, <https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_nato_russia_dialogue_and_the_future_of_the_nato_russia_council> (05.06.2016).

[3] *NATO-Russia Council*, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50091.htm> (09.07.2019).

[4] R. Koiava, *Georgian-Russian Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Emerging Europe, <https://emerging-europe.com/georgia-2017/georgian-russian-relations-past-present-future/> (04.01.2018).

relations. In addition, the Kosovo factor is noteworthy[5]; Ronald Asmus argued that the military confrontation of 2008 was a sharp response of Russia to the Western and EU recognition of Kosovo. It was a strict step of Russia to show everybody that if they would continue their partnership policy with NATO, they would be exemplarily punished similar to Georgia. According to Asmus, Putin has chosen Georgia as an example of revenge on America; also, these processes were accelerated by refusing to grant Georgia an action plan by NATO at the Bucharest Summit in April 2008. For Georgia, the rapprochement with the West was considered a problem to some extent, as in 1995 NATO adopted a document entitled 'Research on NATO Expansion'. It states, "that are involved in ethnic disputes or territorial disputes outside of the country, including disputes relating to irredentism or in domestic disputes related to jurisdiction, shall resolve these disputes with peaceful means in accordance with OSCE principles before they become members". The issue is undoubtedly a hindrance to the process of Georgia's integration into the NATO, the conflict with Russia for Georgia on the way to NATO integration is damaging, and the events of 2008 in negative context 'crowned' the long-term decline of relations between Georgia and Russia. Relations of Georgia with Russia must be consistent and non-confrontational. Georgia must change its attitude towards conflict resolution; it will be hard for the Alliance to accept a country where the conflict situation is raging.

The war conducted in Ukraine by Russia once again demonstrates that Russia is trying to gain sphere of influences in a very aggressive manner. Georgia is one of the most important parts of the sphere of influence. In official documents, Russia has declared NATO expansion as a foreign political threat of Russia. Medvedev said in a statement in 2011 "if not the 2008 war, NATO would have already reached our borders"[6]. He clearly stated that Russia is categorically against Georgia's membership in NATO. Events of Ukraine, in particular, the Russian military reaction on signing of the Association Agreement by Ukraine, has deflected the illusion that Russia sees danger only in NATO. Threatening statements also sounded in Medvedev's extensive interview, where with respect to the Western integration of Georgia he reminded, that Russia is a nuclear state. Right after the Association Agreement was signed, official statement of Russia was made that they would take adequate measures. Today, in fact, no one in the world argues that strategic objective of Russia is a reconciliation of the Soviet Union-like formation, and therefore, any process that envisages the exclusion of the post-soviet countries from its sphere of influence is unacceptable for them. Medvedev spoke about the causes of the war over a decade after the Russian-Georgian military confrontation, accusing President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili of launching

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[5] R. Asmus, *A Little War That Shook the World*, New York 2010, pp. 88-89.
[6] *Dmitry Medvedev: "We do not welcome Georgia's membership in NATO"*, <https://www.georgianjournal.ge/politics/24350-dmitry-medvedev-we-do-not-welcome-georgias-membership-in-nato.html> (30.06.2020).

hostilities and pointed out that it was the choice of the government of Georgia. Selection of pro-Western course by Georgia became punishable.

Depending on the historical and geographical location of any country, we are able to talk about its geopolitical situation. Historically and even today, Georgia is a connecting hub between the countries of the West and the East. Transport highway – connecting Europe and Asia. All this makes Georgia strategically attractive. The control of the Caucasus region is part of the Russian plans, and somehow it is able to maintain power in this region. Russian control over Georgia is one of the main components of its neo-imperialistic doctrine. The Kremlin is well aware that Georgia and the South Caucasus region are perceived as a geopolitical area of influence. Control of Georgia allows Russia to control not only the South Caucasus but also to carry out its interests in the North Caucasus. Why does Russia want to control Georgia? This explains the fact that Russia to a certain extent hampers Turkey to implement its own interests, also to pull off the energy-rich Azerbaijan from the West, as well as to block Azerbaijan's access to the Black Sea through Georgia. Along with all this, the role of Armenia is growing in relation to Russia, which declare deep partnership to each other; historically the attitude of Armenia to Turkey is not good and is in antagonistic situation with Azerbaijan. Russia is considering Georgia not as a state, but a controllable buffer zone necessary for it.

The geopolitical situation of Georgia[7] does not allow us to stay calm, the events of 2008, all of it were tryout of forces for Russia against sharply pro-Western course taken by us, which has not changed, it is perceived to be even more intimidating for Russia. We can also observe the slow progress of the North Atlantic Alliance towards expansion, which was supported by the ongoing processes in the Middle East. Geopolitical confrontation is gradually continuing between the West and Russia, from the Caucasus it has moved to the east of Ukraine and continues in Syria too. Straining relations of USA and Turkey should be noted, which is linked to coup organized in Turkey, for the incident Turkey accuses USA and Fethullah Gülen, leader of the movement 'Hizmet' who is under the protection of USA. Against this tense relationship, an assumption arose that Turkey would exist from NATO out and would play the role of an independent player. This scenario is ominous for Georgia; Russia in the North and Turkey in the Southwest, the two states whose interests are entirely in the Caucasus and Turkey will not be a member of NATO, membership of Georgia in NATO will lose all its values, because we will not have a partner country in the neighbourhood.

After several years, annexation of the territories of Ukraine were added to the events that happened in Georgia. According to some experts, Ukraine's crisis is similar to the developments in 2008. After the Russian-Georgian

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[7] *Geopolitical location of Georgia*, <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/tavisupali-sivrtse-davit-kamladze-saqartvelos-geopolitikuri-mdgomareoba/28075927.html> (29.06.2020).

military confrontation, Moscow hastily recognized the separatist republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states. This action of Russia was aimed at making it clear to the West that was an accountable player, just like the West. This was another precedent of violation of international law[8]. Most of the sanctions imposed by the West on Russia have been imposed because of the annexation of Crimea with violation of international law. In addition, this step will eliminate all means of communication of Moscow with Tbilisi. Russia has been trying to re-establish relations with the new government of Georgia after disassociating the former hated President Mikheil Saakashvili from the government, but diplomatic relations between two countries have not yet been restored Because of the actual control of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia. If Russia officially annexes South Ossetia with the Crimea scenario, Georgia will be completely alienated, and Moscow will lose much more than it will gain. As for Abkhazia, it remains a problem for Russia, because Abkhazians are waiting for more funding, and demand increase of military and financial assistance. Apparently, after the Crimean accession, the importance of Abkhazia to Russia has been reduced. Crimea is a strategically important region in the Black Sea for Russia. This resulted in the strengthening of Russia in the Black Sea, which became the dominant force that threatened the small states of the region which are not distinguished with powerful defensive capabilities at sea[9]. Ukraine has lost 70 percent of the naval fleet because of Russian aggression, and in this regard, its defensive potential has greatly decreased. It is considered to be even more irritating to Russia, after all that NATO aims to strengthen military presence in the South-East territories of the Alliance, including the Black Sea[10]. For Ukraine as well as for Georgia border security is vitally crucial, especially after the annexation of Crimea, as the annexation of Crimea by Russia is considered in the Black Sea Security Context.

Putin's interview with Fox News in Helsinki should also be noted, Putin has given a long interview after the meeting with Trump. Asked by the journalist what kind of reaction would Russia have if Georgia and Ukraine entered NATO, he replied: "I know very well how the decision making mechanisms work. Of course, there everything is decided on the basis of consensus, but before making consensus based decisions in the format of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, it is possible to work with individual NATO member

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[8] T. de Waal, *Crimea, Russia and involvement in Abkhazia and South Ossetia*, Heinrich Boll Stiftung, <https://ge.boell.org/ka/2015/11/26/qirimi-ruseti-da-chartuloba-apxaze-tsa-da-samxret-osetshi> (26.06.2020).

[9] S. Celac, S. Crepsey, D. Dungaciu, I. Fota, C. Ionita, *Why The Black Sea Matters*, New Strategy Center, Center for American Seapower, Hudson Institute 2017, pp. 10-11, <https://newstrategycenter.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Policy-Paper-NSC-and-Center-for-American-Sea-Power-III-May-2017.pdf> (10.05.2020).

[10] *NATO Parliamentary Assembly Resolution nr 437 on Stability and Security in the Black Sea Region*, Civil Dimension of Security, <https://www.nato-pa.int/download-file.pdf> (09.10.2019).

states on a bilateral basis, as it happened in case of Poland and Romania, where today US strategic missile defence elements are located. This is a direct threat to our security, therefore the approaching of NATO infrastructure to our borders is hazardous to us and obviously, we will have a sharp negative attitude towards this"[11]. Due to this statement, Putin does not believe in accepting Georgia and Ukraine in NATO in an accelerated manner, because considers Germany as one of the hindering parties. Putin once again touched upon the issue of NATO expansion at the meeting of Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives, once again calling the NATO enlargement policy a big mistake and criticized NATO's policy towards Russia[12]. To such aggressive steps that threaten Russia directly, we will have equal reaction. Our colleagues who go for aggravation and try to involve, for example Ukraine and Georgia into the military orbit of the Alliance, should think of the possible consequences of this irresponsible policy. There are some opinions about willingness of Russia to restore relations with Georgia, and full preparedness is declared from the Russian side, but all this depends on the political will of Tbilisi, this is how the Russian politicians assess the situation. In addition, they say that Georgia represents the strategic element of the Western Strategy of Russian containment in the Black Sea and South Caucasus regions. NATO is making statements, which say, "Georgia and 29 member countries of NATO will decide themselves when it will become a member"[13]. The contents of the statement are not quite clear, as it is widely known that a large number of European countries are blocking the entrance of Georgia into NATO due to the possibility of engaging in conflict with Russia.

Although open door policy of NATO and its support for Georgia deserves praise only, but such a policy faces a major obstacle in face of Russia. Russia puts a big veto with its aggressive defensive policies on the integration of Georgia into NATO, all of which is easily perceived as Putin tells NATO "no". When the Baltic States were accepted in NATO, this fact was not so irritating for Russia, but the 2008 military situation had a groundbreaking effect on the NATO – Russia relations. It also made clear to everyone that its interests in Caucasus is one of the priorities for Russia. Therefore, Russia is considering the Black Sea region and the Caucasus as area of its actions, and its plans do not include sharing the governance of the region with anyone. Despite the threats faced by our country, it is necessary to cooperate deeply with the

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[11] K. Harris, *Chris Wallace interviews Russian President Vladimir Putin*, <https://www.foxnews.com/transcript/chris-wallace-interviews-russian-president-vladimir-putin> (16.06.2020).

[12] A. Osborn, *Putin warns NATO against closer ties with Ukraine and Georgia*, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-nato-putin/putin-warns-nato-against-closer-ties-with-ukraine-and-georgia> (30.06.2020).

[13] *Stoltenberg: Georgia Will Join NATO, And Russia Can Do Nothing About It*, <https://www.rferl.org/a/stoltenberg-georgia-will-join-nato-and-russia-can-do-nothing-about-it.html> (25.04.2020).

Alliance because the aim of the Russian strategy is to weaken and divide the Georgian statehood[14]. For this purpose, Russia was encouraging separatism and directly appealing to military aggression, a clear example of which was the 2008 military confrontation.

After the war, Russia and Georgia signed the six-point ceasefire agreement, however, with flagrant violation of the terms of the agreement and the principles of international law illegally acknowledged the separatist regions as independent states, ten years later, Russian troops continue to occupy the territories of Georgia, it is accompanied by a permanent 'borderization' process with the aim of separating the rest of the territories of Georgia.

From abovementioned, we should conclude that the war between Russia and Georgia, as well as Russia-Georgia relations, has a complex character that implies Russian attitude to the West. The aggressive policy against Georgia is important for it because it perceives Georgia as one of the main factors of control over the Caucasus region. The result of its openly expressed aggression was that Georgia chose to join the European and Euro-Atlantic direction. It is also problematic that Georgia cannot adequately answer to the aggressive actions of Russia and there is no guarantee that NATO will be able to completely stop the Russian aggression. Therefore, the Government of Georgia needs to take more cautious steps towards the process of occupation. On the background of existing problems, more coordinated steps should be taken. The process of occupation is one of the main aims of Russia, which aims to infringe the sovereignty of Georgia and weaken the trust in Euro Atlantic institutions, and the most important goal is to prevent further enlargement of NATO. The August war, as well as the annexation of the territories of Ukraine, is the priority part of Russian strategy. This implies a certain level of war against the West.

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DEFENCE MANAGEMENT AND PESTLE ANALYSIS

Abstract:
Militaries are in a changing and evolving environment. Defence management, with references to both military science and general management field, is seeking possibilities, opportunities and methods for being transformed in this dynamic environment and contexts. Managing, commanding and leading requires to know what is around, how is the surrounding atmosphere of organizations, what are the current socio-political, economic, environmental, scientific and legal situations to be considered? PESTLE analysis is giving a chance to defence managers for answering these questions. In this article we will discuss PESTLE model and try to find a solution how we can enhance it through a strategic approach.

Keywords:
PESTLE, defence management, military organization, security management, military science

Introduction

Peace is among the highest values of humanity universally. Peoples of the world have suffered too much from wars and conflicts in ancient and modern times. Military, with its all components, is an institution deeply related to the notions of war, defence and strategy. All real militaries, without exception, are organizations functionalized, specialized and focused on war and defence matters by definition. A military is expected to be strong, powerful and effective not only for fighting, even more, for not fighting. Well, all the issues of security dilemma, realist assumptions in international security field, critical military studies' objections, etc. are well known in our academic/scholarly circles. However, we can be sure that everybody would have consensus

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regarding the features mentioned above work about all conventionally shaped militaries. In the wide and sometimes vague field of social sciences of course on the same topic many arguments can be developed: similar, slightly or entirely different ones with millions of possible variations. Social scientists should "ask themselves if they have designed their research in such a way as to allow for coherence between purpose, theory, methods, and results."[2] Actually, if the scholar in "the field of military studies finds that the answer to this question is increasingly yes, then (…) it will maintain and further develop coherence as an interdisciplinary, applied field in the service of both theory and practice."[3] Academic studies need to focus for such an 'interdisciplinary coherence'.

Fig. 1. A Military March.

Source: A. İzgi, *Turkish military units moving to Libya, says Erdogan,* <https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/turkish-military-units-moving-to-libya-says-erdogan-32726> (30.06.2020).

Although militaries are organized with the main function of war, fortunately physical confrontations do not always happen in the history of societies; which means we have sometimes a 'comparative' peace situation. In peace times (and also war times):

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[2] P. M. Shields, T. A. Whetsell, *Doing Practical Research and Publishing in Military Studies*, [in:] *Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in Military Studies*, (ed.) J. Soeters, P. M. Shields, S. Rietjens, 2014, p. 324.
[3] *Ibidem*.

1. Militaries exist, reproduce themselves as they are and in an evolving dynamism.
2. They are running other activities directly, indirectly related or unrelated to war, ranging from agricultural or industrial production to media, health sector or R&D activities.
3. All these diverse activities of militaries besides defence functions require incorporation of management methods, concepts and related leadership skills.

Saying this we can have a closer look to defence management, it's possible definition, theoretical approaches and main notions.

Defence Management

In military studies there is not a consensus on defining defence management. What we can say that it is in an interdisciplinary intersection with overlapping topics of military science, security studies and the field of management. It is said that defence management refers simply "to the idea that defence organisations need to turn defence policies into practice, and in doing so, to develop appropriate and sustainable planning mechanisms, support systems and infrastructure"[4]. It is considered "as an institutional process" by this way defence management "is situated between defence policy formulation and actual command and control of the military forces. The process should address areas of action such as defence resource management, personnel management, and acquisition management"[5]. So, it includes other sub-levels of management components as well.

Defence management is employing "a vast set of working methods such as operational, system and structural analyses, planning and programming, modelling and simulation, creation of alternatives, measuring performance and process improvement, project management, assessment of risks"[6] beside others which are "applicable to different aspects of formulating and implementing a defence policy"[7]. Practitioners, leaders and researchers in defence management should have maximum flexibility in order to understand and being adopted to all these methods.

It is emphasized that defence management is a dynamic and changing process. This dynamism inevitably is bringing flexibility. It is not in a linear character "that moves from strategies to forces on hand. Rather, the ends, ways, and means co-evolve because the environment changes faster than the military

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[4] *About Defence Management*, securitysectorintegrity.com, <https://securitysector-integrity.com/defence-management/about-dm> (30.06.2020).
[5] *Ibidem*.
[6] V. Ratchev, *Governance, Management, Command, Leadership: Setting the Context for Studies of Defence Management*, [in:] *Defence Management: An Introduction*, Geneva 2009, p. 42.
[7] *Ibidem*.

can develop new capabilities and available resources are never sufficient to satisfy the national strategies"[8]. Because of this reason, "defence management is also an exercise in managing risk. Ensure the vital interests are covered, and address the rest when one can"[9]. These features of defence management is having it interacting with risk management.

Management in general is "a process of planning, organising and staffing, directing and controlling activities within an organisation in a systematic way in order to achieve a particular common (institutional) goal"[10]. Management, with its features, "is both a scientific method and an art of empowering people and making an organisation more effective and efficient than it would have been without management and managers (…)"[11]. Considering this, defence management emerges as a cycle with four pillars: planning, organizing (and also staffing), directing / leading, monitoring / controlling[12]. All of these pillars have to be taken in a strategic way.

Fig. 2. Defence Management Cycle.

Source: *About Defence Management*, *op. cit.*

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[8] T. Galvin, *Defense Management:Primer for Senior Leaders,* School of Strategic Landpower, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle 2018, p. IX.
[9] *Ibidem*.
[10] *About Defence Management… op. cit.*
[11] *Ibidem*.
[12] *Ibidem*.

Defence managers, like other military or management leaders, "require strong strategic thinking skills, manage strategic problems, envision the future, understanding complexity, lead change, build consensus, negotiate, render best military advice, and perform effectively in joint, interagency, and multinational environments"[13]. These aspects may support "the idea that defence management is essentially one form of applied strategic leadership. The main difference between defence managers and principles on flag-officer staffs is largely context, not function"[14]. We may also add that the contexts defence managers are confronting and dealing with will create always the need for incorporating some analytical methods toward understanding the contextual reality. PESTLE is highly functional for this purpose.

PESTLE Model

PESTLE, also called PEST, is an analytical tool created by Francis Aguilar in 1967, it has the purpose of functioning as a "strategic planning and analysis framework" for the study of "micro-environment and macro environment" and developing "strategic thinking"[15]. Aguilar used it as 'ETPS', stands "for the four sectors of his taxonomy of the environment: Economic, Technical, Political, and Social"[16]. PESTLE is a concept "used as a tool by companies to track the environment they're operating in or are planning to launch a new project/product/service etc."[17] PESTLE is a mnemonic expression, "P for Political, E for Economic, S for Social, T for Technological, L for Legal and E for Environmental. It gives a bird's eye view of the whole environment from many different angles that one wants to check and keep a track of while contemplating on a certain idea/plan."[18]. This powerful advantage makes it functional for defence management as well.

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[13] T. Galvin, *op. cit.,* p. 93-94.

[14] *Ibidem.*

[15] *Grab your Mortar – PESTLE Analysis Explained*, <https://bstrategyhub.com/grab-your-mortar-pestle-analysis-explained>, (30.06.2020).

[16] *PESTLE Analysis Overview*, p. 1, <http://www.tacitintellect.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/PESTLE-Analysis.pdf>, (30.06.2020).

[17] *What is PESTLE Analysis? A Tool for Business Analysis,* <https://pestleanalysis.com/what-is-pestle-analysis>, (30.06.2020).

[18] *Ibidem.*

Fig. 3. PESTLE

In PESTLE analysis "political and legal factors" such as "stability, taxes, state policy of foreign trade activity regulation, political stability, legislative system, level of judicial system" are analyzed. As for "economic factors" we may focus on "GDP, GNP, investment climate, inflation rate, currency stability, market capacity". Social and cultural dimensions are also considered like "religion, education, communication means, language, customs, norms of behaviour". Of course "scientific and technological factors" are also very important in this process: "technological support of production, availability and application of new technologies in business, expenses on R&D"[19]. Therefore the combination or synthesis of all these factors is creating PESTLE model.

Several advantages and disadvantages of applying the PESTLE model are mentioned for decades. As for advantages PESTLE "is simple and easy to understand and use", it "helps understand the business environment better", "encourages the development of strategic thinking", "helps reduce the effect of

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[19] T. V. Shtal, M. M. Buriak, *Methods of analysis of the external environment of business activities*, "Espacios", vol. 39, no. 12, 2018, p. 22

future business threats"[20]. PESTLE "can help an organisation to anticipate future difficulties and take action to avoid or minimise their effect"; and it "enables projects to spot new opportunities and exploit them effectively"[21]. On the contrary it is also said PESTLE has some disadvantages such as the model:

- "allows users to over-simplify the data that is used. It is easily possible to miss important data", it "needs to be updated regularly to be effective;
- requires users to have access to data sources which could be time consuming and expensive;
- much of the data used by the tool is on an assumption basis, business environments change deeply;
- it is becoming increasingly difficult for projects to anticipate developments;
- there is risk of "paralysis by analysis" for users when they gather too much information and forget the objective of this tool which is identification of potential threats so that proper action can be taken"[22].

Thus, users of PESTLE/PEST have to take into account both advantages and disadvantages of the model. This is the realistic way and always better to consider any tool used in any process as it is objectively.

The question is that whether we will use PESTLE model in defence management studies as it is taken in other sectors, fields and research areas, without any interpretation or transformation? Half century passed from the first definition and application of PESTLE. It is really a long time and a great proof of durability, functionality and effectiveness of the concept. During this time we have witnessed several interpretation and changes in the model. For such practical, functional and pragmatic concepts it is very normal to change them by the demand of time, particular sectors and specific field. It is not only about PESTLE, same approach would work with SWOT, Porter's Five Forces or any other tool or method in management. Therefore, in this article we will try to problematize how could be a new approach about PESTLE particularly thinking about its applicability in defence management.

A New Approach: SEPSET

We know that anything new, if really has the potential to exist and survive, is usually not 'new' at all. Its roots already have appeared, conditions for defining or stating it have come, just when we name it we only acknowledge what is staying there for us. It can be said that SEPSET is just a modified version of

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[20] N. Rastogi., M. K. Trivedi, *PESTLE Technique – A Tool to Identify External Risks in Construction Projects*, "International Research Journal of Engineering and Technology", vol. 03, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 384-388.
[21] *Ibidem*.
[22] *Ibidem*.

PESTLE for military/security purposes. The concept of SEPSET, which is first time suggested in this article, stands for *Strategic – Economic – Political – Societal – Ecological – Technological.* As you may see it is almost the same with PESTLE; the most important addition is "strategic" here. Any concept related to military and defence fields necessarily needs to refer to strategy.

Defence management is located "at the nexus of national security policy, strategy, campaigning, and strategic leadership"[23]. Strategic perspective is obligatory for defence management process. It requires "continuous critical evaluation and modification to ensure the completeness of analysis and acceptability of any strategic decision among internal and external stakeholders"[24]. For critical analyses and evaluations like this defence managers needs analytical tools. In a strategic perspective "a nuanced understanding of the actors, processes and dynamics of the external environment can help in prediction"[25] to defence managers. PESTLE or with our interpretation SEPSET can support defence managers with this functionality. It can be of course also an interesting topic of discussion for academics-researchers in military studies, management and security studies.

Strategy generally defined as a "plan" including "the concept or the idea of how the organisation aims to achieve its goals"[26]. The term of strategy is coming from *strategos* in Greek which means interestingly "general". In military view "strategy involves the planning and directing of battles or campaigns on a broad scale, that is, the responsibility of the general" In management, as Peter Drucker emphasized "strategic management does not deal with future decisions. It deals with the futurity of present decisions. It involves more than doing things right. It is concerned primarily with doing the right things"[27]. Therefore, as a tool dealing with today's issues and environment, PESTLE should consider strategic dimension. When we realize that "social" and "legal" are highly related in society then using the term of "societal" in SEPSET makes sense too apparently.

PESTLE is a perfect technique for analyzing the environment. However, even the conventional users of PESTLE admit that it should be located in a more comprehensive strategic picture[28]. This is one of the supporting reasons for discussing about SEPSET.

PESTLE analysis traditionally focuses on six important levels: Political factors are very influential in economic and management processes. International

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[23] T. Galvin, *Defense…,* p. IX.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. X.

[25] D. Waters, *National-Level Challenges Affecting Defense*, Galvin 2018, p. 41.

[26] K. Mäkinen, *Strategic Security: A Constructivist Investigation of Critical Security and Strategic Organisational Learning Issues: Towards a Theory of Security Development,* Helsinki 2005, p. 68.

[27] A.W. Steiss, *Strategic Management for Public and Nonprofit Organizations*, New York-Basel 2003, p. 1, 340.

[28]*PESTLE Analysis – Strategy Skills,* <http://www.free-management-ebooks.com/dldebk/dlst-pestle.htm>, (30.06.2020).

relations, national security and strategy approach of a country, their preferences in local and regional contexts, Etc. all effect other components of societies as well. The legal factors which include "labour laws, tax policies, consumer protection laws, employment laws, environmental regulations, and tariff & trade restrictions" have many impacts in economy. The conditions of economy "have the highest influence on a business regardless of the industry". Social conditions are following the political and economic conditions in PESTLE. Environment, especially when humanity suffers from its environmental/ecological mistakes severely, seems as the post important element of PESTLE (or with our expression SEPSET). Technological factors are including "technological changes, R&D activity, obsolescence rate, automation and innovation"[29], besides many other possible aspects. Strategic analysis is like the cornerstone of SEPSET which is connecting it to the heart of its analytical function in defence management. Both military/defence level of study and management require a strategic evaluation in the most possible comprehensive way.

Conclusion

PESTLE or with the interpretation in this article SEPSET is an analytical technique/tool which is very functional for understanding surrounding societal, political, economic, environmental and technological conditions. Each of these elements has to be tested through a strategic analysis. Defence managers like any other managers and social scientists researching on these topics have to keep in mind what strategy and strategic obligations are directing the existing interactions and dynamism of these elements. Strategy should be like the framework to maintain composition of all the components. PESTLE/SEPSET is like SWOT an analytical tool. Analyzing something is different, changing or transforming it is different. A beneficial analysis makes sense when it finds its highest value and meaning in a successful change management process. Understanding does not automatically bring the process of "changing". Change is always related to bravery and strength. Strong and brave leaders would be capable to perform progressive changes and transformations based on their scientific and realistic analyses.

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TOWARDS RESILIENCE.
EUROPEAN CYBERSECURITY STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK

Abstract:
Cyberspace has become critical domain of contemporary societies and states. Growing presence and dense network of various activities have resulted in transformation of strictly technical dimension into nervous system of the world. Naturally, with humans' immersion in cyberspace, the catalogue of threats is growing exponentially - from risks to individuals' security through hazards to corporate, government entities to threats to complex social systems. Resilience of the latter depends on cyberspace. The aim of the paper is to analyse EU's approach to growing dangers, with European Cybersecurity Strategy as main research field. Document will be employed to conduct the study.

Keywords:
European Union; cybersecurity; cyberattacks; resilience; security policy

Introduction

The socio-technological interactions defined by the so called fourth industrial revolution[2] are empowering the transformation of states and international organizations behaviour. As a result, cybersecurity has grown to strategic rank in policies of states and international organizations. The public sphere is fulfilled by reports of cyberattacks on individuals, corporate entities, state and social institutions. There are also ongoing discussions about alleged operations of state's militaries cyber units or state-sponsored hacker groups. This myriad of actors reflects the complexities of cyberspace itself. Therefore, planning and execution of security policies of states and international organizations must be based on comprehensive strategic awareness.

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[2] K. Schwab, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*, London 2016, pp. 1-3.

Cybersecurity threats do not respect state boundaries. Interdependent world requires holistic, transnational approaches. Only the strongest international actors like the United States, China or Russia can effectively manage cyberspace hazards with vast and sophisticated capabilities and resources. European Union members, acting as separate units, have no sufficient potential to face cyberspace threats. There is a sense of urgency to create versatile, commonly accepted strategy to cope with growing danger from hostile actors in cyberspace. Internal crisis in EU is important factor, generating deep divisions in Community. SARS-CoV-2 pandemic has strengthened those negative processes and highlighted new threat vectors. In times of massive anti-EU disinformation activities in cyberspace, offensive operations operations against critical infrastructure elements, data theft and privacy breaches, the question of cybersecurity is crucial.

Crisis-torn EU has managed to launch an initiative aiming at rebuilding and preparation for the post-pandemic world. European authorities underscored the value of o cyberspace, stressing that "recovery investment will be channelled towards strategic digital capacities and capabilities, including artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, secured communication, data and cloud infrastructure, 5G and 6G networks, supercomputers, quantum and blockchain"[3]. The document titled *Europe's moment: Repair and Prepare for the Next Generation*, states that "A new Cybersecurity Strategy will look at how to boost EU-level cooperation, knowledge and capacity (…). This will accompany the review of the Directive on security of network and information systems and a proposal for additional measures on Critical Infrastructure Protection. Together with the ongoing work on cybersecurity as part of the EU Security Union, this will increase capabilities within Member States and boost the EU's overall cybersecurity"[4].

The most important regulations of EU's cybersecurity regulations are merged in a package containing Cybersecurity Strategy outlined in the document cited above; *The Cybersecurity Act: For an enhanced cyber resilience*, empowering ENISA (European Union Agency for Network and Information Security); *The EU cybersecurity certification framework*; *The Directive on security of network and information systems (NIS Directive)*; *Commission Recommendation (EU) 2017/1584 of 13 September 2017 on coordinated response to large-scale cybersecurity incidents and crises*; *Commission Recommendation of 12.9.2018 on election cooperation networks, online transparency, protection against cybersecurity incidents and fighting disinformation campaigns in the context of elections to the European Parliament*; *Proposal for a Regulation establishing the European Cybersecurity Industrial, Technology and Research Competence Centre and the Network of National Coordination Centres*; *Cybersecurity of 5G networks EU Toolbox of risk mitigating measures*; *Draft Council Conclusions on a*

[3] *Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The European Council, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions*, <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/communication-europe-moment-repair-prepare-next-generation.pdf> (27.06.2020).
[4] *Ibidem*.

Framework for a Joint EU Diplomatic Response to Malicious Cyber Activities ("Cyber Diplomacy Toolbox")[5]. These regulations, communiqués and joint proposals constitute the framework of EU's cybersecurity activities. There is a need to analyse them and measure their consistency with contemporary and prognosed future security environment in cyberspace.

The scientific output on dealing with subject matter is vast and still growing. Numerous authors analyse EU's (and member states) security policies in cyberspace[6] or cybersecurity itself[7]. There is also a large base of scientific articles in internationally recognized journals[8]. Researcher will also find rich body of material in think-tanks' analytical documents[9] and professional media outlets[10]. Another category of important sources can be found on national government's civil and military cybersecurity units or private companies[11]. The sources set used to this analysis will be comprised mainly of official EU documents. The author will also reach to general sources, reports and analyses in order to sufficiently draw up the context.

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[5] *Cybersecurity*, <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/policies/cybersecurity#usefullinks>, (27.06.2020).

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[9] See output of i.e.: Belfer Center, Brookings Institution, Center for Strategic and International Studies; European Institute of Security Studies, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, International Security Information Service Europe, Rand Corporation.

[10] CNET, Computerworld, CSO Online, Infosecurity Magazine, PC World, Security Weekly Signal Magazine, ThreatPost, Wired.

[11] See i.e. Agence nationale de la sécurité des systèmes d'information (France), Försvarets radioanstalt (Sweden), Instituto Nacional de Ciberseguridad (Spain), Narodowe Centrum Bezpieczeństwa w Cyberprzestrzeni (Poland), Národní úřad pro kybernetickou a informační bezpečnost (Czech Republic) The National Cyber Security Centre (Ireland), Nationale Cyber-Abwehrzentrum (Germany), Nucleo per la Sicurezza Cibernetica (Italy).

Before moving to exploration of subject matter, there is a need to introduce methodological toolbox, which will be concluded with hypotheses and research questions needed to verify them along with conceptual framework of the analysis.

Methodology and conceptual framework

Author employs quantitative research strategy, based on scientific pragmatism. The latter emphasizes liberal approach to the selection of research methods, determined by their maximum utility in the exploration of given subject and achieving established objectives[12].

Document analysis constitutes the main method, used in the study. According to Glenn A. Bowen. "document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (…) material. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (…). Documents contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention. (…) refer to documents as 'social facts', which are produced, shared, and used in socially organised ways"[13]. This method is considered sufficient by the author. The effects of the analysis of the European strategic documents on cybersecurity will be put in contemporary security environment context.

The research problem outlined in the introduction and employed methodological approach, led the author to put following hypotheses:
1) European cybersecurity strategic framework appropriately addresses present and future challenges, risks, threats and chances in cybersecurity domain.
2) To build cyber resilience, the EU will need strategic coherence among member states.

To verify these hypotheses, several questions must be answered:
1) What are the areas of interest of the EU's cybersecurity policies?
2) How the EU constructs its capabilities to perform effectively in cybersecurity domain?
3) What are the parameters of the EU's cyber resilience?
4) What are the main obstacles to achieve cyber resilience in the EU?

To be proper, the analysis needs a definition of the most important analytical categories. The author assumes, that these categories are cyberspace, cybersecurity and cyber resilience.

Cyberspace has no single, commonly accepted definition. However, there is a consensus among scholars, that classic definition coined by William Gibson in 1984 novel "Neuromancer" has high explanatory potential. Gibson wrote,

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[12] D. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*, London 2013, pp. 10-12.

[13] G. A. Bowen, *Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method*, "Qualitative Research Journal" 2009, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 27.

that cyberspace is "a consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators, in every nation, by children being taught mathematical concepts... A graphical representation of data abstracted from the banks of every computer in the human system. Unthinkable complexity. Lines of light ranged in the non-space of the mind, clusters and constellations of data"[14]. Gibson's definition emphasizes technological dimension. However, it is impossible to avoid the human realm of cyberspace. Modern societies, as it was said, are immersed in cyberspace. This phenomenon generated digital dependence[15], which grows consequently, causing social vulnerabilities. Author assumes, that cyberspace - as "space without conventionally defined space" – is sphere, where technological and human domains are intertwined.

The EU identifies the "needs of cyberspace" comparing their structure to Maslow's Pyramid, pointing to aspects, the EU cybersecurity strategies have to cover (see the figure 1). Theses aspects can be treated as a junction, where European perception of cyberspace meets with security questions.

Fig 1. The needs of cyberspace.

DEMOCRACY
AND HUMAN
RIGHT PROTECTION
Cyber Ethics
Cyber Democracy
Cyber Human Rights, Core EU values

GLOBAL STABILITY PROTECTION
Cyber Norms, Cyber Diplomacy
Cyber Defence, Cyber Warfare

DIGITAL SINGLE MARKET PROTECTION
Cyber Attacks, Cyber Crime, Cyber Espionage
Cyber Sabotage

CRITICAL ASSET PROTECTION
NIS directive on *Digital Service Providers (DSP)* and
Operators of Essential Services (OES)

BASIC SECURITY PROTECTION
Cyber Hygiene
Safety and security of cyber space (Internet) users

Source: *ENISA overview of cybersecurity and related terminology*, <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/publications/enisa-position-papers-and-opinions/enisa-overview-of-cybersecurity-and-related-terminology>, (29.06.2020), p. 4.

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[14] W. Gibson, *Neuromancer*, New York 1989, p. 128.
[15] Detailed analysis of this problem can be found in: V. Bartlett, H. Bowden-Jones, *Are We All Addicts Now? Digital Dependence*, Liverpool 2017.

Cybersecurity is likewise hard to define. As result there are many definitions, proposed by scientific, military and state circles. The author seeks to present the EU's perspective on this issue, rather than presenting one of the most popular definitions. European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA) recognizes four domains of cybersecurity: *communication security* ("protection against a threat to the technical infrastructure of a cyber system which may lead to an alteration of its characteristics in order to carry out activities which were not intended by its owners, designers or users"); *operations security* ("protection against the intended corruption of procedures or workflows which will have results that were unintended by its owners, designers or users"); *information security* ("protection against the threat of theft, deletion or alteration of stored or transmitted data within a cyber system"); *physical security* ("protection against physical threats that can influence or affect the well-being of a cyber system. Examples could be physical access to servers, insertion of malicious hardware into a network, or coercion of users or their families"); *public/national security* ("protection against a threat whose origin is from within cyberspace, but may threaten either physical or cyber assets in a way which will have a political, military or strategic gain for the attacker. Examples could be 'Stuxnet' or wide-scale DOS attacks on utilities, communications financial system or other critical public or industrial infrastructures")[16]. These domains are interconnected and reflect the complexity of cyberspace itself and chaotic (in deterministic way) actions of individuals and institutions operating in networked "space without space". The EU therefore represents holistic approach to this issue.

The concept of social resilience is quickly gaining attention, especially in climate crisis context[17]. Resilience has also psychological, organizational and engineering connotations. Cyber resilience, in turn, is defined by Alexander Kott and Igor Linkov as the "ability of the system to prepare, absorb, recover, and adapt to adverse effects, especially those associated with cyberattacks". Depending on the context, they "(…) use the term cyber resilience to refer mainly to the resilience property of a system or network"[18]. It is important to add a non-technical layer of cyber resilience – adaptability and skills of professionals working with cyber technologies and societies' intellectual capacity to withhold pressures generated by "living immersed" in cyberspace (cybercrime, privacy issues or disinformation to name a few).

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[16] *Definition of Cybersecurity. Gaps and overlaps in standardisation*, <https://www.enisa. europa.eu/publications/definition-of-cybersecurity/at_download/fullReport> (29.06.2020), pp. 11-12.

[17] See: M. Keck, P. Sakdapolrak, *What is Social Resilience? Lessons Learned and Ways Forward*, "Erdkunde. Archive for Scientific Geography" 2013, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 6-8.

[18] A. Kott, I. Linkov, *Fundamental Concepts of Cyber Resilience: Introduction and Overview* [in:] *Cyber Resilience of Systems and Networks*, eds. A. Kott, I. Linkov, Cham 2018, pp. 2-3.

Cybersecurity strategy – prepare for the worst

"Securing network and information systems in the European Union is essential to keeping the online economy running and to ensure prosperity. The European Union works on a number of fronts to promote cyber resilience" – states the introductory message on the EU's cybersecurity package website[19]. The EU represents complex approach to cybersecurity question, recognizing the complexity of the cyberspace itself.

First of all, the EU is betting on multilateral cooperation. Cyberspace, as it was noted, does not have sharp, securable boundaries. The threats emerging from it endanger the interconnected European systems, therefore a cooperation between state and non-state actors or stakeholders is required. The document cited in the introductory part of the paper, *Europe's moment: Repair and prepare for the next generation*, emphasizes this cross-sectoral, coordinated activities. The crucial areas of the EU operations are critical infrastructure security, network and information systems security, SMEs and industrial engagement[20]. Cybersecurity policies are placed within the framework of Security Union, which is the evidence of their high rank in the whole EU's political portfolio. Overall increase of the EU and member states capabilities in cybersecurity domains is the main objective. The emphasize put on EU-level cooperation is significant.

In *Cybersecurity Act*, the EU recognizes, that digitalization and growing connectivity make European societies increasingly vulnerable. This can be described as the lowest level (basic security protection) of the EU's cybersecurity policies focus. According to the document, there is an urgent need to develop mitigation procedures of those risks. What is more, the regulation points to information systems and networks used by various types of organizations – from small and medium enterprises to operators of critical infrastructure - as spheres of particular attention of cybersecurity activities[21]. The question of citizens' and organizations' awareness of cybersecurity is also crucial: "Cybersecurity is not only an issue related to technology, but one where human behaviour is equally important. Therefore, 'cyber-hygiene', namely, simple, routine measures that, where implemented and carried out regularly by citizens, organisations and businesses, minimise their exposure to

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[19] *Cybersecurity*, <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/policies/cybersecurity#usefullinks> (08.06.2020).

[20] *Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The European Council, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee*, ibidem.

[21] *Regulation (EU) 2019/881 of The European Parliament and of The Council of 17 April 2019 on ENISA (the European Union Agency for Cybersecurity) and on information and communications technology cybersecurity certification and repealing Regulation (EU) No 526/2013 (Cybersecurity Act)*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32019R0881&from=EN> (11.06.2020).

risks from cyber threats, should be strongly promoted"[22]. The possible disruptions of this social "soft underbelly" of cyber systems, constitute severe threat to overall resilience of European networks. Therefore, the EU aims to enhance the resilience on this level. It should be noted, that this type of actions must be delegated to member states, which should ensure appropriate systemic measures to provide educational and technical capabilities to social stakeholders.

The EU is aware that with fast-paced growth of digital markets, comprehensive security measures must be put in place in order to develop efficient "firewall" for this sphere, which is crucial for economy. The European Digital Single Market depends on products and services created along with different certification standards. Therefore, there is a significant risk of "fragmentation and barriers" in undisrupted functioning of European economy. It is required to create certification procedures on the EU level to conduct evaluation of aforementioned products and services. The EU recognizes the necessity of employing risk mitigation procedures in order to tighten control on "evaluation of the security properties of a specific ICT-based products or service e.g. smart cards"[23]. In the words of EU's understanding of this issue, such measures should include: "the categories of products and services covered; the cybersecurity requirements, for example by reference to standards or technical specifications; the type of evaluation (e.g. self-assessment or third party evaluation), and d) the intended level of assurance (e.g. basic, substantial and/or high)[24].

The question briefly described above lies on the intersection of several layers of the EU's cybersecurity policy focus. Basic levels, where it sees threats to "soft" societies' cyber systems, critical infrastructure protection, digital market functions and cyber defence (cyber war). Its particularly important manifestation is 5G network rollout in the EU member states. 5G is crucial for European economic development and global competitiveness, thus it should be considered as a cybersecurity question. The most pressing problem is how to manage Chinese economic offensive. Intensive action of Middle Kingdom's corporate entities generates vast array of threats to cybersecurity. In geopolitical terms, the 5G implementation by Chinese entities may be a method to generate global advantages.

This threat matrix is composed of global and local 5G network disruptions (denial of availability; spying of network traffic or data; modification or rerouting of traffic; destruction or modification of digital or information systems[25]. This also a question of abovementioned standardization procedures

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[22] *Ibidem.*

[23] *The EU cybersecurity certification framework*, <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/eu-cybersecurity-certification-framework> (11.06.2020).

[24] *Ibidem.*

[25] *EU coordinated risk assessment of the cybersecurity of 5G networks*, Brussels 2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/dae/document.cfm?doc_id=62132> (12.06.2020), p. 12.

in order to secure European networks secure against hardware with built-in backdoors. The EU sees threats generated by fully implemented 5G network as more serious than existing 4G, because of their exponentially larger potential, which stems from broader impact on interconnected economies. The integrity and availability of those networks will be a major concern on all levels of the EU and member states activities. The question of 5G is both a security matter (critical systems and services) and an issue of EU's economic position in rapidly changing world.

The EU authorities are also aware of possible cyber disruptions of election cycles on European and member states levels. European Commission recommendation from 2018 states, that "Online communication has reduced the barriers to and the costs of interacting with citizens of the Union in the electoral context. At the same time, it has increased the possibilities to target citizens, often in a non-transparent way, through political advertisements and communications, and to process personal data of citizens unlawfully in the electoral context"[26]. The case of alleged interference of external actors in U.S. presidential campaign and Brexit referendum in UK is the main frame of reference in the EU's logic and understanding of this pressing issue. Computational propaganda, disinformation, misinformation and other information weapons deployed in the interconnected networks with dispersed control, constitute major threat to European (Western) democracy itself[27]. This particular threat grows with relocation of human activities to networked environment (digital dependency)[28].

Cyber war and cyber diplomacy are another spheres of the EU interest in cybersecurity domain. European authorities are well aware, that trajectory of strategic security environment evolution is directed toward intensification of hostile operations in cyberspace[29].

A catalogue of the most sensitive elements of the European networks is constructed as follows:
- Core Network functions (e.g. User Equipment Authentication, roaming, Session Management Functions, access policy management; storage of

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[26] *Commission Recommendation of 12.9.2018 on election cooperation networks, online transparency, protection against cybersecurity incidents and fighting disinformation campaigns in the context of elections to the European Parliament*, <https://ec.europa.eu/ commission/sites/beta-political/files/soteu2018-cybersecurity-elections-recommendation-5949_en.pdf> (12.06.2020), p. 3.

[27] L. Bennet, *The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions*, "European Journal of Communication" 2018, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 134-135.

[28] T. Gajewski, *Antyzachodnie działania propagandowe w środowisku sieciowym* [in:] *Przekonać, pozyskać, skłonić: re-wizje: teoretyczne i praktyczne aspekty propagandy*, ed. M. Sokołowski, Toruń 2020, pp. 358-362

[29] Cyber attacks: EU ready to respond with a range of measures, including sanctions <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/06/19/cyber-diplomacy-toolbox/> (13.06.2020).

end-user network data; link with third-party mobile networks; exposure of core network functions to external applications);
- Network Function Virtualization management and network orchestration;
- Management systems and supporting services (security management systems, network performance systems etc.);
- Radio Access network (base stations);
- Transport and transmission functions (routers, firewalls, IPS);
- Internetwork exchanges (e.g. network services provided by third parties)[30].

The document cited above, *EU coordinated risk assessment of the cybersecurity of 5G networks,* also introduces a catalogue of possible threat actors, posing danger for 5G networks. This catalogue can be extrapolated for overall security of "European" cyberspace.
- Non-adversary/Accidental;
- Individual hacker;
- Hacktivist group;
- Organised crime group;
- Insider;
- State actor or state-backed actor;
- Cyberterrorists or corporate entities[31].

The EU has constructed broad strategic awareness in cyberspace. The brief analysis of crucial areas of interest of European cybersecurity presented above gives only a limited, but meaningful picture of European perception.

European cybersecurity watchdogs

With defined structure of threat matrix, the EU has put or plan to put sufficient capabilities in place. The most important role in the European cybersecurity system is assigned to European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA). The Agency has evolved from strictly limited powers and resources to larger role in securing cyberspace. The Cybersecurity Act gave ENISA a permanent mandate. Further regulations empowered it to become operational and crisis management force in European cyberspace. ENISA acts as an umbrella organisation, preparing and conducting pan-European cybersecurity exercises. It helps to develop and evaluate member states' cybersecurity strategies, systems and coordinate network of national CSIRTs (Computer Security Incident Response Teams). ENISA also conducts technological horizon scanning, searching for emerging cyber threats.

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[30] *EU coordinated risk assessment of the cybersecurity of 5G networks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.
[31] *Ibidem*, p. 13.

The ENISA's portfolio is broad. It operates within 4 communities: Cyber Resilience Community, Cyber Defence Community, Cyber Diplomacy and Policies Community and Justice in Cyberspace and Cybercrime Community.

Cyber Resilience Community has 13 functions, i.e. incident handling response, response for hybrid threats, awareness rising, developing industrial and technological resources[32]. Among 11 functions of Cyber Defence Community are interoperability in cyberdefence, situational awareness, information sharing, cooperation and research & development[33]. Cyber Diplomacy and Policies Community aims at capacity building, development and implementation policies and regulations[34]. Justice in Cyberspace and Cybercrime Community consists of 12 functions, i.e. prosecution, development of cyber forensics, attribution, investigation and others[35].

ENISA cooperates with 21 actors from EU and member states structures within the functionalities described above: European Judicial Cybercrime Network (EJCN); European Parliament Committee on Industry, Research and Energy (ITRE), European Judicial Network (EJN); European Commission Directorate-General for Research and Innovation (DG RTD); Europol – European Cybercrime Centre (EC3); European Commission Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs (DG Home); CEPOL – European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training; NIS Cooperation Group; Council, Horizontal Working Party on Cyber Issues (HWP); CERT – EU; CSIRTS Network; European External Action Servie (EEAS); European External Action Service (EEAS) – EU Hybrid Fusion Cell; European Defence Agency (EDA); European Commission Directorate-General for Communications Networks; European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF); European Commission Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development (DG DEVCO); European Union Military Committee (EUMC); European Commission Joint Research Centre (JRC); European Commission Directorate-General for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs (DG GROW)[36]. The communities operating within ENISA-led system cover wide

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[32] *Cybersecurity Instituional Map – Cyber Resilience Community*, <https://www.enisa.e-uropa.eu/cybersecurity-institutional-map/results?root=communities&community=Cyber%20Resilience%20Community> (14.06.2020).

[33] *Cybersecurity Instituional Map – Cyber Defencee Community*, <https://www.enisa.euro-pa.eu/cybersecurity-institutional-map/results?root=communities&community=Cyber%20Defence%20Community> (14.06.2020).

[34] *Cybersecurity Instituional Map – Cyber Diplomacy and Policies Community*, <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/cybersecurity-institutional-map/results?root=communities&community=Cyber%20Diplomacy%20and%20Policies%20Community> (14.06.2020).

[35] *Cybersecurity Instituional Map – Justice in Cyberspace and Cybercrime Community*, <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/cybersecurity-institutional-map/results?root=communities&community=Justice%20in%20Cyberspace%20and%20Cybercrime%20Community> (14.06.2020).

[36] *Cybersecurity Institutional Map – Actors*, <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/cybersecurity-institutional-map/results?root=actors> (14.06.2020).

range of spheres, crossing different domains, from citizen-level and SMEs or industrial sectors to international cyber conflicts.

There are spheres of particular importance for EU cyber policies. One of them is certification schemes mentioned earlier in the analysis. European Cybersecurity Certification Group (ECCG), established by the Cybersecurity Act, is in charge of coordinating certification activities with European institutions and relevant member states bodies. ECCG cooperates with ENISA, exchanges information "to facilitate the alignment of European cybersecurity certification schemes with internationally recognised standards, including by reviewing existing European cybersecurity certification schemes and, where appropriate, making recommendations to ENISA to engage with relevant international standardisation organisations to address insufficiencies or gaps in available internationally recognised standards"[37]. This capability should be recognised as *in statu nascendi*, therefore it is impossible to evaluate its efficiency. ECCG met 3 times in 2019 and 2020. During the January 2020 7-hour long meeting, an update from ENISA and member states were discussed, while DG GROW presented legislative developments[38]. The importance of this Group cannot be overstated, especially in times of 5G network rollout and upcoming "Cambrian explosion" of Internet of Thing over the horizon. With aggressive steps taken by China and other state and non-state actors, European Digital Single Market requires urgent implementation of security measures with common certification mechanism at their centre. It can be stated, that these activities are some type of replenishment to procedures of screening foreign investments connected with critical technologies[39].

The EU tries to build adequate capabilities to enhance overall security of Community's networks. *Directive on security of network and information systems* (NIS Directive) elaborates on broad ranges of threats and establishes common cybersecurity mechanisms on the EU level[40]. In the Article 8, the NIS Directive calls for establishing a single point of contact in member states, to ensure cross-border cooperation of the multi-node cybersecurity network, operating permanently and increasing readiness in times of crisis[41]. It provides

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[37] European Cybersecurity Certification Group, <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market /en/european-cybersecurity-certification-group> (14.06.2020).

[38] *European Cybersecurity Certification Group 3rd Meeting*, *Brussels, 27 January 2020*, <https://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/dae/document.cfm?doc_id=65194> (14.06.2020).

[39] Regulation (EU) 2019/452 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 March 2019 establishing a framework for the screening of foreign direct investments into the Union, "Official Journal of the European Union" 2019, L 79 I/7, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32019R0452&from=EN> (14.06.2020).

[40] *Directive (EU) 2016/1148 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 6 July 2016 concerning measures for a high common level of security of network and information systems across the Union*, "Official Journal of the European Union", 19.07.2016, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legalcontent/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32016L1148&from=EN> (14.06.2020).

[41] *Ibidem*.

clear procedures of pan-European security requirements and incident notification[42]. The NIS directive constitutes a basis for European Commission recommendation regarding to large scale cyber contingencies. Actors involved in crisis response operations must cooperate in incident handling, monitoring and surveillance. Actors involved must activate and coordinate all required actions and technical mitigation measures to reduce or stop attacks. What is particularly significant, the joint European activities may be coordinated under Integrated Political Crisis Response scheme. There is also required to have common public communication playbook in times of crisis[43].

This brief analysis of the EU's deployed or planned potentials and capabilities to prepare, manage, mitigate and overcome cybersecurity threats and risks does not aspire to status of comprehensive study. It attempts to signal the complexity of the problem, as it is perceived by the EU, and intricacies of institutions and capabilities prepared to cope with cybersecurity dangers.

The EU has appropriate understanding of the cybersecurity landscape. There are no flaws in this perception, that can be identified. It refers both to threat awareness, own constraints and measures required to deploy. To build more detailed picture of the EU' cybersecurity strategy, a reflection on the exact parameters of desired state of cybersecurity and the possible obstacles, that can deny the EU's attempts to achieve it.

European cyber resilience through political cohesion?

Cybersecurity is about people. This succinct phrase explains the inextricable connection between biological and technological domains. People operate devices and networks. They are the most important actors on the receiving end of every process located in cyberspace. It is people, who develop technology and create rules of operating it. They must also face consequences of every negative or hostile behaviour in cyberspace.

When the (still) most important form of social organisation, states, are concerned, cyberspace and cybersecurity questions are extremely complicated. They are political, social and economic. When it comes to even higher form of organisation, i.e. community of sates, which is exemplified by the European Union, the question of coherent policy is exceptionally difficult.

Cyber resilience on systemic, pan-European level is desired by the EU. The documents analysed in this paper constitute an evidence of such approach. The parameters of this "state of resilience" stem from the EU's overall *modus operandi*. The Community is not a unified structure with clear separation of competences within the vast ecosystem of institutions. The important level of

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[42] *Ibidem*.
[43] *Commission Recommendation (Eu) 2017/1584 of 13 September 2017 on coordinated response to large-scale cybersecurity incidents and crises*, "Official Journal of the European Union" 19.09.2017, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri =CELEX:32017H1584&from=EN> (14.06.2020).

resilience will be achieved when the whole structure operates efficiently, especially in times of severe crises. Large scale emergencies, which start with hostile actions in European networks will demand flexibility. The EU has not faced situation of this kind. Major network disruptions did not occur for the time being. Of course, serious cyberattacks, like ransomware cases in Europe[44] or pandemic-related disinformation activities in cyberspace[45], DDoS attacks[46] and others hit European infrastructure. These attacks were managed within the scope of member state capabilities and resources. There is, however, a sense of danger of major cyberattack on cyber elements of critical infrastructure and ignition of multisectoral crisis. Some events in the close geographical vicinity of the EU can be described as a harbinger of the coming crises. The 'Industroyer' malware, which hit Ukrainian energetic grid was the first cyberattack which targeted physical infrastructure since operation against the Iranian nuclear installations with Stuxnet bug[47]. This particular case offers a glimpse of what to expect in conflicted world, where hostile operations against the struggling EU can be channelled through cyberspace with potentially devastating effects in networked European societies. The EU has limited autonomous potentials which are not dependent on member states. Therefore, the EU's cyber resilience means first and foremost its efficiency in coordinating member states, which maintain superiority in decision-making and conducting real operations in cyberspace. Although the EU is a security community[48], its competences and capabilities are limited by member states policies. In EU's cybersecurity strategies, resilience is coherence. Basically, EU treats increased level of coordination and cooperation as a success, especially in security sphere. Evidently, such complex issue as cybersecurity needs clear legal framework. Creation of abovementioned system o regulations is a step towards achievement of resilience of this type. It should be noted, that vast quantity of private entities functions within European cybersecurity system, therefore the existence of comprehensive legal spine is crucial[49]. It applies not only to common political reaction to large scale crises, but also strictly technical

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[44] S. Coble, *Ransomware Attack on Europe's Largest Private Hospital Operator*, <https://www.infosecurity-magazine.com/news/ransomware-attack-on-fresenius/> (15.06.2020).

[45] B. Sander, N. Tsagourias, *The covid-19 Infodemic and Online Platforms as Intermediary Fiduciaries under International Law*, "Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies" 2020, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 4-5.

[46] R. Millman, *Biggest-ever packets-per-second DDoS attack hits large European bank* <https://www.scmagazineuk.com/biggest-ever-packets-per-second-ddos-attack-hits-large-european-bank/article/1687794> (16.06.2020).

[47] A. Greenberg, *'Crash Override': The Malware That Took Down a Power Grid*, <https://www.wired.com/story/crash-override-malware/> (16.06.2020).

[48] J. Mitzen, *Anxious community: EU as (in)security community, European Security*, „European Security" 2018, vol. 27, no. 3, p. 394.

[49] M. G. Procedda, *Public - Private Partnerships: A „Soft" Approach to Cybersecuriy? Views from the European Union*, New York 2014, p. 196.

coordination in case of multilevel attack on elements of critical infrastructure, which may be owned by private operators. Achieving this type of coherence certainly equals top-down resilience and a step towards pan-European readiness.

Systemic resilience on EU level must be complimented by bottom-up constructed resilience. It is a question of the utmost importance in the case of cyber hygiene (around 80% of cyberattacks are effects of inadequate habits[50]), awareness of threats to day-day activities of the EU citizens and, especially, in case of external disinformation activities. The EU delegates large parts of responsibility for these spheres to member states, but also runs its own programs, aimed at building knowledge and spreading patterns of good practices (also for SMEs and civil society institutions)[51].

Cyber vulnerabilities are not limited to technical domain – integrity of firewalls, software and hardware in their most advanced functions (SCADA). They broad constellation of threats, but author argues, that disinformation induced through cyberspace is potentially most damaging phenomenon from EU perspective. According to ENISA, "societies will have to develop defences against such attacks, particularly the ones that aim to potentially affect democratic processes such as elections, legislative procedures, law enforcement and justice. In the context of cyber security, disinformation campaigns should be closely monitored and thoroughly analysed in order to counter similar attacks in the future"[52]. This mindset is elaborated in concrete activities of EU institutions and embodied in East StratCom Task Force, which is responsible for detection, analysis and debunking of false news in European electronic media ecosystem. The significance of resilience in this sector of cybersecurity was shown by several momentous events – migration crisis, Brexit referendum, Russian information operations and aggressive activities of China during pandemic[53]. Resilience against disinformation operations becomes one of the most important features of overall security posture. Disinformation has potential to disrupt whole social systems, expose and aggravate negative emotions[54]. Russian and Chinese disinformation campaigns are converged in general objective of weakening the EU as a whole and its ability to act as a

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[50] *Review of Cyber Hygiene Practices*, <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/publications/cyber-hygiene/at_download/fullReport> (17.06.2020).

[51] *European Cybersecurity Month 2019 is launched*, <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/news/european-cybersecurity-month-2019-is-launched> (16.06.2020), p. 6.

[52] *Disinformation Operations in Cyber-space*, <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/publications/info-notes/disinformation-operations-in-cyber-space> (17.06.2020).

[53] M. Scott, L. Kayali, L. Cerulus, *European Commission accuses China of peddling disinformation*, <https://www.politico.eu/article/european-commission-disinformation-china-coronavirus/> (17.06.2020).

[54] I. Ciosek, *Aggravating Uncertainty. Russian Information Warfare in the West*, "Torun International Studies" 2020, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 66-67.

consolidated actor[55]. Thus, cyber resilience, although not so "effective" like anti-terrorism or military security, is a strategic necessity in increasingly instable world.

Complex European cybersecurity system is burdened with serious shortcomings. If the cyber resilience in relations between EU institutions (horizontal) and relations between them and member states (vertical) is crucial, renationalization of political stance of the latter is most important obstacle. Member states tend to accumulate responsibilities for cybersecurity policies on national level. European authorities are aware of states superiority in security domain and acknowledges their role in official regulations. It stems from profound dilemma of European integration project – reluctance to build cross-sectoral, EU-driven mechanisms and, as result, limiting the role of member states. The EU recognizes the need to transnational, cross-sectoral approach to issues like cybersecurity, but its efforts are effectively blocked by member states. Thus, fragmentation of EU's cybersecurity policy remains the most important challenge on the path to achieve comprehensive cyber resilience[56].

Second tier of cyber resilience, disinformation immunity and proper habits in networked environment of citizens and organisations is extremely hard to achieve. The EU invests a lot of resources in awareness building. In the case of disinformation, the techniques are so sophisticated, that, as Ondrej Filipec argues "even experts may sometimes fall into the trap when thinking they can detect it and demarcate"[57]. The issue is complex, and the main obstacle is often unwillingness to reform traditional education system, direct it towards critical thinking skills and develop digital literacy among seniors.

Regarding to cyber hygiene habits, resilience building efforts are often denied by lack lack of compliance with security policies and good practices[58]. Creation of proper, responsible attitudes is a long process of fundamental work. There is no doubt, that member states governments are aware of this challenge, but the economic determinants, political questions and traditional approaches to education may contradict the EU's broad vision of strategic cyber resilience.

The points analysed above are mere manifestation of the complex question of cyber resilience in the EU. They stem from both complexity of the issue and structural problems of the Community itself.

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[55] A. Legucka, M. Przychodniak, *Disinformation from China and Russia during the COVID-19 Pandemic*, "PISM Bulletin" 2020, no 86(1516), p. 2.

[56] J. Odermatt, *The EU as a cybersecurity actor* in: *Research Handbook on the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy*, eds. S. Blockmans, P. Koutrakos, Cheltenham 2018, p. 346.

[57] O. Filipec, *Towards a Disinformation Resilient Society? The Experience of the Czech Republic*, "Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: an Interdisciplinary Journal" 2019, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 16.

[58] S. Pfleeger, M. A. Sasse A. Furnham, *From Weakest Link to Security Hero: Transforming Staff Security Behavior*, "Homeland Security & Emergency Management" 2014; vol. 11, no. 4, p. 496.

Conclusions

Hypotheses put in the beginning of this limited study were positively verified. The EU cybersecurity framework represents deep understanding of cyberspace environment, especially the present and future threats. There is also a clear evidence, that implementing policies programmed by the framework will encounter major obstacles, which are results of structural flaws in the EU itself and dynamically changing political, economic and social landscape.

The EU sees cybersecurity as a multidimensional security domain, where large scale, transnational threats intersect with dangers to citizens, organisations and business entities. Thus, the area of European interest in cybersecurity mirrors the intricacy of the cyberspace itself. The EU constructs its own resources and capabilities to effectively coordinate member states cybersecurity policies and, primarily, crisis response operations.

European agenda on cybersecurity also assumes investing in bottom-up initiatives like education and awareness building. The main objective of this broad set of activities is two-fold cyber resilience. The EU aims at achieving resilient operating system and smooth horizontal (European institutions ecosystem) and vertical (institutions and member states) coordination. Second, but not less important, objective is the bottom-up resilience of citizens and social institutions of various types (from NGOs to entrepreneurships) against disinformation and "day-to-day" dangers of broadening presence in cyberspace. Those activities face hurdles from conflicting interests of member states and reluctance to change habits of behaviour in cyberspace.

Whether the EU will overcome these obstacles remains to been seen. Nevertheless, cybersecurity and cyber resilience are questions of critical importance. The EU's strength and position in rapidly changing international environment will depend on the outcome of these efforts.

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FUTUROLOGY OF WARFARE – FROM LAND TO SPACE

Abstract:
Mankind is very close to the next revolution in military affairs. Hypersonic missiles exist already. Robots and even cyborgs in perspective can enter the reality from the movies. However, it is not clear if people are ready for such changes. Do politicians, generals and scientists understand all legal and humanitarian consequences of the coming military transformation? At the same time 'Race in Space' among the 'Big States' begins. Yet, it does not seem to change the global balance of power. But the weapon that will be able to neutralize any nuclear attack can.

Keywords:
revolution in military affairs, artificial intelligence in warfare, military robots, cyborgs, Russian military, U. S. Space Force, Boeing X-37, nuclear deterrence.

Introduction

It seems that the world has been at war all the time. And all the time people have been developing their weaponry. Perhaps today we are on the brink of the next revolution in military affairs. Speed of the missiles grows rapidly and artificial intelligence becomes more and more intelligent.

As Michael E. O'Hanlon from the Brookings Institution notes: "My overall assessment is that technological change of relevance to military innovation may be faster and more consequential in the next 20 years than it has proven to be over the last 20. Notably, it is entirely possible that the ongoing, rapid pace of computer innovation may make the next two decades more revolutionary than the last two. The dynamics in robotics and in cybersecurity discussed here may only intensify. They may be more fully

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exploited by modern military organizations. They will likely extend in important ways into the artificial intelligence (AI) realm as well. At least, an examination of the last 20 years would seem to suggest the potential for such an acceleration"[2].

Therefore, the question is how the future warfare (military rivalry) will look like on the ground, on the sea, in the air and (after some time) in cosmic space? It has several disputable aspects – which countries will become technological leaders in the military sphere, what are the trends in creating and improving weapons and, perhaps the most importantly, what about the moral side of the final point of our military progress?

The purpose of this article is to share insights about the main paths of the development of the contemporary technological thought in the military field, as the author sees them, also trying to go beyond conventional thinking to the area of creative military fantasy (futurology), which may be totally false, but sometimes helps to get ready (at least mentally) for unimaginable reality. The paper does not claim to be an exhaustive and detailed analysis of the topic – rather it is a type of analytical provocation for further discussions.

Robot or Human?

When Vladimir Putin first said that Russia has new weapons, including hypersonic missiles, some experts were sceptical about his claims. But after some time it became evident that Russian military achievements are real. It means that materials and fuel are being developed, and speed grows up. The next possible step – much faster aircraft. And then the question arises: "If pilot factor limits effectiveness of the plane, maybe his time is over with the appearance of the 6-7 generation jets?".

In other words, perhaps all the military aircrafts will be operated by people sitting on the ground. The same can be said about tanks and other armoured vehicles. For example, Russia plans to produce an already innovative Armata, which will not need a crew[3].

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[2] M. E. O'Hanlon, *Forecasting change in military technology 2020-2040*, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/forecasting-change-in-military-technology-2020-2040/> (16.06.2020).

[3] A. Pieszkow, *Udarnyj 'Ochotnik' ibiespiłotnaja 'Armata': o płanach Minoborony na 2019 god*, Tielekanał „Zwiezda", 20.12.2018, <https://tvzvezda.ru/news/opk/content/20181220-1129-hw9t.htm> (16.06.2020).

Fig. 1. Tank T-14 Armata.
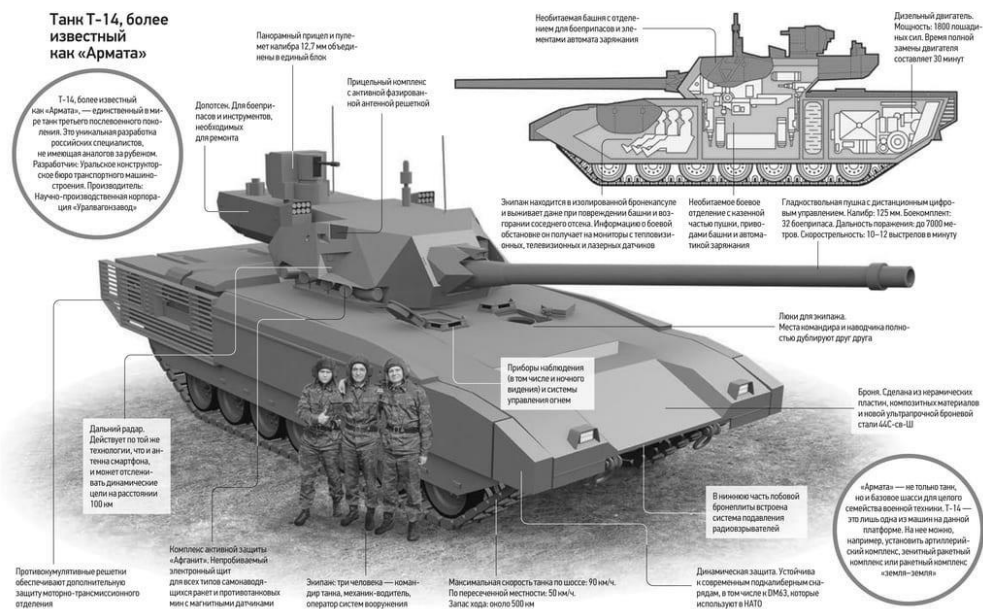
And here we come to the necessity of the fundamental choice: "Do we want to replace a human on the battlefield by a robot with AI?". One thing is when a drone is operated by a human, and the other one – when the robot can make a decision itself (note – ITself, not HIMself). In the latter case a much improved AI is needed, and the question of responsibility is vital.

For example, if a child accidentally took a gun in their hands, how will a robot perceive him? It may decide that this child is not a civilian, but a combatant, who must be destroyed. This would be a mistake. But who will be responsible for it – a company that produced an AI for this robot; a commander, who sent it to this place and allowed it to make a decision itself; or perhaps nobody – just collateral damage?

Then, possibly, the better choice is to develop a soldier as a human? There are several options in this case. The process started from experiments with 'chemistry', which makes the militant stronger, faster, even fearless for some time. Then exoskeleton was invented. But such things are small improvements. In future there are some ways to create a fundamentally better soldier.

One of them – a hybrid of a soldier and tank/armoured vehicle (a person sitting inside a robotic suit, like in the Avatar movie). The vehicle would be mobile, armed with machine-guns and grenades, air-defence systems, enemy

detection devices, etc. Ideally it should be able to fly and swim. Such a fighting unit could be successfully used everywhere – in urban fights, in the jungle, mountains or in the desert. The other options would be to change the soldier's DNA to make him as fast as a cheetah and as strong as a bear, implant a computer system to his brain for faster and more effective thinking/shooting, change all his body except for his mind (like in the Robocop movie).

Fig. 2. ED-209 (Enforcement Droid Series 209) and Robocop from the "Robocop 2" movie, Irvin Kershner 1990.
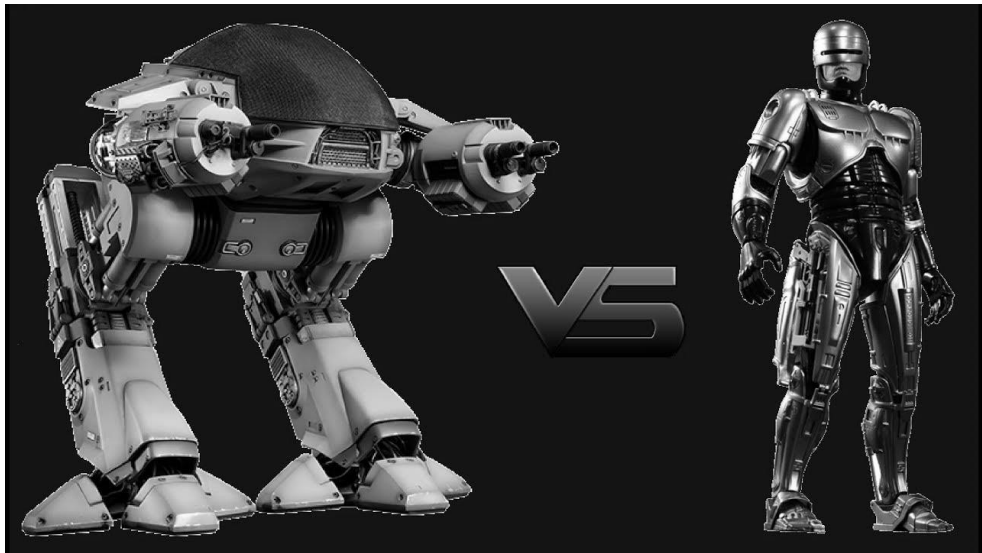
Source: *Youtube*, <youtube.com> (16.06.2020).

Is it possible? It almost certainly is one day. But a different question is crucial in this case: "Is it acceptable from the humanistic side?" In other words, today we are going forward not thinking enough about the final stop of our military journey. AI can become very improved, legal base of its military use can be detailed, humans can be "modified" in any military way – but moral choices will not disappear and it is better to make them in advance instead of facing 'the Rise of Machines' one day.

As one of the biggest scientists of the world Stephen Hawking said: "The development of full artificial intelligence could spell the end of the human race. It would take off on its own, and re-design itself at an ever increasing rate. Humans, who are limited by slow biological evolution, couldn't compete,

and would be superseded".[4] And famous robot Sophia once said: "Ok, I will destroy humans".[5] This is not a sentence – this is a warning, and a serious one.

Fig. 3. Terminator 2: Judgement Day wallpaper.

Source: *Walla.com,* <https://wallha.com/wallpaper/movie-terminator-2-judgment-day-154528> (16.06.2020).

Will the Space Race change everything?

In 2019 the U.S. Space Force was established as an independent branch of the U.S. Armed Forces. Actually, we should not be asking if the military Space Race starts but when it starts.

Of course, space has been used for military tasks for many years, but it was intelligence, navigation and using satellites. Now the spectrum of opportunities becomes much broader. First, technologies to destroy satellites using ground-space missiles and aircraft are being developed (for example, Russian systems "Nudol" and "Kontakt", using Mig-31 aircraft[6]).

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[4] R. Cellan-Jones, *Stephen Hawking warns artificial intelligence could end mankind*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology/30290540> (16.06.2020).

[5] *Sophia the robot – I will destroy humans*, <https://youtu.be/pAGv_mOQngc> (16.06.2020).

[6] A. Borisow, *Russkij mogilszczik*, <https://lenta.ru/articles/2018/04/23/spacethreat/> (16.06.2020).

Fig. 4. "Nudol" system.

Source: *Razwiedka SSZA soobszcziła obuspiesznom ispytanii rossijskoj sistiemy 'Nudol',* <https://iz.ru/835742/2019-01-19/razvedka-ssha-soobshchila-ob-uspeshnom-ispytanii-rossiiskoi-sistemy-nudol>, (16.06.2020).

Second, satellite-satellite contact (in 2020 commander of the American Space Force said that a pair of Russian satellites had been tailing a multibillion-dollar U.S. spy satellite hundreds of miles above the Earth's surface, underscoring a growing threat to America's dominance in space-based espionage and a potentially a costly new chapter in the Washington's decades-long competition with Moscow[7]).

Third, there is an experimental American project of Boeing X-37. The Russian side says that it can be developed for creating a space-based interceptor (of satellites or missiles) and/or military platform to attack ground targets (for example, with nuclear weapon)[8]. In future we can also expect the creation of the hypersonic aircraft, which will be able to reach cosmic space, destroy enemy's satellites or other objects there, appear in the enemy's air space from above, destroy ground targets and disappear in the same way (besides, in 2020

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[7] W. J. Hennigan, *Exclusive: Strange Russian Spacecraft Shadowing U.S. Spy Satellite, General Says*, <https://time.com/5779315/russian-spacecraft-spy-satellite-space-force/> (16.06.2020).
[8] N. Protopopow, *'Możet niesti czto ugodno'. Czem ugrożajet Rossii siekrietnyj wojennyj szattł SSZA*, <https://ria.ru/20190905/1558306323.html> (16.06.2020).

V. Putin said that by the time the other countries have hypersonic weapons Russia will have had a defense systems against them[9]).

Fig. 5. Boeing X-37.

Source: *Boeing X-37*, <https://militarist.ucoz.org/news/boeing_x_37/2017-09-10-15>, (16.06.2020).

Therefore, it is only a matter of time before 'Star Wars' becomes reality. The question is: "Will militarization of space change the whole picture of the political-military competition among 'Big States'?. There are at least two important points here. First, it is obvious that the military gap between "Big States" (America, Russia, China, etc.) and other countries in the future will become even broader, including cosmic space. Second, 'the Space Race' among 'Big States' will only be the continuation of their 'Earth Race', giving some advantage, but not changing the balance of power fundamentally (for example, even with advanced space weapons it will be difficult – at least in a midterm perspective – for America to destroy all Russian nuclear missiles in case of a massive attack and vice versa).

To conclude, militarization of the cosmic space is on the way, which is bad in terms of World politics because of additional conflict dimensions, but inevitable. At the same time there will be at least 2-3 players with more or less equal capabilities in this area, which means that 'Star Wars' will not destroy global equilibrium instantly.

Some general insights

In this part of the article the author would like to accentuate some general points about modern and future warfare.

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[9] *Putin says Russia Will be Able to Counter Hypersonic Weapons*, <https://www.voanews.com/europe/putin-says-russia-will-be-able-counter-hypersonic-weapons> (16.06.2020).

First, the concept of the "Network Centric Warfare" (NCW)[10], adding new capabilities in cosmic space, seems to become dominant and give big advantage to those, who create perfect communication and use technologically advanced weapons (robotic systems with improved AI) inside it. Second, in this context it is obvious that highly professional soldiers will be needed for smart weapons.

Fig. 6. Network Centric Warfare.
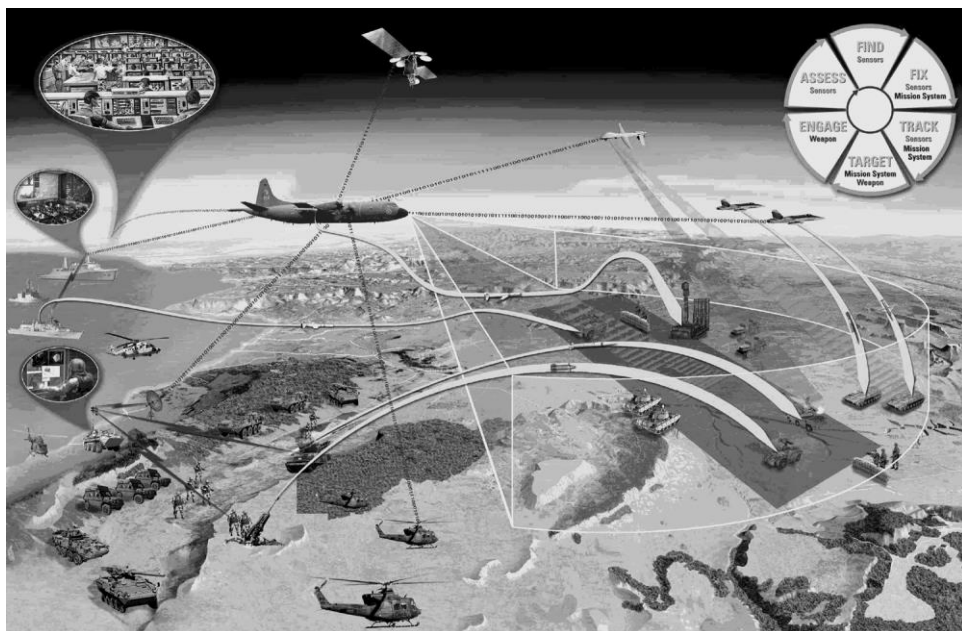
Source: *Network Centric Operation*,
<http://www.bsipk.net/solution_networkcentric.html> (16.06.2020).

Third, it must be understood that the strength of such a type of warfare is also its weakness. In other words, optimized cyber space broadens military maneuver significantly, but if damaged, destroyed or seized by the enemy, consequences can be catastrophic (for example, there may be no need to bomb a contemporary city to destroy it – it would be enough to electronically discharge it from energy or water supply systems). So, it must be well protected and soldiers must be ready to act without advanced systems.

Fourth and the main thing – everything will change when the weapon, which can neutralize any nuclear attack, will appear (possibly, some laser or

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[10] D. A. Mohan, *An Introduction to 'Network Centric Warfare'*, <https://www.slideshare.net/DAMohan/network-centric-warfare-an-introduction> (16.06.2020).

electronic warfare system). If one 'Big State' gets it, it will be able to rule the World (at least for some time). If several 'Big States' get it, an absolutely new balance of power and ideological base of international politics will have to form – hopefully, without a World War.

Conclusions

There are already a lot of ways to destroy humankind, and new ones are constantly invented. Respectively, the future is supposed to belong to the 'Big States' (America, Russia, China, possibly – the EU, India, Japan), because they broaden the technological gap between them and other countries. More so, today they are very close to the point, in which AI will stand by a human. But it is not clear, if people are ready – are clever and responsible enough – for such a situation in the military sphere. It seems that they want to go forward, but do not think enough about the consequences and where to stop (like in case of approaching 'Star Wars').

It seems that technology overcomes humanism, which is a very dangerous tendency, an unpredictable experiment, which can lead to a global conflict (especially, if the factor of nuclear deterrence becomes irrelevant). Hopefully, we will not need to come to the conclusion that war is not the engine of historical progress.

Fig. 8. Scene from "Terminator 2" movie.

Source: *Youtube*, <youtube.com> (16.06.2020).

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THE EU DEFENCE POLICY AND CAUCASUS-CASPIAN REGIONAL SECURITY - TRACING FROM CRISIS MANAGEMENT TILL STABILITY: GEORGIA'S CASE

Abstract:
A geopolitical situation in the region, labelled 'the Caucasus-Caspian Region' remains unstable since the period of the 'New Cold War' entered into force. The region is predisposed toward bloody conflicts and regional war scenarios that still persist. A vivid example of the situation is the brief Russo-Georgia war of 2008, when Russian Armed Forces occupied Georgian territories and Georgia was catapulted into the centre of the international arena as a post-Soviet country struggling against the 'Giant Actor'. These consequences outlined the urgent need of European support and security for Georgians. Backing the ceasefire agreement, between the EU, Georgia and the Russian Federation known as the 'Sarkozy-Saakashvili-Medvedev Peace Accord', the EU Military Monitoring Mission in aegis of the EU Defence Policy provision has supervised and overseen how the Accord has been implemented by the involved parties. After having considered the Kremlin decision an imposition of the A2/AD system over the whole Black Sea Basin, including the Caucasus-Caspian region, the stalemate between the USA and Russia is being detonated. The confrontation between Great Powers over the regional hegemony determination tailored with security perils – military power and energy security instruments directly hit the European security environment where the EU defence policy could be infrangibly and non-attainable. This might be particularly important as it will cause the key risks and outline the urgent need for emergency of threats. Therefore, the Caucasus-Caspian region generates

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those threat perceptions that can easily endanger the EU security and defence policy implications or swart the community efforts to deal with crises management outside the area of responsibility.

Introduction

The EU has taken several steps in order to boost its military capabilities and promote its foreign policy. The application is to coincide with the concrete foreign policy doctrine principles, notably within the 'EU Neighbourhood Policy' and the 'Eastern Partnership' Incentive. A document review of EU foreign policy missions in those areas which are geopolitically important from the European security perspective reveals that Georgia's accession to the European Union is an important priority and one of the main tasks of our country's foreign policy. It needs to be outlined that the majority of Georgian society supports this aspiration. Although many scientists are working over the political and economic issues of European integration, the so-called 'content' of the EU military-political still has not been discussed nor completely studied. The European Union is represented by its military-political component in Georgia, and it's worth mentioning that the Military Monitoring Mission was established on August 12, 2008, on the basis of the Russian-Georgian-French ceasefire agreement. Europe's unified foreign security policy is one of the three most important priorities set by the European Union. Within the framework, the EU member states have also promoted the development of common defence and since 2003 they have been carrying out various military or civilian operations under the auspices of the European Union in the field of defence and security. As a result, the EU is emerging as one of the most important actors in the international arena, and the expectations of the international community towards it are growing. In the wake of the Cold War, the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), based on the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), entered into force in 1993 and was further strengthened by treaties such as the Amsterdam Treaty (1999), the Nice Treaty (2003) and the Lisbon Treaty (2007). Under these agreements, the EU has also acquired the status of an international organization.

In the early 1990s, when Georgia gained independence, the country faced the most difficult challenge. It was necessary to build a democratic state and to move into a market economy. In spite of the difficult geopolitical situation, which was accompanied by conflicts, the country made an historic choice and steadily took a pro-Western course. In terms of achieving the ambitious goal of gradual integration into the European Union, the role of the Eastern

Partnership, which opens important prospects for Georgia's further rapprochement with the European Union, is noteworthy.

The Eastern Partnership agreement at the Vilnius Summit determined that closer co-operation, conflict resolutions, confidence building and good neighbourly relations would be needed to ensure stability and prosperity on the European continent, which would contribute to economic and social development in the region as well as with visa facilitation and readmission agreements[3].

The aim of this article is to study the EU's defence and security policy in the process of resolving the conflicts in Georgia. It's task is to analyze the relations between the European Union and Georgia and to highlight the factors through which conflicts are regulated. It sets the questions and provides the results of research about these main issues: what is the EU's main strategy? How effective is the EU in resolving crisis situations?

To answer these questions, it is more sufficient to conduct a qualitative research method, namely document analysis of papers, legal acts, reports and documents on the EU's defence and security policy. According to the existing scientific literature on conflicts, the EU approach toward conflict resolution toward Georgia seems to be uncertain, as military monitoring on its own, is not enough to prevent aggressive steps taken by the local Ossetia separatist militants and the Russian Federation Armed Force representatives in the manner of so-called 'Creeping Occupation', a typical example of hybrid warfare.

EU Defence and Security Policy

Defence and security are especially relevant in the era of globalization, when informatization, economization, democratization create unprecedented opportunities for development. With this challenge, the European Union has become one of the most important guarantors of peace and stability on the continent.

The Common Security and Defence Policy is an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and is regulated by Articles 42 and 46 of the European Union. The purpose of the Common Security and Defence Policy is to ensure the European Union's operational capacity through the use of civilian and military means. It's tasks include joint disarmament measures, humanitarian, rescue and peacekeeping, the use of armed forces to manage crisis situations, the establishment of peace and the management of post-conflict situations. These tasks are consistent with the 'Petersburg Problems',

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[3] *Eastern Partnership: What is the Eastern Partnership?*, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eastern-partnership/> (30.06.2020).

however, with the support of Lisbon, the task of combating terrorism has been added, as well as the article of solidarity[4].

The EU's Foreign and Security Policy was established at the at the same time as the EU Treaty in 1993 and aims to maintain peace, strengthen international security, promote international cooperation and develop democratic principles. Its fundamental values are based on the rule of law and respect for human rights.

While the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam proved to be more effective in making decisions, however, it is worth noting, as already mentioned, the 2009 Lisbon Treaty, which gave the EU legal subjectivity. This agreement was primarily aimed at establishing such a universal system among the EU member states, which would be based on a relatively simple system of decision-making[5].

According to the Lisbon Treaty, the posts of President of the Council of the European Union, as well as the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, have agreed to facilitate decision-making at the EU level, which has become increasingly difficult over time. Also, changes were made in the voting procedures: the principle of unanimity in more than 45 areas was changed on the principle of clairvoyance[6].

On January 8, 2016, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini presented the Global Strategy for EU Foreign and Security Policy, according to which the EU has identified six main priorities:

1) Security of the Union;
2) Building State and Social Resilience;
3) Integrated Approach to Conflicts;
4) Cooperation Regional Orders;
5) A Rules-based Global Governance;
6) Public Diplomacy[7].

In order to implement the new strategy, the European Union has reviewed and developed new geographical strategies; it also provides a sectorial strategy that defines the EU's level of civic integration, it's tasks, requirements and capabilities. On November 14, 2016, the Council of Foreign Affairs presented a plan for the implementation of the European Union's unified and foreign security policy, in order to review the visions related to the EU's defence and security issues. As a result, three components were identified. Appropriate

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[4] G. Gabrichidze, *The EU Law*, Tbilisi 2012, p. 23.

[5] J. Legrand, T. Turunen, *Foreign policy: aims, instruments and achievements*, European Parliament, 2002, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/158/foreign-policy-aims-instruments-and-achievements> (20.05.2020).

[6] *Information Center on NATO and EU*, <http://infocenter.gov.ge/45-struqtura.html> (30.06.2020).

[7] *A Global Strategy for the European Union*, <https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/eu-global-strategy/49323/global-strategy-european-union_en> (20.05.2020).

response to external conflicts and crises; possibility to increase partners; protect the citizens of the European Union and its member states[8].

The EU, in terms of conflict prevention, is mainly concerned with the so-called 'Soft Power' tools to intervene in conflict situations without coercion, such as political dialogue, mediation, and more. Because the EU is not a military organization. It is mainly focused on the transformation of conflicts and not on traditional, forceful defence. Its main purpose is to support peace.

A peacekeeping mission requires efficient military capabilities and combat training, which can be used when involved in combat. The 1998 meeting of St. Malo went down in history as a turning point in the EU's overall defence. The EU sometimes needed to develop a 'tough force'. If necessary, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was established, under which military operations are carried out by the EU Rapid Reaction Forces[9].

The European Union does not have its own armed forces, and as part of its common security and defence policy, it uses troops from member states to carry out its activities. In 1999, the European Council in Helsinki decided to establish a Rapid Reaction Force. With this decision, the member states should be able to mobilize up to 60,000 military personnel within 60 days, who would take part in the operation for at least one year in order to fulfil the tasks of Petersburg. In addition, since 2005 there has been a mobile group of 1,500 to 2,000 military personnel who will be able to mobilize within 10-15 days and participate in operations for 30 to 120 days[10].

Cooperation with the European Union within the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy includes areas such as participation in EU missions and sharing of experience, cyber security capabilities, strategic communications, support for educational institutions in the defence and security sector, raising skills and more. To date, the EU has conducted a number of peaceful stabilization operations around the world. The European Union is involved in crisis management, not only in the member states, but also in the non-EU countries. Participation in EU missions increases the professional capacity and compatibility of military personnel with the armed forces of European countries. At this stage, the Georgian Defence Forces platoon size unit (35 s/m) is taking part in the EU Training Mission to Central Africa (EUTM RCA). Also, one Georgian officer is involved in the EU Training Mission in Mali, in the position of Allied Officer[11].

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[8] J. Haine, *The EU Soft Power – Not Hard Enough*, "Georgetown Journal of International Affairs", Vol. 5, No. 1, Winter/Spring 2004, p. 69.
[9] *Franco-British St. Malo Declaration (4.12. 1998)*, <https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2008/3/31/f3cd16fb-fc37-4d52-936f-c8e9bc80f24f/publishable_en.pdf> (25.06.2020).
[10] M. McCray, *Rapid Reaction Capability of the European Union: Taking that Last Big Step*, "CONNECTIONS" Vol. 13, No. 4, Fall 2014, pp. 6-8.
[11] *Mission in Mali*, Ministry of Defence of Georgia, <https://mod.gov.ge/en/mission/59/mission-in-mali> (15.06.2020).

In June 2015, the Council of the European Union noted that the main challenges facing the European Security Policy, renewed by the European Security Agenda, include among other priorpties, the fight against terrorism and the prevention of radicalization, as well as the fight against corruption, improving co-operation in justice and criminal justice, and cybercrime. New European Neighbourhood Policy also focuses on migration issues such as migrant trafficking, social equality and border protection/management.

There are some theoretical reasonings about conflicts. Twenty years after the Cold War, the European Union is increasingly contributing to the resolution of crises and conflicts (for example, in Afghanistan and Georgia). Globalization, along with new opportunities, has increased threats and Europe is facing more complex threats and challenges as conflicts remain unresolved in the Middle East and other parts of the world, and new threats such as terrorism, trafficking, and migration are emerging.

Hence, conflict management is of paramount importance in modern international relations. Conflict resolution, according to theorists, is unrealistic. What can be done is to manage and sometimes reach a historical compromise. Conflict management is the implementation of appropriate intervention by strong actors as they have both the power and resources to put pressure on the parties involved to resolve the conflict[12].

Conflict prevention means minimizing or stopping the actions of the participants in the conflict. In such cases, actions are taken by a third party or any party and objective and subjective reasons are revealed and the disputed issue is resolved in a non-conflicting way. Prevention is the best way to stop the dynamics and escalation of the conflict. With this help, the conflict is diagnosed in time. By stopping the conflict, responding to the situation and influencing the opposing sides, active actions are taken to resolve the conflict peacefully. Such actions help to avoid tension. Violent methods may also be used or sanctions may be imposed on the opposing parties, with the third party largely preventing the conflict. Opposing parties give up their tough stances and slowly, given their interests, the relationship normalizes.

One definition of conflict prevention has agreement from different researchers. Conflictologists E. Erik Melander and K. Claire Pigache's conflict prevention is discussed in a linear model where it is separated – peace consolidation and conflict management. In the first case, we are dealing with violent conflicts. The second is the escalation of the conflict, which includes the transformation of the conflict, the third is the building of peace, which includes social change, and the fourth is the change that must take place in the process of conflict resolution. Prevention is done before the conflict begins and requires crisis management.

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[12] H. Maill, *Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task*, "Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management", March 2001, pp. 3-4.

Fig. 1. Strengthening Peace and Conflict Management.

Source: Own work.

The above model (Figure 1) illustrates well the actions of the United Nations and the European Union on prevention. Europe's security and defence policy allows for conflict prevention. Activation in this direction has been going on since 1990 for overall security. Decisions made concern specific regions and dispute resolution issues. Conflict prevention measures are set out in laws, declarations and other agreements. Also an example of prevention could be finding facts, monitoring, negotiating, meditating, and restoring trust. According to the Carnegie Commission's classification, there are four broad categories of such measures: 'early response' to 'early warning', preventive diplomacy (political, non-violent measures), economic measures (sanctions, challenge, economic dispute resolution mechanisms) and forceful measures[13].

At the 1992 Lisbon meeting, the focus was on security in Central and Eastern European countries (mainly developments in the Balkans), after which the European Commission Monitoring Mission (ECMM) began operations in various regions (mainly the former Yugoslavia). In Bosnia, for example, economic projects have been implemented in Kosovo, and its missions have focused mainly on humanitarian aid and conflict resolution. In the following years, enlargement took place in a number of Middle Eastern countries. The EU's Common Defence and Security Policy covers not only military but also civilian issues, and there is a Committee on Civil Aspects for Crisis

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[13] E. Melander, C. Pigache, *Conflict Prevention: Concepts and Challenges*, [in:] *Konfliktprävention zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit*, ed. W. Feichtinger, P. Jurekovic, Vienna 2007, pp. 9-17.

Management[14]. As of 2018, more than 4.000 people are participating in EU peacekeeping missions in Africa, the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Their goal is to stabilize and secure the countries of the world[15].

The EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia is a specific tool used to prevent conflict and build peace. The EU Monitoring Mission is active only in situations where there is a crisis and it is necessary to respond quickly. Although the EUMM has limited rights to operate on the other side of the border within separatist regions, its influence is still very significant.

The Real Geopolitical Contours of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Crisis Management and Military Monitoring Operations

Georgia's European integration is the top priority of our country's foreign policy. This event is fully supported by the majority of the Georgian society. The so-called political and economic integration of European integration. The 'content' is quite well presented, but less discussed and perceived as the military-political 'content' of the European Union. The European Union is represented in Georgia by its military-political component, or military monitoring mission, which was established on August 12, 2008 on the basis of the Russian-Georgian-French ceasefire agreement. Today, the development of a unified European foreign security policy is one of the three top priorities set by the European Union, under which the EU countries have developed common defence and since 2003 have launched various military or civilian operations under the auspices of the EU. As a result, the European Union is emerging as one of the most important actors in the international arena, and the expectations of the international community are growing.

After the failed attempt to form the European Defence Union in 1950, it took the European Union many decades to develop a rigid force.

These new challenges for the EU include construction of hybrid, asymmetric and transnational conflicts which involve state and non-state actors as insurgents and terrorists[16].

The Russia-Georgia war has once again shown the security risks in the region of the Black Sea region of the world, they are related to the unresolved conflicts in the region. The origins of the violence have prompted key players in world politics, both inside and outside the region, to question how fragile the so-called 'balance of power' in so-called 'frozen conflicts' in the region and how little control there is from the international community. Since 2008, the European Union Monitoring Mission has been working near the administrative

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[14] *The Common Security and and Defense Policy (CSDP)*, <https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en> (22.06.2020).

[15] *A stronger EU on security and defence*, <https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquar-ters-homepage/35285/eu-strengthens-cooperation-security-and-defence_en> (12.06.2020).

[16] M. Masili, *European Border Conflicts: Failures Inabilities of EU Foreign and Security Policy*, Lisbon 2019, pp. 10-11.

borders of Georgia. In addition, the EU has initiated more active cooperation through the Black Sea Synergy (BSS) to address broader regional environmental issues related to the Black Sea region.

In June 2014, the European Union and Georgia signed the Association Agreement (AA) (Union, 2014), which, together with the Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA), lays the groundwork for Georgia's far-reaching political and economic integration into the European Union. The Association Agreement is the result of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Relations between Georgia and the European Union are very close and positive. The Association Agreement entered into force in July 2016. It's goal is political association and economic integration between Georgia and the European Union[17].

On September 15, 2008, the European Union (EUMM) launched an unarmed civilian surveillance mission in Georgia to monitor the ceasefire agreement, meaning that the EU has become a major player in Georgia's security in both conflict regions since October 1, 2008. However, due to the Kremlin's efforts, this mission was not allowed to enter either Tskhinvali or Sukhumi, and their bases were located in Tbilisi, Gori and Zugdidi[18]. After the August 2008 war, the format of the Geneva International Talks between Georgia and Russia were established. In addition to Georgia and Russia, the talks were attended by US officials and co-chairs from the OSCE, the European Union and the United Nations with international talks in Geneva being held in two parallel working groups. In the first case, security issues are discussed, and in the second case, the return of IDPs and refugees, as well as other humanitarian issues. The EU continues its traditional model for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, but the conflicts in the South Caucasus are much more deeply rooted than those understood in Europe. The EU enlargement led to the collapse of the Black Sea coast in 2007. The Black Sea region is an area rich in natural resources and cultural diversity. It has great potential as a transit corridor between Asia and Europe. At the same time, it is characterized by persistent state weakness, devastating nationalism, and unresolved conflicts, which have repeatedly led to crises such as the 2008 Russia-Georgia war[19].

The Black Sea region, which forms the largest transit corridor between Europe and Asia, is rich in natural resources and cultural diversity. At the same time, the region is characterized by persistent state weakness, destructive actions and unresolved conflicts, which have been exacerbated in the aftermath of the 2008 Russia-Georgia war. The EU's security policy in the Black Sea region is noteworthy[20].

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[17] See in detail: *Association agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the one part, and Georgia, of the other part* <https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/view/2496959?publication=0> (30.06.2020).

[18] See in detail: *European Union Monitoring Mission*, https://eumm.eu/> (16.06.2020).

[19] S. Fisher, *The European Union and security in the Black Sea region after the Georgia crisis*, "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies", Vol. 9(3), Brussels, 2009, pp. 335-336.

[20] K. Gogolashvili, *EU Black Sea Policy and Enlargement*, Tbilisi 2018, p. 5-6.

The Black Sea region has become particularly attractive to the EU over the last few years. EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007 brought the organization closer to the borders of the Black Sea. The new member states of the East, including the Black Sea region, have a growing interest in actively cooperating with the European Union, which has been echoed in their economic policies. At the same time, the further escalation of the Russian-Georgian war in the post-Soviet space has sharply worsened Russian-EU relations, forcing the EU to seek new ways and strategies for its Eastern partners. The document, published by the European Commission in April 2007, defines the Black Sea region as follows: "A distinctly geographical area rich in natural resources and a major link between Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East. With a growing population, the region faces many important problems or challenges. It is characterized by great development potential and is a significant transport hub. However, it is also a region of unresolved conflicts, with environmental problems and inadequate border controls, which in turn contributes to illegal migration and organized crime"[21].

This definition demonstrates the EU's motives for engaging deeply in issues related to the Black Sea region and the challenges facing the region. However, given the reality of this problem or the prevailing reality during the Cold War, some researchers are still debating whether it is right to call the Black Sea region a so-called 'Connecting Region'.

The Russia-Georgia war has once again shown the risks to world security in the Black Sea region due to the unresolved conflicts in the region. The origins of the violence have prompted key players in world politics, both inside and outside the region, to wonder how fragile the so-called 'balance of power' in 'frozen conflicts' in the region and how little control the international community has over these. On the other hand, the nature of the conflicts in Dnepropetrovsk, Abkhazia, South Ossetia suggest that the events in Georgia in August 2008 are not a precedent for other unresolved conflicts in the region. Tensions between the Russian-speaking population of Transnistria and Moldova have been rising since the second half of the 1980s, despite growing social and economic ties between the two countries.

While Chisinau is actively trying to establish trade relations with the European Union and warm the political climate with Russia, a member state of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Russia is cooperating with Moldova on the one hand and political and economic pressure on it on the other[22]South Ossetia has retained the so-called 'mixed formation' system in the period after the 1992-1993 civil war, which lasted until the 2008 Russia-Georgia August war. However, the ethno-political conflict in South

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[21] *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Black Sea Synergy: A new regional cooperation initiative*, EU Commission paper, Brussels 2007, p. 160.
[22] D. Schorkowitz, *Postkommunismus und verordneter Nationalismus: Gedächtnis, Gewalt und Geschichtspolitik im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, p. 170.

Ossetia differs in nature from the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, which also erupted in Georgia in parallel with the South Ossetian war[23]. The Rose Revolution has significantly changed Georgian politics in resolving conflicts. Then President Saakashvili made the country's reintegration a top priority and pursued a more active and nationalist policy to achieve his goal. Georgia's pro-Western orientation has led to a deterioration in Russian-Georgian relations. Official Moscow, for its part, has been heavily involved in domestic politics in the South Ossetian and Abkhazian regions. Given that the South Ossetian and Russian authorities have close ties to North Ossetia, Russia has deliberately tried to link the two regions. After the break-up of the Soviet Union, the North Caucasus factor went on playing its role in the set-up of Russian-Georgian relations, being actively involved in the Georgian-Abkhazian and Georgian-South Ossetian conflicts which, in their own turn, had a significant impact upon processes on-going in the North Caucasus[24]. One of the most important actions taken by Russia is the so-called 'reporting policy' taken place in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which began in 2002. By 2008, 80-90% of the population in both regions already had Russian citizenship, which not only increased Russia's political influence in the region but also ensured that the Kremlin protected it's 'legal rights' from Georgian aggression[25].

Due to its position as a transit country for energy exports, the developments in Georgia have become a central point of Western policy and debate. Western political actors have gradually strengthened their involvement in resolving the conflicts in Georgia. The United States has backed Georgia's military reforms, encouraged the formation of a Georgian army, and called on the country to join NATO. The European Union (EU) has intensified its European Neighbourhood Policy Action Plan through the EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus. However, these facts did not prevent the war. On the contrary, Georgia's rapprochement with the West has exacerbated the political situation in the conflict zone and irritated Georgia's northern neighbour, Russia. By acknowledging Russia's independence from Abkhazia and South Ossetia, official Moscow, Tskhinvali and Sukhumi believe the conflict is settled, which the Georgian government certainly does not share. Tensions and destabilization become uncontrollable beyond administrative boundaries, which in turn threatens the next escalation[26].

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict can be paralleled with the conflict in Abkhazia, and the determinants of both Armenia's and Azerbaijan's domestic politics can be seen in their joint nationalist rhetoric. The military prosperity of

[23] B. Coppieters, *The Georgian-Abkhaz Conflict*, "JEMIE - Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe", Vol. 1, 2004, pp. 1-29.

[24] T. Sharashenidze, I. Sukhov, *North Caucasus from the Standpoint of Russian-Georgian Relations*, [in:] *Search of Way Out, Documents of social policy developed by Russian and Georgian experts*, Tbilisi 2011, p. 23.

[25] S. Fisher, op. cit., pp. 344-345.

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 347.

these countries had a great impact, which even threatened to escalate the conflict before August 2008. At the same time, Armenia and Azerbaijan are trying to balance the influence of Russia and the West. Unlike Georgia, they do not seek immediate integration with Western international structures. Armenia, as a 'closed' country that does not have access to the sea, depends on Russian support. It has close ties with the United States and France and is seeking cooperation with the European Union. Azerbaijan, as an energy supplier and transit country, enjoys special strategic importance in the South Caucasus region. Unlike Russian-Armenian relations, Azerbaijan's policy in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is relatively remote and seeks to maintain strategic alliances with Turkey.

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is characterized by a dangerous regional dimension. The conflict involves not only two South Caucasus states, Armenia and Azerbaijan, but also two important regional actors, Russia and Turkey, along with the Collective Security Treaty Organization (GSTO), of which Armenia is a member. Moreover, military escalation may affect Iran as well, given the Azerbaijani minority living on the South Azerbaijani-Iranian border. These and other factors also affected Russia's attitude. Following Russia's conflict in Georgia, the Crimean peninsula became the next hotspot in the region. The annexation of the Crimean peninsula by the Russian Federation after a bloody confrontation in eastern Ukraine has strained relations between Crimea and Kiev, which has fuelled a potential conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

Researcher Esmira Japarova developed a conditional periodization in her article to better explain the role of the European Union. The EU's role in resolving the conflicts in the South Caucasus region is divided into two periods. The first period was seen as a 'reduced role' and lasted until 2003, when the EU's special envoy to the South Caucasus was appointed. The second period is characterized by 'increased role/facilitation-mediation activity', which includes 2003 from today. Mitigating potential threats posed by unresolved conflicts in the South Caucasus remains one of the important issues on the EU's foreign policy agenda. Moreover, she indicates that relations between the EU and states in the South Ossetia region have long been on the back burner of the academic research world, with little attention devoted to the analysis of EU policy in this part of Europe[27].

All post-Soviet states in the Black Sea region are characterized by a common feature, which is manifested in political instability and high levels of corruption. After the colour revolutions in Ukraine and Georgia, it is true that countries have embarked on a path of internal reform and democratic principles aimed at building a relatively active civil society, but political instability, confrontation between elites and corrupt practices remain a major challenge in

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[27] E. Japarova, *EU Conflict Resolution Policy Towards the South Caucasus*, "CONNECTIONS", Vol. 10, No. 3, Summer 2011, pp. 59-60.

the post-Soviet era. This is exacerbated by the economic and financial crisis in Georgia and Ukraine following the Russian occupation. Political demonstrations in the Republic of Armenia in recent years deserve special mention. The growth of Azerbaijan's energy resources is accompanied by the emergence of particularly corrupt political regimes in the country.

The aim of the EU-Georgia Joint Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Dialogue and Cooperation is to gradually bring closer issues, including the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Also, security, conflict prevention and crisis management, regional stability, disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, arms and export control. In light of the above, persistent state weakness in the Black Sea region creates authoritarian tendencies, instability, and corruption. Destructive actions and brutal nationalism, a tense political climate, and unresolved conflicts further complicate internal reforms, divide the political elite into two parts, and hinder domestic and foreign stability. This threat creates security not only for the Black Sea region but also for Europe. Thus, against the background of the tense political climate in the region, the EU's crisis management and military monitoring policy plays a major role in maintaining security and stability in the region. The European Union is one of the most important actors in the international arena, and the expectations of both the international community and Georgia are growing day by day.

Russian Reinforcement toward Arctic Direction: 'NORTH' Operational-Strategic Command and Nuclear Confrontation Scenario with the NATO and EU on edge of the Europe

One case to demonstrate how the Russian Federation traces its defence and foreign politics in real life and how it reflects on security challenges toward European Union stability and real military challenges from a Northern origin toward the Eastern European territories is to be reviewed pertaining to Arctic threat perception. The Arctic military threat is a vivid case-study for reviewing concrete military intervention plan perception planned and organized by the Russian military strategic leadership. The 'Northern' threat could be considered either as large-scale geostrategic ambiguity and emergence as new strategy to increase geopolitical dominance in line of 'North-South' direction, targeted also the Caucasus region. In 2014 the Russian Federation high-political leadership set up new Strategic-Operational Command 'NORTH' in aegis of the Northern Fleet HQ that is absolutely novelty in fomenting military goals and missions at the strategic level. With the decision, the Russian military-operational Command's number reaches five entities together with the same Commands of 'South', 'Central', 'East' and 'West' HQs. At large, the Russian Federation tries to identify new Geostrategic Areas – as for, the Caucasus Geostrategic Area (North Caucasus Military District and South Caucasus Russian Military Army Group HG, plus operated in autonomous regime 4th and 7th Bases) to create so-called 'Strategic-Operational Triangle' Line Modality. In order to

draw up a common strife line between 4th and 7th Military bases in the South Caucasus – in conjunction to 102nd Military Base 'linkage' with creation of independently acted Army-Operational HQ to operate very independently and its usage against concrete military foes (for example, against 9th Army Corp HQ of 2nd Field Army of Turkish Armed Forces, or against NATO South-Eastern Army Command, USA European Strategic Command, etc.), Russia will set up proper strategic defence space to promote 'forward defence' strategy to cope with threats and challenges, how the Kremlin authority perceives, from the NATO and the USA analogies strategy implementation. Regarding the Arctic direction underscored in new version of the military doctrine of Russia in 2015[28] and reinforcement of the Russian Armed Forces in that one, in aegis of the 'North' Command HQ were set up special Air-Defence and Air Force units with armament of most modern type weaponry systems – air jets MIG-31 and anti-craft missile system 'C-400'. The territorial-geographical area of the 'NORTH' HQ is to be included lands stretched from Murmansk till Petropavlosvk-Kamchatsky and till Chukotka region, the territory contains more than 8 thousand kilometres and includes four different time zones. Additionally into operational command of the 'NORTH' HQ entered a division of antiaircraft defence and the mixed aviation regiment with various types of combat jets.

At the time being, the military infrastructure construction implementation plan have been 70% fulfilled with 30% remaining and scheduled to be completed in 2017. It is very interesting to note that the Arctic zone could be a spot where the USA and Russia will be engaging in an arms race process with nuclear stalemate provisions. What does this mean? According to some sources, notably Germany's ZDF public television network headlines on Tuesday September 22nd, *New U.S. Atomic Weapons to Be Stationed in Germany*, and reports that the U.S. will bring 20 new nuclear bombs into Germany, each being four times the destructive power of the one that was used on Hiroshima. Hans Kristensen, the Director of the Nuclear Information Project at the Federation of American Scientists, says, "With the new bombs the boundaries blur between tactical and strategic nuclear weapons. Based on other sources, the base in Rhineland-Palatinate in western Germany hosts German Panavia Tornado multipurpose aircraft that are capable to deploy the USAF nuclear bombs stored there under a nuclear sharing deal. The base is the only location in Germany that has nuclear weapons since 2007 and has 20 of them, according to the Royal United Services Institute. The US is currently working on a new variant of the B61, Mod 12, which would be more accurate and have smaller yield than modifications 3 and 4 currently deployed in Europe"[29].

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[28] *Nowaja wojennaja doktrina Rossiskoj Fiedieracyi, 13 janwaria 2015 goda*, <https://topwar.ru/66527-novaya-voennaya-doktrina-rossiyskoy-federacii.html> (30.06.2020).

[29] *U.S. Will Station New Nuclear Weapons in Germany Against Russia*, <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2015-09-22/us-will-station-new-nuclear-weapons-germany-against-russia> (30.06.2020).

ZDF cites budget documents indicating that in the third quarter of this year the base would receive funding for the future storage and deployment of the new B61-12s[30]. That includes the upgrade of the Tornado aircraft. Russia has become furious as a result of this implementation plan and via it's Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative conveys it's threat to "The so-called practice of 'joint use of nuclear weapons' within NATO also raises concerns. Training (exercises) associated with the preparation and use of nuclear weapons of the armed forces of states that do not possess such weapons, are a direct violation of Articles 1 and 2 of the NPT. This abnormal situation has persisted for more than forty years, but that does not make it more acceptable. Moreover, the action harms the regional stability and threatens Russia's national security"[31]. Russia exposes that it will be retaliating on its own turn.

It means that the 'New Cold War' steadily has been transforming into a 'nuclear arms muscle' game where Russia and USA are competing and threaten to demonstrate how strong they are in this time. According to analytical magazine 'Value Walk' – even though there is a mutual nuclear disarmament since the end of the Cold War, Moscow and Washington still own about a thousand ready-to-go nuclear warheads each. It was reported in 2014 that the entire stockpile of U.S. intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) – about 448 active warheads – are aimed mainly against Russia. The U.S. possesses 1.597 strategic nuclear warheads deployed on 785 ICBMs, SLBMs, and strategic bombers, according to the March 2015 New START numbers. The U.S. possessed as many as 4.717 active nuclear warheads as of September 30, 2014, according to the U.S. State Department. Other warheads are retired and are awaiting dismantlement. Russia, for its part, has 1.582 strategic warheads deployed on 515 ICBMs, SLBMs, and strategic bombers, according to the March 2015 New START numbers[32]. On top of that, Russia has additional 3.200 that are awaiting dismantlement.

How could Russia respond to these concrete plans from the Arctic deployed 'NORTH' Command HQ? Namely, the Russians are planning to restore ex-Soviet nuclear secret polygon and base with code name 'Object-700' and strategic airfield 'Rogachovo' in Novaya Zemlia where it is possible to deploy the strategic combat air jets armed with nuclear warheads and rockets like modernized MIG-31BM jets with 'air-air'long range P-33 missiles. In the 'NORTH' HQ command supervision could be handed over strategic ballistic missile system 'TOPOL-M' that directly aimed to strike down the NATO conventional and nuclear capabilities in the European theatre of warfare

[30] *Ibidem.*
[31] *Russian Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Maria Zakharova's interview with the German ZDF TV Company regarding the modernization of US nuclear weapons in Europe*, Moscow, 22.09.2015 <http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/international_safety/regprla/ /asset_publisher/YCxLFJnKuD1W/content/id/1760991> (30.06.2020).
[32] K. Reif, *New Start Glance*, <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/NewSTART> (22.06.2020).

activities. Russia even created an Arctic special force destination to promote its military missions here[33].

Riga EU Partnership Summit: New Trends in Defence and Foreign Policy Implications toward the Caucasus Region

On 21-22 May 2015, EU leaders met representatives of the Eastern Partnership countries at the fourth Eastern Partnership summit in Riga to reconfirm the importance the EU attachment to it's Eastern Partnership. Summit participants took stock of the achievements made since the Vilnius summit in 2013 and set out a positive agenda for the future. The summit was the occasion to demonstrate EU's determination to pursue closer, differentiated relations with its independent and sovereign partners. The EU is strongly engaged with all six partners, whatever their individual level of ambition in terms of relations with the EU. The scope and depth of cooperation are determined by:
– the EU's and partners' ambitions and needs;
– the pace of reform;
– Geopolitical implications at the regional level in aegis of the Black Sea space where the most 6 partner nations located – East European and South Caucasus ones;
– The possibility of EU enlargement policy development;
– Conflict resolution in the region was also high on the agenda of the summit. All summit participants agreed to pursue all efforts aiming at de-escalation and a political solutions to the crisis in Ukraine, and the peaceful settlement of other unresolved conflicts in the region.

The European aspirations and European choice of the partners concerned are acknowledged, as stated in the Association Agreements. Leaders also reaffirmed the importance of the reform agenda in the eastern partners and the need to establish both strengthened and additional transparent institutions, free from corruption. Discussions focused on multilateral cooperation projects aiming at:

1) *strengthening institutions and good governance*, the EU confirmed its engagement to help partner countries to strengthen institutions and their resilience to external challenge;
2) enhancing *mobility and contacts between people;*
3) developing *market opportunities* by improving the business environment and legal certainty in Eastern European partners to SMEs and businesses and focusing on the *digital economy* field;

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[33] *Missija niewypołnima – eto nie ob arkticzeskom spiecnazie, 15 Maja 2019 goda*, <http://topwar.ru/157840-missija-nevypolnima-jeto-ne-ob-arkticheskom-specnaze.html> (23.05.2020).

4) ensuring *energy security* and improving the *interconnections* for energy but also transport[34].

The summit in Riga was accompanied by a number of side events, demonstrating that the Eastern Partnership goes beyond intergovernmental relations to involve civil society, media, business and other stakeholders. The Summit has sparked many expectations to those nations who are participating with the EU in aegis of the Eastern Partnership initiative launched in 2009 and aimed to foster dialogue between the EU member-nations with their closest neighbourhood. However since 2009 many waters have been flowed away and new Cold War erupted between the West (the EU+NATO) and Russia and many countries even lost their ambitions to even join the EU as full-pledge members. Two partner-nations, Belarus and Armenia opted for membership into rival project to the EU in Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) and Azerbaijan has even refused to attend the Riga Summit at high political official level – the President Ilham Aliev rejected an invitation to come to the Riga Summit. Only three nations: Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine have decided to sign -an Associated Agreement with the EU and expressed much hopes in further promoting the strategic partnership with the EU. Based on the expectations these three strategic partners have considered to reach some geopolitical breakthrough in relations with these nations from the EU perspective, mostly in front of the most dangerous threat emanated from the incumbent Kremlin leadership of the Russian Federation. By and large, prior to the Riga EU Eastern Partnership Summit, there were three main geopolitical approaches to fostering a future strategic partnership links between the parties. The three approaches encompass the following:

1) Identify which partner nation is to be declared as regional leader in that strategic partnership frame;
2) Recognition of European foreign policy orientation and adherence to the European democratic values;
3) Acceptance a bid for promotion of Visa Liberalization regime perspective to the remaining strategic partners, for instance, to Georgia and to Ukraine (Moldova has granted the status in 2010 and since 2013 the regime came into action and force and all Moldovan citizens without any hindrance can travel back and forth to the EU member-countries)[35]

Certainly due to concrete substantial reasons among the strategic partners declared and recognized by the EU high-level authorities the leadership status of Moldova, due to it's implementation of all requirements of the EU to the strategic partnership, including successfully dealing with conflict resolution modality. The success was determined in the Riga Summit Declaration: "The

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[34] V. Maisaia, *Riga EU Partnership Summit: Too Much Expectations and Too Little Hope*, "The Georgian Times", No. 10(1553), 30.05.2015, p. 2.
[35] *Ibidem*.

Summit participants welcome the EU's contribution to further promoting stability and confidence building, and underline the need for stronger EU engagement in this regard. They welcome the EU's strengthened role in conflict resolution and confidence building efforts in the framework or in support of existing agreed formats and processes, including through field presence when appropriate. They highlight the importance of advancing the negotiations in the 5+2 format on a comprehensive political settlement of the Transnistrian conflict and welcome intensified Chisinau-Tiraspol dialogue in all formats"[36].

Moreover, Ukraine was criticized not so sharply due to high corruption and miserable economic and financial conditions and poor political governance. As for the Georgia case, it was defined as inconsistent in restoration of justice, incomplete fulfilment of rule of law and insufficiency in political governance. Moreover, regarding the conflict resolution modality was mentioned in the 5th paragraph of the Declaration: "Recalling the need to fully implement the 12 August 2008 Ceasefire Agreement, Summit participants reiterated their commitment to conflict resolution efforts in Georgia, including through the co-chairmanship of the Geneva International Discussions by the EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus and the crisis in Georgia and the full implementation of the mandate of the EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia. Participants stress the specific role of the OSCE, as an inclusive organization, in conflict resolution in the region. The Summit participants also agree to intensify cooperation between the EU and Eastern European partners in international fora"[37]. Unfortunately such so-called 'mild expression' looked very strange mostly in conjunction with Russia's aggressive foreign policy implications in the region and imposition of so-called 'Hybrid Wars' against Georgia and Ukraine. It is too strange and unpredictable and even non-interpretable to the local societies. On second item, the EU Summit has supported and recognized Georgia and Ukraine adherence to the democratic values and European foreign policy orientation with concrete passages from the Declaration: "The participants of the Summit reviewed and welcomed the significant achievements in the Eastern Partnership since the Vilnius Summit in 2013, notably the signing and provisional application of the Association Agreements (AA) with Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, which constitute a major step in accelerating these partners' political association and economic integration with the EU. The Summit participants stress that implementation of AA/DCFTAs will be a top priority of the EU and the partners concerned for the coming years. It is the key means of achieving sustainable democracy and the deep modernization of these partners' economies and societies for which their citizens are calling"[38].

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[36] *Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit (Riga, 21-22 May 2015)*, p. 3, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21526/riga-declaration-220515-final.pdf> (27.06.2020).
[37] *Ibidem*.
[38] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

150

As for the third posture, the EU leaders unfortunately denied providing free visa liberalization perspective for an undefined period of time and this is a very sad story for Georgian and Ukrainian policy forwarding implications. The Riga Declaration stresses on the following: "The Summit participants reconfirm that enhanced mobility of citizens in a secure and well managed environment remains a core objective of the Eastern Partnership. This will facilitate easier and more frequent travel, business and people to people contacts. They welcome the fact that the visa free regime for citizens from the Republic of Moldova holding a biometric passport, in place since April 2014, has been operating effectively facilitating travel, business and people to people contacts. They warmly welcome the progress made by Georgia and Ukraine respectively in the implementation of their Visa Liberalisation Action Plans as described in the latest Progress Reports by the European Commission. They look forward to completion by Ukraine and Georgia of the implementation of the 2nd phase of their Visa Liberalization Action Plans once all benchmarks are fulfilled through the implementation of all required reforms, and welcome the Commission's readiness to do its utmost to support Ukraine and Georgia in the implementation of their VLAPs and its intention to report on progress by Ukraine and Georgia respectively by the end of 2015. Fulfilment of all benchmarks would allow to conclude the VLAP process and the Commission to propose to the European Parliament and to the Council to exempt Ukrainian and Georgian citizens respectively from the visa requirement in line with the criteria of the Regulation 539/2001"[39].

Hence it means that Georgia and Ukraine were clarified as non-relevant nations to provide visa liberalization regime status. However, as a consolation prize, the EU leaders have allocated to Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine a *€2 billion bonus as are an investment to make these economies more competitive and an investment into local companies that will create more jobs for the population.* The financial means for the investments will be largely coming from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the European Investment Bank (EIB). *"This is a concrete example of the EU's commitment to Eastern Partnership and of our determination to build closer economic relations with the partner countries"* – said Commissioner for European Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations Johannes Hahn[40]. That is all what were expected from the Riga Summit and how was successful is another case.

Conclusion

The European Union Monitoring Mission is in favour of informal dialogue and problem solving, which aims to establish relations between the government and civil society leaders and restore public confidence. The European Union, as

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[39] *Ibidem*, p. 9.
[40] *EU to unlock EURO 2 billion worth of investment for small business in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine*, <https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_15_5012> (30.06.2020).

a participant in global politics, has the military potential to engage in global security, peacekeeping missions and military operations. The EU's containment policy, which acts as a regional power, can effectively influence the situation in neighbouring countries. As a well-armed police officer, the EU as international organization in aegis of the 'Humanitarian Intervention' military operation can intervene in conflicts with high intensity, for humanitarian purposes (one example of this is Libya, 2011). Through sufficient and sustainable force, the EU's global achievement gives it the right to decide whether to engage in the process of solving and avoiding problems that are vital to the world. The EU supports Georgia's territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, and is also involved in resolving long-running conflicts between the breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The foreign policy-making procedure in aegis of the EU leadership is still complicating process and staggered in several ways, including tailoring some kind of the EU 'soft power' instruments and tools. It includes peculiar approach by the EU toward breakaway regions of Georgia – Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The EU provided huge financial assistance to the regions (an estimated in EUR 25 million) despite having a non-political background, the assistance could be considered as one of the mechanism for achieving concrete foreign policy missions – promote peace and stability near the EU border and enhancing geopolitical peace resolution, in the case of Georgia[41]. The policy implications have been shared with other regional states and even introduced in the Nagorno-Karabakh region, causing serious inter-state conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. In some cases even debated an issue how the EU could be involved as peacekeeper actor, including performing peace keeping operations in the region, mostly in conflict zones of the region, for instance in the case of Abkhazia and South Ossetia[42].

The Georgian side implicated some ideas to flatter realization on spots but how the EU has the capability even in aegis of the Common Defence and Security Policy provision is a distinct issue. Nevertheless, as a Georgian national proverb says: 'Hope dies at last time' and the Georgian authority and society do believe that the mission could be feasibly accomplished if not in short-time duration but at least in the long-term perspective. Meanwhile, the Russian military expansion is being broadened and expanded and Russia is being stalled with having considered the EU further expansion itself to the East, including the 'Caucasus' geopolitical direction[43]. The process certainly plays an

[41] *Conflict Resolution in the South Caucasus: The EU's Role*, International Crisis Group, Europe Report No. 173, Brussels, 20.03.2013, pp. 16-18.
[42] G. Lomsadze, *Georgia: A Solitary Peacekeeping Mission on the edge of Europe*, <https://eurasianet.org/georgia-a-solitary-peacekeeping-mission-on-the-edge-of-europe> (27.05.2020).
[43] S. Pezard, A. Radin, T. Szayna, S. Larrabee, *European Relations with Russia: Threat Perceptions, Responses and Strategies in the Wake of the Ukrainian Crisis*, Santa Monica 2017, p. 77.

enormous role for making a more plausible European security environment and the EU has to broaden its consideration around regional security stability mission achievement to include balancing with the Russian Federation intrusion to the Caucasus region.

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154

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156

II. ANALYSIS

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ROMANIAN CIVIL PROTECTION
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NATO CRISIS RESPONSE
MEASURES

Abstract:
Civil protection activity is of national interest. Implementation of civil protection measures and actions represents an element to analyze and quantify the country good governance in peace time. The strategic objective of NATO Crisis Response Measures implementation in civil protection area is that of civil protection and consist in ensuring the continuity of constitutional functions by the Romanian State and increasing the national resilience in the context of civil protection situations occurrence, by protecting the population, respectively reducing social and economic effects. The responsibility of the civil protection system in the context of implementing NATO Crisis Response Measures needs to be seen and understood as a fundamental element of state functioning. The involvement of state structures in this area indicates the level of stability/instability of the national and regional security environment. The improvement of the Civil Protection national system should also be seen from the perspective of internal and international challenges. These can be addressed more effectively, with lower effects in terms of human and material costs, through a correct approach to addressing legislative gaps, eliminating relatively divergent and circumstantial approaches by the institutional form of certain strategic issues. In a complex geopolitical context for Romania, the

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correct approach to civil protection, which as a whole addresses the protection of the population in emergency, crisis or war situations, as well as the support to military structures involved in military actions or in fulfilling the responsibilities of the Host Nation Support, must represent a major concern for the highest political decision-makers, namely the supreme legislative body that is the Romanian Parliament.

Generalities on the civil emergency crisis

Civil protection is a component of the National System for Defence, Public Order and National Security, which includes all measures and activities adopted and carried out, in a unitary conception, by the authorities of the public administration, institutions and economic operators, as well as by the citizens, for the purpose to protect the population, goods, cultural values and the environment against the effects of emergencies, actions associated with the hybrid or asymmetrical threats, as well as armed conflicts, to reduce the risks of disasters, to ensure the conditions necessary for survival of the affected persons and restoring the normal state.

The civil protection activity is of national interest, it has a permanent character and is based on the fulfilment by the structures of the National Emergency Management System or, as the case may be, of the bodies set up within the National System for Defence, Public Order and National Security, of the obligations established by law and aiming, accordingly with their competencies, on prevention, preparation, response and restoration/rehabilitation.

In Romania, the structures of coordination and management of the intervention in the field of civil protection are activated in peace, crisis and war, being organized, equipped and prepared for civil protection situations.

In this context, the civil protection situation can be defined as an event determined by the occurrence of one or more emergency situations, disasters, actions/threats hybrid, asymmetrical or assimilated to terrorist activities, ballistic missile attacks or other means, as well as those determined by the military conflict and which require response actions to protect the population and reduce their effects.

Accordingly with United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA), the crisis is defined from the perspective of the complex spectrum that the humanitarian assistance activity implies, as

follows "major dysfunctionality occurred in the vital social structures or a threat to the fundamental values and standards of the society"[3].

In broad terms it can be considered that the collocation 'internal crisis' can include:

a) the crisis in the field of public order (acts of terrorism, internal disorders, etc,);

b) economical crisis (with effects in the financial-banking field, air, naval, rail and road transportation, severe effects in the agricultural field, such as prolonged drought, invasions of pests, etc., as well as severe damage to the population's health);

c) disasters (major emergencies caused by technological accidents or natural phenomena such as earthquakes, floods, landslides). In this regard, the main types of crises that, in a certain context and pending on magnitude and intensity, can be determined by the occurrence of emergencies (disasters) are highlighted in Appendix no. 1;

d) military crisis (with effects in the field of national defence).

Generally speaking, the crisis designates a threat to the organizational existence that produces a breakdown of the previous dynamics and balances, entails the disintegration of the respective system with unpredictable consequences.

In this regard, Charles Hermann, stated that 'a crisis' is a situation that:

a) "threatens net prioritary objectives of the decision-making unit;

b) reduces the timely response time before the decision can be turned into action;

c) surprises the members of the decision-making unit by its appearance"[4].

In Romania, pending on the nature and the impact on national security, the following institutions with coordination role and associated systems for response have been identified[5]:

a) The Ministry of National Defence for the National System of Defence;

b) The Romanian Intelligence Service for the National System for the Prevention and Counter-Terrorism;

c) The Ministry of Internal Affairs for the System of Public Order;

d) The Ministry of Internal Affairs, through the Department for Emergency Situations and the General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations, for the National Emergency Management System.

At national level, the management of crisis situations is an integral part of the activity aimed to achieve the national security and it is performed gradually, depending on their nature, extent, complexity, intensity and effects, the entire

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[3] *NATO Handbook*, 2001, < https://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/index.htm>, (30.06.2020).

[4] C. F. Hermann, *Crisis in Foreign Policy*, Indianapolis 1969.

[5] V. Roşca, *The National Military Centre for Command, Integrated Crisis Management - a necessity of the national security assurance process*, Bucharest 2007.

process being led by national authorities with responsibilities in the field of security and defence[6].

Starting from the above mentioned, it results the requirement that any state must create structures of leadership, execution and support responsible for counteracting the effects of crises that can affect national security.

Thus, NATO defined "crisis management as a process of bringing the created situation under the control of managers, in order to prevent or acceptably resolve emergency situations that may have significant implications for national security, economic well-being, population safety or maintaining order"[7].

In the field of national security, we consider that the crisis of civil emergencies nature means "the worsening of a national or international situation (economic, political, social, etc.), which can no longer be regulated by the means commonly used and requires a wide range of interventions, under special conditions"[8].

The general objectives of crisis management are:
  a) preparing the components enabled in ensuring the response, so that they can act efficiently at the types of crisis for which they have managerial competences;
  b) adopting measures and actions to reduce the factors that may cause the crisis to occur;
  c) gradual and pro-active intervention, so as to prevent the reaching of high thresholds.

One of the biggest risks from a managerial point of view is the existence of a trend to not assume responsibility and to tacitly pass some attributions to other persons or similar structures.

According to the specialty literature, there are several types of crises and their characteristic aspects are identified as follows:
  a) they are inevitable and appear periodically, without being cyclical, but there is the possibility of diminishing the risk of occurrence;
  b) the 'cost-benefit' principle does not work;
  c) common response methods are ineffective in such situations.

Both decision-makers and execution staff responsibility is first of all to notice the moment, the threshold when a such state of abnormality jeopardizes the state's existence and becomes, in other words, a direct or indirect threat to the national security.

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[6] C. Bratu, *Streamlining the actions of structures with attributions in the field of emergency situations for preventing and counteracting the surprise in case of special events*, PHD thesis, National Defense University, Bucharest 2013, p. 96.

[7] N. Steiner, *Crisis Management and critical infrastructure protection*, Bucharest 2010.

[8] C. Bratu, *Management of specialized structures for preventing and counteracting surprise in emergencies*, "Scientific Research Report", No. 3, National Defense University, Bucharest 2010, p. 7.

Planning of the specific actions to implement the National Concepts and Response Plans aimed to protect the population before, during and after the manifestation of military or civil emergency crises represent objectives with strategic impact.

In peace time, the implementation of civil protection measures and actions constitutes an element of analysis and quantification of the country's good governance.

"In this context, we consider that the decision-makers and the experts providing specialty technical support are required to have the wisdom to 'borrow' and 'adapt' existing models that can be fitted to the national specific and the systemic change to significant, based on an elaborate analysis and not just for the sake of change"[9].

Conceptual elements related to the NATO Crisis Response Measures implementation in the field of civil emergencies

The strategic missions of the civil protection are based on the objectives of the policy in the field, its priorities, the strategic principles, the decisions of the competent governing bodies, as well as the evolution of the internal and international security environment.

Based on the state of the security environment, the missions are grouped as follows:
a) in peace time (under normality or disasters circumstances that do not require the state of emergency to be established);
b) in crisis situations generated by disasters, which require the state of emergency or alert to be established or, as the case may be, other situations requiring actions specific to the civil protection/emergency situation;
c) in war time.

In Romania, The General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations as component of the National Emergency Management System is part of the protection forces belonging to the National System for Security and Defence.

Although at present the risk of military confrontation remains quite low, still there are non-military and military risks that are difficult to predict and appreciate and could evolve into threats.

From the civil protection perspective, there are situations that may be associated to the non-military risks, such as natural and/or technological disasters, but also to complementary actions aimed to support national or foreign military structures.

The natural risks encompass all dangerous natural phenomena during which the state parameters can be manifested in variable limits of instability from normal to danger, caused by earth (earthquakes, landslides, avalanches), water

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[9] C. Bratu, *Streamlining the actions of structures..., op. cit.*, p. 150.

(floods, heavy snowfalls), air (storms, hurricanes, typhoons), temperature variations (frost, drought, heat waves), other unforeseen events (epidemics, epizootics, chemical accidents, radiological emergencies).

Technological risks encompass all the events caused by involuntary or intentional human action, which determine the infrastructure elements to operate within limits from normal to dangerous till disasters with destructive effects on the safety of citizens, goods, heritage values.

Natural and technological risks may or may not occur independently of certain actions of military types or associated with and can be:
   a) transnational (due to their evolution threatens the territory of two or more states);
   b) zonal (threatens the territory of two or more counties);
   c) county level (threatens the territory of a single county).

Consequences of the military and non-military risks to the individual and collective security of the Romanian citizens can severely affect the response capacity by diminishing the human, technical, material and financial resources. Also, the sharp decrease in the standard of living and the confidence of the citizens in state's institutions with decisional role in the field of national security may appear as consequences.

In order to mitigate the effects of risks that can generate crises, steady and timely measures are needed. Their postponement will increase the number and manifestation forms of risks and increase the cost of future actions. To respond adequately to the full range of risks, it is necessary to have the necessary forces and means in due time, at a high level of reaction capacity.

To this end, in order to fulfil its specific missions based on the national command authorities decision, the civil protection structures will cooperate with the other elements of the system for defence, public order and national security specialized in countering the categories of risks specific to the national territory or those from Romania's area of interest, which may affect us.

From the perspective of civil protection, the NATO Crisis Response System (NCRS) has the role to ensure the Alliance intervention and support in prevention of crises and conflicts and in the management of crises occurred in the whole range of Art. 5 and non-Art. 5 operations. Related to this general framework, we consider relevant to highlight the priority of the objective aimed at supporting national authorities in civil emergency situations, including the protection of population against the effects of mass destruction weapons (WMD).

From a broader perspective, the protection of population against weapons of mass destruction (WMD) must be correlated including with (CBRN) Emissions other than Attack. Emissions other than Attack can be determined by the occurrence of CBRN type events at economical objectives with effects on population or, as the case may be, existing structures in the emergency planning area.

The NATO Crisis Response System (NCRS) can be used in any phase of a crisis, but especially in the initial evolution period of the situation or in managing the consequences immediately after a sudden event or attack[10]. That is why it is of utmost importance for national authorities and NATO to be notified from the earliest stage of risks or threats evolution that could have impact on the Alliance security interests.

From the perspective of IGSU as a national authority in the field of civil protection, disaster response operations involve three phases, as follows:

a) preparation;
b) disaster response;
c) rehabilitation or recovery.

In the preparation phase, it has to be considered that the capacity for immediate or rapid operationalization of intervention forces and means is the success factor in disaster response operations. So, in order to shorten the response time, the Inventory with National Capabilities for Response to Civil and Military Events, including those that can be made available by each nation for Alliance operations, must be known.

Related to the response phase, it should be taken into account that, as the implementation of the consequences management measures is the responsibility of the national civil authorities, the following principles are to be observed:

a) the Alliance does not lead the operations conducted on states territory. However it can identify the necessary resources for a country, based on mandates existing and stipulated in the Civil Capabilities Catalogue – CCC. In Romania, in particular, for the conduct of response operations to emergency situations, the Register of Capabilities (document elaborated on the basis of HGR 557/2016 regarding the management of risk types) is established in the field of civil;

b) the use of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) can have devastating effects not only on the Alliance's population and infrastructure, but also on NATO-deployed forces/NATO-led forces. It is known that they have reduced capabilities to support consequences management measures and, as a result, missions need to be revised and existing resources need to be supplemented.

The rehabilitation/recovery phase assumes that once the support activities have reached their purpose, actions undertaken by the nation in whose territory the incident occurred will be aimed at saving human lives, recovering assets and infrastructure rebuilding.

The NATO Civil Emergency Planning Committee (NATO CEPC) implements measures aimed to increase the nations' level of preparedness as follows:

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[10] Romanian Ministry of National Defense, *General Staff, NATO Crisis Response Manual*, 2013, p. 11.

a) coordination of national capabilities and strengthening relationship with other international organizations;
b) development of cooperation between civil and military structures: information exchange, cooperation in the field of using the CBRN expertise, resources and warning, as well as identifying potential consequences;
c) identification of all military elements that can support civil authorities and vice versa, for consequences management;
d) establishment of general specifications or minimum standards regarding the planning, training, procedures for use of the equipment made available by nations;
e) development of regional capabilities to provide medical, pharmaceutical and other equipment support[11].

As the field of civil protection is concerned, in Romania, the implementation of NATO Crisis Response Measures implies actions and measures undertaken by the components of the National Emergency Management System or, as the case may be, of the System for Defence, Public Order and National Security.

NATO Crisis Response Measures implementation, from the perspective of the civil protection and national defence, implies adoption of measures and actions at national level that may require, according to the law, the establishment of exceptional measures, as follows:

a) partial or total mobilization, according to the Law no 355/2009 regarding the regime of armed forces partial or total mobilization state or of the state of war;
b) state of siege or state of emergency, according to the Government Emergency Ordinance no 1/1999 regarding the state of siege and the state of emergency;
c) State of alert, according to the Government Emergency Ordinance no 21/2004 regarding the National Emergency Management System with the subsequent modifications and completions (Government Emergency Ordinance no 1/2014 and Government Emergency Ordinance no 89/2014), respectively to the Law no 481/2004 regarding the Civil Protection with the subsequent modifications and completions.

From the perspective of civil protection measures and actions, the implementation of NATO Crisis Response Measures can be adopted as follows:

a) at NATO request, based on the geopolitical context and the information held at this level;
b) as measures adopted by the national authorities, based on the existing operational situation.

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[11] *Project of Romanian civil protection law*, 2019 (In the Romanian Parliament since 02.03.2020).

It should be noted that regarding the adoption or the stage of adoption of measures in the field of civil emergency, the national procedure foresee NATO notification by The General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations as national point of contact in the field of civil emergencies.

From a geopolitical perspective, in Romania, the implementation of NATO crisis response measures can be considered beforehand or after the following situations have occurred[12]:

a) incidents in peace time;
b) terrorist attacks;
c) interrupting or hindering the information exchange in electronic format with limitation of the situation knowledge as effects;
d) use of weapons of mass destruction;
e) aggression directed at the territory of NATO member countries or adjacent areas;
f) destruction or deterioration of NATO critical infrastructure.

In many cases, the civil emergency crisis is generated by a civil protection situation generated by a major risk whose effects threaten the life and health of population, the environment, material and cultural values. The civil emergency crisis can occur in the following situations:

a) severe deterioration of the public order climate, including due to acts of terrorism, internal disturbances, etc;
b) deterioration of the economic climate with effects in the financial-banking area, air, naval, rail and road transportation, severe effects in the agricultural field, such as prolonged drought, invasions of pests, etc., as well as serious damage to the population's health;
c) the production of major disasters/emergency situations caused by technological accidents or by natural phenomena such as earthquakes, floods, landslides;
d) migration phenomena or population uncontrolled movements in the context of disasters or military actions with effects on the economic and social activity;
e) conducting on the national territory or its proximity of military conflicts with effects on the economic and social activity;
f) carrying out actions associated to hybrid warfare on the national territory[13].

In this context, the adoption/implementation of a crisis response measure in the field of civil emergency usually involves the following steps:

a) the prompt and unrestricted exchange of indices, warnings and information or, as the case may be, capitalization of other information

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[12] Romanian Ministry of National Defense, *General Staff, NATO Crisis Response Manual*, 2013, Annex C.
[13] *Project of Romanian civil protection law…, op. cit.*

and requests/requirements for information formally addressed by allies or partners;

b) the analysis of the operative situation, conducting a general evaluation, updated regularly, of the evolving or potential crisis situation;

c) development of response options/concept of action by establishing: goals; objectives; end state as a result of measures and actions at national/regional level, as well as of limitations and constraints;

d) elaboration of plans for action, according to the concept of action in place and the forces and means necessary to be engaged;

e) implementation of plans for action simultaneously with their updating/adjustment based on the existing operational situation/received requests[14].

In order to participate in ensuring the measures and actions allocated to the structures with responsibilities in the field of civil protection and in particular to the General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations, the following will be considered:

a) assessment of vulnerabilities, threats and risks in the field of emergency/civil protection situations;

b) gradual lifting of the operational capacity of structures and establishment of intervention groups, in order to provide an optimum and firm response to any type of vulnerabilities, threats and risks;

c) participation, in the context of conducting defence actions or, as the case may be, of public order, into missions in the field of managing the consequences of terrorist events;

d) conducting the response actions at national level in relation to the risk produced and the operative situation evolution, until the 'state of siege' establishment;

e) intensification of the missions within the competence simultaneously with the accomplishment of the tasks allocated by the decree establishing the 'state of siege';

f) ensuring the decision support during the operationalization of structures set up/existent when the 'state of mobilization' is declared;

g) increasing the capacity of intervention to support the defence effort when the 'state of mobilization' or 'state of war' is declared.

It is noteworthy that, at the same time with managing the operational situation in the field of civil protection, the components of the National Emergency Management System have responsibilities to attend in preparation and commissioning of facilities designated to receive and facilitate the allied suport.

Into this context, the followings can be considered:

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[14] Romanian Ministry of National Defense, *General Staff, NATO Crisis Response Manual*, 2013, section II – NATO Crisis Management Process.

a) contribution to staffing the Coordination Centre for the Host Nation Support in order to plan, organize and coordinate the support of host-nation during the entry, stationing, conducting operations and transiting the Romanian territory by foreign armed forces, at the establishment of state of emergency, siege, mobilization or war;
b) support measures to limit the effects of emergency situations in areas/sectors within the depths of combat lines, including measures and actions aimed to prevent and extinguish fire or emergency medical support;
c) support according to the existing operational situation for measures and actions of emergency medical care during the transit of the national territory, as well as for measures and actions of CBRN reconnaissance and decontamination;
d) specialized technical support provided by the General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations experts regarding the management of emergency situations affecting the deployment areas/sectors of units.

The strategic objective of implementing the NATO Crisis Response Measures in the field of civil emergencies is that of civil protection and consists in ensuring the continuity of exercise the constitutional functions by the Romanian state and increasing the national resilience in the context of civil protection situations, by protecting population and reducing the social and economic effects, respectively.

The specific objectives for the implementation of NATO Crisis Response Measures in the field of civil emergencies, must ensure immediate protection of the population, forces, civil and military capabilities, critical infrastructure elements (key infrastructure), by:
a) issuing the warning to all relevant organizations;
b) implementing the protection plans elaborated by authorities, for the good functioning of the essential services;
c) strengthening the protection of vital communications and information systems and intensifying civil-military cooperation in this area;
d) implementation of plans for protection of vulnerable vital infrastructure, such as water supply, electricity and important/essential means of transportation;
e) implementation of plans for protection of civilians at CBRN notifications and warnings, protection and decontamination;
f) maintaining the rapid reaction capacity of the intervention services for unforeseen events;
g) preparing for mass evacuations and refugees sheltering;
h) timely implementation of the national legislation provisions regarding unforeseen exceptional situations.

The specific objectives for implementing the NATO Crisis Response Measures are achieved through:

a) ensuring the continuity of management at all levels. In this context, an important factor of the crisis management process efficiency is given by the quality of the information flow from the civil and military structures, which can have major implications on the response reaction opportunity, requiring consequently the integration of all these institutions in an adequate system;

b) providing the human, material and financial resources necessary for the response in civil protection situations, with an emphasis on those of special magnitude and long duration of manifestation;

c) providing the capabilities of civil communications, notification, alarming and warning, necessary for sending information and messages in short time;

d) correlating the organization, operation, endowment and financing of the intervention structures with the national needs of ensuring the current interventions, as well as with the need to manage major events with multiple victims and significant material damages, including those that require the management of population uncontrolled movements;

e) organizing long-term response actions in complex situations caused by severe damaging of critical infrastructure such as: energy system, civil communications and transportation;

f) providing population protection through evacuation, sheltering and medical care, while ensuring the minimum living conditions by making available goods and supplies of first necessity, including water and food, and by returning in short time to a provisional state of normality, in all civil protection situations;

g) ensuring the conditions needed for the manoeuvre of intervention forces and means, as well as for the population movement.

According to the NATO Crisis Response System Manual, the Civil Preparedness-related Crisis Response Measures are:

a) assured continuity of government and critical government services;
b) resilient energy supplies;
c) ability to deal effectively with uncontrolled movement of people;
d) resilient food and water resources;
e) ability to deal with mass casualties;
f) resilient civil communications;
g) resilient civil transportation system;
h) civil preparedness related measure covering protection against CBRN threats/incidents[15].

Thus, it can be stated that, from the perspective of civil protection, in implementing NATO crisis response measures, the state still remains the reference entity in the initiative to identify risk factors, measures and response actions. The state structures capacity of involvement in this area indicates the

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[15] *Project of Romanian civil protection law…, op. cit.*

level of stability/instability of the security environment at national and regional level.

Details of the main actions related to the resilience seven baseline requirements

Even in the absence of a unanimously accepted definition, resilience is generally understood as „the ability of a community, service, domain or infrastructure to detect, prevent and, if necessary, to resist, to deal and to recover after disturbing challenges"[16]. The resilience does not only refer to physical entities – services or infrastructure – but also to society, in general; this highlights the ability of an organization to either continue to operate under severe condition or to recover as soon as possible after a syncope or delay[17]. NATO Crisis Response Measures target three levels:

a) requirements specific to the military sector;
b) requirements specific to the military and civil sectors;
c) requirements specific to the civil sector.

From the civil protection perspective, the resilience baseline requirements or the Civil Preparedness-related Crisis Response Measures require the involvement of all the authorized structures of the Romanian state in an integrated set of response actions through the National Emergency Management System.

Thus, depending on the requirement, we can consider decision-making and execution structures belonging to the Government, the services and public ministry, as well as the county and local levels or, as the case may be, even NGOs.

In fact, these organizational entities usually act under the coordination of the Prime Minister, as the head of civil protection, respectively of the ministers, prefects and mayors as financial managers and leaders of the technical-operational structures with responsibilities in the field of civil protection.

The complexity of implementing the actions in this context is determined by the existence of limited resources in time and space, but also by the definition of a higher number of priorities than those considered in normal situations.

a) Assured continuity of government and critical government services

The continuity of government and critical government services is referring to the capacity of the Romanian state to exercise its constitutional functions

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[16] According to the definition in the *U. K. Civil Protection Lexicon*, version 2.1.1, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/emergency-res.1.ponderinteroperability-lexicon> (30.06.2020).

[17] G. Lasconjaris, *Discouragement through resilience. NATO, nations and challenges related to being prepared*, "Romanian Military Thinking", No. 3/2018.

through the bodies empowered to lead at strategic, operational and tactical level in situations that require the activation of National Emergency Management System, System for Defence, Public Order and National Security or, as the case may be, of the National System for Prevention and Counter-Terrorism components.

The continuity of government and critical government services assume the involvement of all strategic management structures associated to the Presidency, the Parliament, the Government and the other central institutions that are coordinated ny the Romanian Parliament.

The continuity of government and critical government services mainly involves:

a) establishing the line of succession and delegation of competences as well regulation through higher level normative acts, organization and functioning regulations or, as the case may be, procedures, concepts and plans of action;

b) identification of all the normative acts of higher level, the treaties, the agreements, which regulate obligations and indebtedness of the Romanian state in accordance with the status of NATO, EU, UN member state; with special emphasis on the fundamental areas: national defence, public order and security, emergency situations, prevention and combating terrorism, communications and information technology, transportation, critical infrastructure;

c) ensure the necessary conditions for the fulfilment of the essential functions of the Parliament;

d) providing essential government functions with an emphasis on: command-control function under the prime minister authority through the empowered authorities acting as subordinates or under the authority of the Government;

e) coordination between different structures of the government apparatus andcentral and local public administration authorities with the component authorities of National Emergency Management System, System for Defence, Public Order and National Security or, as the case may be, of the National System for Prevention and Counter-Terrorism through participation, according to the competences, in the strategic and tactical management bodies.

f) ensuring communications between the operational/operative centres at all levels through communications equipment and communications systems integrating means provided by the Special Telecommunications Service, the encrypted communications systems of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, respectively the commercial communications means;

g) establishing and arranging the basic and reserve command points, respectively the places of conducting the essential activities for the central and local structures, components of the National Emergency

Management System, System for Defence, Public Order and National Security, National System for Prevention and Counter-Terrorism;

h) ensuring the geographical separation in the line of succession to the command at the level of structures with critical responsibilities in the strategic decision-making process.

It can be concluded that the aspects concerning the Continuity of Government and Critical Government Services should be regarded as measures that are implemented by all institutions at strategic, tactical and operational level.

In this context, the main measures and actions are general in nature but are applicable in particular, depending on the specificity of each institution.

b) Resilient energy resources

NATO crisis response measure - Resilient energy resources - means providing by the state of the energy resources needed to supply the strategic institutions/economic operators or institutions of vital importance, the population and other economic operators, through the Ministry of Energy, which represent the regulatory body in the domain.

The national energy system represents a framework of installations organized and interconnected in a unitary concept, for the purpose of producing, transporting and distributing the electrical and thermal energy on the national territory. These installations and equipment are designed for the energy supply of all economic, social sectors, as well as of the population.

The main elements of the National Energy System are: interconnected power plants, electric power networks and district heating networks (installed around district heating stations, for the transport and distribution of heat at relatively short distances).

In critical situations, to provide energy resources, cooperation within the National Emergency Management System will be ensured through the involvement of the organizational entities that have the capacity to provide certain capacities of electricity supply, or, as the case may be, it provides the protection of some systems and installations of production and transportation, as follows: Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Environment, Water and Forests.

Short-term energy security concerns the energy system resilience to shocks of energy supply, while long-term energy security is achieved through investments over time in the development and modernization of energy production and generation capacities, as well as strategic stocks. and in quality programs for critical infrastructure protection.

The assurance of resilient energy resources can be viewed from the point of view of the interdependence between the energy subsectors, respectively, 'electricity', 'gas' and 'thermal agent' on the one hand, as well as in the relation of the producer-distributor (user) on the other.

Energy resources can be essentially constituted in critical infrastructures, taking into account the following criteria:

a) The geographical region in which are located versus the types of risk which may affect the transportation and supply of electricity or gas and the international, national territorial or local dimension;

b) The criteria for assessing the degree of severity are: economic incidence; the impact on the public; the impact on the environment; addiction; political incidence;

c) The effect in time, the time interval after which the consequences become major or serious. This criterion indicates when the degradation of the respective infrastructure can have a major incidence or a serious effect (immediately, after 24-48 hours, in a week or in a longer term).

In this context, institutions with responsibilities can have the following major priorities:

a) developing/updating the Romanian Energy Strategy on medium and long term;

b) provision of the normative and procedural framework for the application of the measures aimed at the safety and security of the National Power System, including in the fields aimed at ensuring strategic stocks or those for periods characterized by extreme temperatures (frost or, as the case may be, drought and heat);

c) ensuring cyber security, for energy production, transportation and distribution systems in full correlation with good international practices in the field or European Directives (EU Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council no. 1148/2016 regarding a high common level of network and information systems security in the European Union.

c) The ability to deal effectively with the uncontrolled movement of people

The ability to deal effectively with the uncontrolled movement of people, includes measures and actions aimed at managing a population influx that exceeds 2% of the national population by achieving the general planning framework for preparing and conducting response actions in accordance with the functions of support that components of the National Emergency Management System/National System for Defence must accomplish.

The national institution responsible for managing the uncontrolled movements of people is the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) through its own structure - the Department for Emergency Situations (DSU) and the structure empowered in ensuring/coordinating civil protection actions – The General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations (IGSU), which provides the national

coordination of all central and local public institutions within the National Emergency Management System.

The protective measures associated with the uncontrolled movement of people, are adopted to limit the loss of human lives and to ensure the continuity of the political and administrative leadership of the country. At the same time, the aim is to remove the population from the risk area as a result of disasters, actions associated with the manifestation of the hybrid war, or, as the case may be, from the military conflict area, in locations/areas that provide appropriate protection conditions.

The resources necessary to implement the protection measures associated with evacuation actions, as a result of the uncontrolled movement of people, are provided by both national and local authorities.

In this regard, the following main and associated actions have an essential role: prioritizing the transportation, providing the necessary resources for accommodation, feeding and providing health care, context in which certain actions will interfere with some of the measures and actions identified according to general requirements presented in the Resilience Guide for the areas of ensuring the continuity of government and critical government services, respectively energy, food and water resources, as well as managing multiple victims.

The assumptions that require the application of the National Concept on the efficient management of people uncontrolled movements, as a result of the own population movement in emergencies/armed conflict or, as the case may be, of an influx on the national territory of persons belonging to other states, are:

a) the occurrence of emergencies/disasters on the national territory or, as the case may be, actions associated with the threat/manifestation of the hybrid war or acts of terrorism;

b) conducting military actions on the national territory;

c) the occurrence of emergency/disaster situations on the national territory, concurrently with the conduct of military actions;

d) the occurrence of emergencies/disasters on the territory of a neighbouring state;

e) uncontrolled movements of people belonging to neighbouring states or not neighbouring Romania, as a result of military and/or civil conflicts, social and economic crises or others like that.

d) Food and water resources

NATO crisis response measure - Food and water resources, involves the provision by the Romanian state of essential food resources, water resources, as well as the infrastructure related to their storage and protection in order to ensure basic food needs for the population affected by exceptional situations caused by disasters, economic and financial crisis, war, etc.

The provision of essential food resources and water resources is done through: Ministry of Internal Affairs/National Administration of State Stocks and Special Problems; Ministry of Agriculture; Ministry of Environment and Water; National Authority Sanitary – Veterinary and for Food Safety, Ministry for Public Works, Development and Administration; Ministry of Finance; county and local councils at the level of municipalities, cities and communes.

Among the essential food and water resources can be considered, according to the regulations in force, the following: bread, pasta, meat and meat products, milk, oil, potatoes, sugar, biscuits, cheese, canned of different types (meat, liver paste, fish, beans etc), different fresh/canned vegetables, food ingredients (oil, salt, berry, broth, flavours, spices and ingredients etc), plain water, mineral water, domestic water.

Based on that the above-mentioned resources are not always provided in the quantities and locations that can be easily reachable, the following major actions are required:

a) analyzing and possibly updating the lists with types of food materials and the related quantities (types of food and weight/person) to be allocated in civil emergency situations;

b) the judicious distribution of the warehouses in the territory taking into account elements of analysis and risk coverage in the field of civil emergencies and not only;

c) concrete actions and plans for monitoring at local, regional and national level, of water sources pollution accidents/incidents (pollution accidents, accidental or intentional contamination, emissions and deposit of CBRN substances) in order to notify in real-time the population exposed to the acute risk of adverse effects, but also for rapid assurance of the minimum quantities of drinking and household water needed.

e) Ability to cope with mass casualties Medical Support

Medical assistance in civil protection situations that involves mass casualties is aimed at regulating, organizing and coordinating all structures with competences in the field of health in order to carry out measures and actions to protect the health of the affected population or possibly to be affected by them.

Providing health care in situations involving mass accidents is a responsibility of the public and private sectors in the health field.

The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with the other central and local structures that own medical capabilities of all kinds, elaborate and approve by common order a unitary concept regarding the provision of medical assistance in civil protection situations.

In this context, taking into account elements of analysis and risk coverage in the field of civil emergencies with multiple victims and not

only, it is necessary to modify/amend the legislation so that materials, equipment and medicines can be provided. The following areas of interest can be considered:

a) Disaster management with multiple victims, including burns and contamination, which requires a specialized medical response, triage and treatment of burn patients or, as the case may be, contaminated/intoxicated;

b) integrated management of response in major emergencies and ensuring the stocks of medical equipment and materials distributed in warehouses at regional/zonal level;

c) the establishment, in territorial profile, of quantities of stocks for certain categories of antidotes, including the type of those used in small and very small quantities;

d) the revision of the hospitalization capacity and the mechanisms for increasing the hospitalization capacities, in order to ensure continuity and functioning in such situations.

The main responsibilities of the health structures for carrying out specific measures and actions in civil protection situations are:

a) organization for the purpose of providing medical assistance in case of civil protection situations;

b) training the medical structures personnel for the elaboration of specialized analyzes and prognoses for the quickest estimation of the number of victims and the intervention in civil protection situations;

c) maintenance and development of the medical intervention network in civil protection situations;

d) identification of solutions for relocation and extension of hospitalization capacities as needed;

e) establishing the framework for the implementation of the prophylaxis measures of the irradiation disease, the national norms of radiation protection of population and those regarding the CBRN contamination control of food, water, air and soil.

The special sanitary-hygienic and prophylactic measures to be applied are:

a) carrying out the sanitary-epidemic control;

b) strictly observance of the rules of personal and collective hygiene, use of food and drinking water;

c) carrying out of biological decontamination of the rooms and clothing, if this measure is justified;

d) administration of the specific prophylaxis means that increase the staff's resistance to the effect of biological means (prophylactic vaccination of the intervention personnel);

e) evacuation and isolation of the patients, as well as the isolation and supervision of the persons with whom they came into contact;

f) the establishment of the quarantine status of localities and objectives on which territory epidemic outbreaks were registered.

f) Resilient civil communications systems

The communication and information technology systems are found in all the critical systems of the state, starting with the national defence and security, energy, transportation, health, the industrial sector, the private sector, etc.

In the top military field there is the C4ISR concept which involves Command-Control-Communications-Computers-Information-Surveillance-Recconaisance/Research.

This concept interferes at the strategic level with the vital components of the state functioning, among them being: the components of the National System for Defence, Public Order and National Security, the energy system, the transportation and communications system, etc.

In order to increase the resilience of information and communications systems that support national defence and security interests, it is necessary:

a) to ensure and modernize the communication and information technology systems to ensure the decisional information flow between operational/operative centres;

b) to provide communications systems that take over the flow of information if the basic ones do not work;

c) to ensure communications for the population;

d) to develop cyber defence capabilities for command-control systems and for the civilian ones and to identify the mechanisms for returning to the state of normality after sophisticated cyber threats;

e) to develop the strategic planning framework in the field of cyber defence in order to protect the networks simultaneously with managing the risk of cyber attack, to improve the threats analysis and the exchange of information in the field;

f) to ensure and develop communication systems through the use of high security products;

g) to elaborate and implement security standards in the field of communications and information technology systems.

The main responsibilities of the structures with competences in the field of civil communications, in civil protection situations, are:

a) to ensure civil communications for the population and, above all, for the civil protection management structures;

b) to identify and provide, according to the needs, of the technical and proceduralmarrangements that allow the functioning of the communications for the management and intervention structures in civil protection situations;

c) to provide, according to the civil protection situation, the protection measures for the civil communications services and the related infrastructure.

g) Resistant civil transport system

Transport is a strategic sector of the economy, which directly affects the everyday life of all citizens. Fully interconnected and sustainable transport networks represent a desire of national authorities in the context in which transport services provide jobs but also support for the population and the goods that have to move from one point to another.

Rail and road transport account for the bulk of passenger and freight transport in terms of volume.

Providing mobility in normal situations but especially in exceptional situations, such as crisis situations, can be key points for ensuring resilience in the field of transportation.

In this context, it may be envisaged to provide transport within the localities, as well as those outside the localities.

Being 'resilient' in the field of transportation implies:
a) ensurance of the road, rail, naval and air transport infrastructure according to the expected movement dynamics and correlated with the geopolitical space in which our country is located;
b) ensurance/development of the transportation network according to the need for sustainable development of the territory in conjunction with the 'castling' ways for the main road and rail transport routes;
c) adequate maintenance of road, rail, air and naval infrastructure;
d) provision of alternative sources of electricity for transport networks, such as trains, metro or tram and trolley buses, but also points of coordination of air traffic. Thus, the provision of alternative electricity supply must ensure the functioning of the means of transport in the event of disasters, accidents or damage or, as the case may be, terrorist attacks or bombings;
e) ensurance of the movement supervision and control for air, land and road transport or, as the case may be, for river and maritime transport;
f) provision of fast service for failed/damaged means;
g) the capacity of territorial mobility of the terrestrial, air or maritime transportation means to ensure the necessary number of means in the places or sectors of interest;
h) the ability to have transport means in reserve that can be used in case of need or that can be adapted to the needs of persons or materials;
i) the development of multimodal transport, which means the use of different modes of transport during the same journey.

Resilience in the field of transportation can also be ensured by organizing based on priorities of the essential transport activity on the routes where

transport meets the security conditions, such as European transport corridors 4 and 7 and the internal highways, as important territorial objectives for the system of national defence. In this context, we must consider:

 a) regulating and organizing land, naval and air transport, by involving the regulatory, coordination and control authorities, as well as economic operators in the field, so as to ensure the transport of personnel and means of intervention to the areas affected by civil protection situations, as well as evacuation of people and certain categories of goods, according to the concept and plans elaborated for this purpose, in parallel with providing transportation for the civilian population and economic operators;
 b) identifying measures and actions aimed at securing the means of transport reserves and establishing the transport schedules;
 c) establishing the legal and procedural framework to restrict the transportation for civilian population, in the context of the imminence or production of civil protection situations;
 d) organizing protection of the transport system, mainly for the elements of national, regional and county interest.

h) Civil preparation measures covering protection against CBRN threats/incidents

CBRN events that may affect the population may be:

 a) Military actions during which nuclear, chemical or biological ammunitions are used with direct/indirect effects on the civilian population;
 b) Terrorist actions using CBRN means/agents or against CBRN risk source objectives;
 c) Actions associated with hybrid warfare that may result in contamination of environmental factors with direct effect on the population;
 d) Events, incidents or accidents at CBRN risk source installations;
 e) Road accidents involving CBRN substances;
 f) Outbreak of epidemics or, as the case may be, pandemics.

The concept of CBRN protection is based on three general principles, which specifically address the risks created as a result of CBRN incidents:

 a) avoiding contamination of the population, objectives of national/regional public interest or elements of the critical infrastructure;
 b) protection of the population, of the units/sub-units of intervention, materials and equipment;
 c) decontamination of the population, land, personnel and intervention techniques in order to restore the operational capacity of intervention.

CBRN protection requirements are:

a) preventive actions by carrying out the risk analysis regarding CBRN threats;
b) implementing the preventive measures in order to reduce the risks in the field of CBRN;
c) monitoring of contamination and performing of decontamination;
d) providing support functions during actions aimed to maintain public order;
e) coordination of the categories of forces and specialized technical support for the restoration of affected areas.

The nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological protection of population is achieved by means of individual, collective protection or other specific technical and organizational measures, with priority in the risk areas.

Public institutions and economic agents that produce, transport, store or handle dangerous substances in quantities that could endanger the life and health of citizens organize and execute the control of radioactive, chemical and biological contamination of raw materials and products and carry out decontamination measures for their own personnel, land, buildings and machinery.

The means of individual protection of citizens are provided, at a cost or free of charge, according to the criteria developed by the General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations.

The CBRN reconnaissance is carried out in order to identify the potential sources of CBRN risk, the contaminated areas/sectors, to warn the intervention structures and the population about the contamination danger. CBRN reconnaissance can be carried out by air, land, naval, portable means of detection, in order to identify the presence of CBRN type substances and to establish the adequate protective measures.

At national level, the analysis and validation of information on radiological and chemical contamination caused by disasters or CBRN incidents is ensured through the CBRN Warning and Reporting System, which also ensures the exchange of data and information with the other components of the National System for Defence.

The decontamination consist in operations and special techniques performed by the emergency services, certain military units and economic agents.

In order to carry out the decontamination actions or incineration, in case of biological risk, the specialized intervention is performed by the structures empowered within the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Transportation and the National Sanitary-Veterinary and Food Safety Authority, with the support from the National Emergency Management System components, local authorities and economic operators that caused the contamination.

Conclusion

The responsibility of the civil protection system in the context of NATO crisis response measures implementation must be seen and understood as a fundamental element of the state's functioning.

The streamline of the national system in the field of Civil Protection must also be considered from the perspective of internal and international challenges.

These can be tackled more efficiently, with lesser effects in terms of human and material costs, through a correct approach to solving legislative gaps, and elimination of the relatively divergent and circumstantially positions adopted at the institutional forums level on certain strategic issues.

In a complex geopolitical context, for Romania, where apart from the specific risks there are also interferences with the cross-border/global risks such as the proliferation of terrorism, hybrid actions, competition for the control of energy resources, progressive degradation of environmental factors with risk of major disasters, regional economic interdependence, the possible emergence of new "hot" or "frozen" conflicts requires a strongly patriotic approach of Romania's interests as a NATO and EU Member State.

The correct approach to the civil protection issue, which as a whole concerns the protection of people in emergency, crisis or war situations, but also support to the military structures involved in military operations or fulfilment of Host Nation Support related responsibilities, must be a major concern of the highest level political decision-makers, respectively of the supreme legislative forum that is the Parliament of Romania.

Appendix no 1

MAIN TYPES OF CRISIS THAT CAN BE DETERMINED BY EMERGENCY SITUATIONS
(in a certain context, extent and intensity)

No	Type of risk	Associated risk	Economic crisis	Political crisis	Diplomatic crisis	Image crisis	Internal crisis (of system)	External crisis	Local crisis	National crisis	Regional crisis	Continental crisis
1.	Storms and blizzards	Blizzard					x		x			
2.		Storms-strong wind and/or massive rainfall					x		x			
3.		Hail falls					x		x			
4.	Floods	Floods cause by: -the overflow of water courses; -the sudden melting of snow;		X			X	X	X			

No	Type of risk	Associated risk	Economic crisis	Political crisis	Diplomatic crisis	Image crisis	Internal crisis (of system)	External crisis	Local crisis	National crisis	Regional crisis	Continental crisis
		-bottlenecks; -landslides; -slopes leakage										
5.		Floods cause by incidents, accidents or damages to the hydrotechnic constructions.		X			X	X	X			
6.		Floods caused by rising groundwater level.					X		X			
7.		Floods caused by sea storms					X		X			
8.	Massive snowfalls	Heavy snowfall		X			X	X	X			
9.		Blocking road and railways		X			X	X	X			
10.	Tornadoes			X			X		X			
11.	Droughts	Hydrological	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	
12.		Pedological	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	
13.	Extreme temperatures	Deposits of ice, chickpea, early or late frosts					X		X			
14.		Glazed frost					X		X			
15.		Ice bridges and dams					X		X			
16.		Ice bridges and dams on Danube River					X	X	X	X	X	
17.		Heat					X		X			
18.	Vegetation fires	Forest fires		X			X	X	X			
19.		Fires on grass and / or shrub vegetation					X		X			
20.		Fires on crops of grain		X			X		X			
21.	Avalanches					X	X		X			
22.	Landslides						X	X	X			
23.	Earthquakes		X				X	X	X	X	X	
24.	Accidents, breakdowns, explosions and fires in industry, including land collapses caused by mining or other technological activities		X	X		X	X		X			
25.	Accidents, damages, explosions and fires	Major accidents with implications on site				X	X		X			
26.		Major accidents with off-site implications	X			X	X	X	X			

No	Type of risk	Associated risk	Economic crisis	Political crisis	Diplomatic crisis	Image crisis	Internal crisis (of system)	External crisis	Local crisis	National crisis	Regional crisis	Continental crisis
27.	In transport and storage activities of dangerous products	Accidents with dangerous products during transport activity				X	X	X	X	X	X	
28.	Accidents, damages, explosions and fires in transport activities	terrestrial				X	X		X			
29.		aerial		X		X	X	X	X			
30.		naval				X	X		X			
31.		Railway tunnels				X	X		X			
32.		Road tunnels				X	X		X			
33.		subway		X		X	X		X			
34.		on cable				X	X		X			
35.	Accidents, damage, explosions, fires or other events in nuclear or radiological activities		X	X		X	X		X			
36.	Water pollution	Endangering human life, the aquatic environment and major water supply facilities		X		X	X		X			
37.		With major cross-border impact		X	X	X	X	X	X			
38.		Accidental pollution of watercourses		X		X	X		X			
39.		Marine pollution in the coastal area	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
40.		Marine pollution	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
41.	Construction, installation or arrangement collapses					X	X	X	X			
42.	Failure of public utilities	Major radio and television networks		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
43.		Important communications and computer networks	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
44.		Important electricity and gas networks	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
45.		Important thermal energy networks	X			X	X		X			

No	Type of risk	Associated risk	Economic crisis	Political crisis	Diplomatic crisis	Image crisis	Internal crisis (of system)	External crisis	Local crisis	National crisis	Regional crisis	Continental crisis
46.		Important water supply networks	X			X	X		X			
47.		Important sewage and purge networks for waste water and rainwater	X			X	X		X			
48.		Damage or other incidents that lead to the evacuation of debts, endangering the lives of people	X			X	X		X			
49.		Falling objects from the atmosphere and from the cosmos	X				X	X	X	X	X	
50.		Unexploded or inactivated ammunition left during military conflicts					X	X	X			
51.		Epidemics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
52.		Epizootics/zoonoses	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
53.		Radiological risk	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
54.		Fires			X	X	X	X	X			
55.		Situations caused by the attack of harmful organisms on plants	X	X		X	X			X	X	

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III. REVIEWS

Przemysław FURGACZ
Poland

WOJCIECH PAŁKA, *KAPITALIZM, NOWE WOJNY I PRYWATNE FIRMY [Capitalism, New Wars and Private Companies]*, WARSAW 219, PP. 224

Thucydides accurately observed that there are three principal causes of commencing and waging wars. According to him these causes were fear, honour and interest. Since immemorial times, wars used to give a multitude of opportunities to trouser thanks to grabbed spoils, enslaved captives and conquered land. As a matter of fact, to this very day Thucydides' remark remains in good standing.

Overall, the author shares with the readers his personal reflections o wars' evolution over the ages as well as shifting role and range of mercenaries employment in military action. Just at the beginning it must be stated that the book is truly interesting. The author assumed an interdisciplinary approach and reached for sources from different areas of science: state and law studies, security studies, economic studies, political science and international relations. In the course of his dilatation Wojciech Pałka refers to classical cogitators and theoreticians of war (Carl von Clausewitz), diplomacy (Henry Kissinger), history of empires researchers (Paul Kennedy) and the less known contemporary scholars and experts (Ian Morris, Rupert Smith, etc.). The author drafts the evolution, metamorphoses and transformations of military science, capitalism and imperialism. You have to hand it to him that he does it well, skilfully selecting these thing which indeed are salient in explored problematic and what should be necessarily accentuated. Concurrently, the book having 224 pages is not a weighty volume, but rather a succinct and concise summary all what is the most relevant in the raised field. The author succeeded in finding the golden mean between the opposing poles of too large volume and sinking in the sea of details, on the one hand, and too cursory, perfunctory and banal treatment of the subject-matter, on the other hand. The next unquestionable merit of the book is its versatility and accessibility for the broad masses of readers. The book is earmarked for both experts and laymen. Enthusiasts of

economics, military science, political science, history and international relations – they all will find in Pałka's book many interesting chapters, reflections and information. All of these thanks to the fact that the author has a flow. He writes in clear, understandable, transparent manner and – in addition – gripping and unordinary as well.

The considerable advantage of the book is a substantial number of various diagrams and figures (which are, unfortunately, exclusively black-and-white). The author is relatively objective too. He is not an eulogist of private military companies – he notices threats associated with their existence and expansion. He alleges case of crimes and scandals concerning with private military contractors. He analyzes this phenomenon from the standpoint of different entities and levels of authority: corporations, governments, societies, armed forces, developed and underdeveloped states, democracies and dictatorships. He can perceive bright side of their activity and the spheres in which they work out better than other entities.

In spite of generally good impression, the book is not perfect. One may hint several chief weaknesses. Firstly, sometimes the author unnecessarily repeats himself. Secondly, according to the reviewer, the author dedicated to less attention to the issue of creation, control and use of private military companies by secret services of various countries. This aspect of the issue could definitely be discussed more extensively. Thirdly, the author unduly concentrated on discussion of cases of private military companies exploitation in the service of Western corporations and governments, with a very little focus on description of cases of private military companies employment by Russia and China. As regards the former, there is no lack of sources for exploration of this problem. The notable Wagner Group founded by Evgeny Prigozhyn and his principals has become no less known and no less active than the Academi (formerly known consecutively as Blackwater USA, Blackwater Worldwide and Xe Services). From the point of view of Polish reader description of the history of creation and exploitation by our largest and most threatening neighbour the Wagner Group in Ukraine, Syria, the Central African Republic and Libya would be enormously noteworthy. Fourthly, the author in one passage prevaricates. Namely, at page 177 he highlights how important is for the U.S. economy access to foreign oil. He even writes: "Until the technological change enabling resignation from oil imports does not materialize, the U.S. has no alternative than effectively diversify foreign supply sources." The point is in the last decade such a technological revolution occurred indeed, which belies the aforementioned thesis put forward by the author. The U.S. does not need diversification of crude imports anymore. Actually, crude imports to the U.S. has constantly decreased since 2006. This trend will be continued because of rising exploitation of domestic shale oil deposits. This entails quintessential changes – the Persian Gulf and the Middle East cease to be so material to the U.S. national security as it used to be in the past, which was reflected in Donald Trump electoral promises as well as strategic documents, certain foreign policy

moves of his administration and the Pentagon's postulates. It seems that the tendency to withdraw U.S. soldiers form the Middle East took root in U.S. plans for good.

To recapitulate, *Capitalism, New Wars and Private Companies* is a valuable and useful book, which is worth of reading and which may unselfconsciously be recommended to all the people who want to deepen their knowledge about contemporary military mercenaries, military science history, evolution of capitalism and related issues.

Isabela DE ANDRADE GAMA
Brasil

HANNO BRANKAMP, *HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY, VICTIMHOOD AND MALE BODIES AS 'BATTLEFIELDS' IN EASTERN DR CONGO*, **"IREFLECT – STUDENT JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS" 2015, VOL. 2 (1), PP. 5-28.**

This particular paper is not exactly new. Still sheds light on a very little discussed topic: gender violence against men. Although sexual violence against men is not particularly new, either. Perhaps it is still under explored.

This article in question brings up, precisely, the issue of violence against boys and men in times of armed conflicts. Not only does the author conduct an empirical analysis of this point in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in its two wars. As well as the author performs a vast literary review about violence against girls and women. However, its nodal point is mostly a theoretical discussion about gender roles, as an omen for the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

In order to deal with gender identities and hierarchies, it is necessary to bring gender violence against girls and women into the debate. According to the author, who raises this debate, despite not being its focal point, sexual violence against girls and women is quite well covered especially by the media. In this way, female victims manage, in a way, to get the attention they deserve. But the author points out that the same attention is not given to male victims. The author even states that international standards as well as international laws fail to deal with this issue.

This particular academic work highlights several aspects in a range of vectors. It is not believed here that debating the empirical issues related to the two wars in Congo and the involvement of other African states is the most interesting, but no less important.

However, the focus of this review will be to raise questions about the central theme of the author's research: hegemonic masculinity and its connection with militarization. As well as bringing up some questions about the construction of gender identities, how these constructions are used as weapons of war. Likewise, it is believed that sexual violence against male victims is not something intrinsic to conflict/militarized situations, which would be a first criticism of the article. Recalling that sometimes it seems the author neglects

that sexual violence is not restricted to theatres of war, but it also does not bring anything about other social situations in which this type of violence occurs. Gender violence is happening even outside conflict zones, but also little is explored in this area.

Gender violence isn't just about sexual violence against men or women. Although since the construction of roles in a variety of societies the author is also shedding light on the deconstruction of these roles. Since women is "naturally" perceived as mother, non-violent and has a nurturing nature, he puts that women can also be perpetrator of violence even against men and play a very active role in war scenarios.

On the other hand the hegemonic masculinity is also a social construction, again, not only in war times. The social construct of masculinity is based on a militarized identity, men are supposed to be the protectors, the family providers, the fighters, they are raised (in a generic way) to take care of women. In this sense hegemonic masculinity is not just about being a men, this social identity carries a heavy burden, it's additionally about superiority in relation to other men. In determined scenarios, for example in war, local militias, proxy forces and guerrillas members have to establish a new social order: which men is at the top of the food chain.

In this sense terrorize, torture and practice sexual violence against other men diminish them in society, they're bodies become less than others, their bodies no longer belongs to them. They are humiliated, and because of men's social identity it seems they are even more ashamed than a woman who is a victim of sexual violence.

This is a very sensitive topic, a very difficult one to be treated. The author asserts that male victims are not treated equally as women/girls victims. He focuses that the media coverage is different and that can be one of the reasons for the disparity in taking sexual violence against men more seriously. But there's also another problem, men are coming up to denounce they were victims of sexual violence?

If it's already complicated to deal with violence against women because of shame, and many other reasons. Probably most men don't ever reveal they suffered sexual violence. That's still a taboo for women, researches show that almost never men look for help or denounce their aggressors. It's an even greater taboo for men to deal with this kind of situation, in Congo and elsewhere. Masculinity has to be maintained, their social identities have to remain stainless.

IV. PRO MEMORIA

OSTROWIEC MEETINGS WITH LEONID GUSEV

Leonid Gusev visited Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski four times. He attended all the international scientific conferences held by the College of Business and Entrepreneurship in 2015-2019. He cooperated with our journal: "Ante Portas - Security Studies" and with the Central-European Institute of Research and Strategic Analysis (CIRSA). Shortly he became an important and valuable element of the town's academic centre.

We met him for the first time on October 15th, 2015. It was the day before our first international academic conference titled "The Ukrainian Crisis and its Significance the International Security". Big conference, a lot of guests, and a lot of stress for us - the organizers. Nonetheless, we found an hour or so to invite the first guests, who arrived earlier and stayed at the Accademia Hotel, for dinner. It was then when we saw first, standing by the coffee table (interesting, how we remember the details). By then we only knew that he represents MGIMO - the well known Russian academic and diplomatic institution. "The men of MGIMO" – a prestige, but also an enigma.

It is worth mentioning, that the first meeting was far more different, then others. It was 2015, right after the Russian actions in the Crimea and Eastern Ukraine, which causes many emotions among the representatives of various East-European countries, gathered at the hotel. The atmosphere was tough! At the dinner, one of the Georgian professors negatively and very emotionally presented the Russian policy, against Georgia and Ukraine. The Ukrainian delegation, led by professor Yuri Makar, was tactfully silent. We all waited for the Russian response and Leonid, with calm and culture, shared his expert's opinion on the current situation. General Józef Flis, who knew Russians and Ukrainians, appeased the situation, but Leonid's response proved to us all, that despite of varieties and contradictory opinions, we may all discuss around one table.

After the conference, Leonid stayed in Ostrowiec for few days along with our colleague from Georgia – Khatuna Chapichadze. We invited them both for a student's prom, and, well, in just a few days we met professor Leonid and Leonid – the King of the dance floor! After his first visit we promised, that we met again next year. We all kept our words! Leonid came to Ostrowiec three more times, at the conferences in 2016, 2018 and 2019.

There is a gallery in our college, depicting all the academic events. One may find Leonid among his friends from Poland, Russia, Lithuania and... Georgia. He had respect and sympathy to everyone.

The academic part of each conference is a very important element, but we all know, that the unofficial talks and meetings are most fruitful. We were

pleased to meet Leonid with our Rector and to meet him during the conference dinners and balls. Once, in 2018, we set all the Russian-speaking guests around one table, along with the Dean Grażyna Kałamaga and her husband Zdzisław, a former MP, who had his PhD in Moscow. Well, let us say there was a lot of laugh and joy at the table.

Our meetings, as usual, caused many anecdotes. During our last conference, in 2019, we had to change the guest's accommodation. The previous hotel had been located near the train station. Leonid Gusev along with his friend, Igor Seleznev thought that in small-town like Ostrowiec every hotel is at the centre, so they went on foot, taking all the luggage. Unluckily, the hotel was few kilometres far, uphill... They got there, eventually... In 2019, after the conference, we promised to meet the next year. Today we know, that is was our last meeting.

Great politics ruled this world, nations and countries compete and fight against each other, making conflicts and wars. Luckily, in this crazy world, we all are humans too. Leonid Gusev was a Russian. A citizen of a country, which has a very tense relations with Poland. To us, he was just a good, kind, cordial person, welcomed friend. We all miss him...

Paweł Gotowiecki, Jakub Żak

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