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SZANOWNI CZYTELNICY!

Od redakcji

Szanowny Czytelniku,

„Kwartalnik Bellona" jest jednym z najstarszych polskich czasopism naukowych. Powstał u progu odrodzenia Rzeczypospolitej. Wybuch II wojny światowej i jej konsekwencje spowodowały, że przez długi czas „Belona" ukazywała się równocześnie w Wielkiej Brytanii i w powojennej Polsce. Pismo emigracyjne kontynuowało tradycje myśli wojskowej II Rzeczypospolitej. Wydawał je Sztab Naczelnego Wodza Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w języku polskim. Było to zrozumiałe, stanowiło ono przecież najważniejsze miejsce dyskursu i tworzenia polskiej kultury strategicznej. Oczywiście łamy czasopisma były otwarte dla zagranicznych autorów. W 1941 roku „Bellona" opublikowała ważny tekst gen. Charles'a de Gaulle'a, późniejszego prezydenta Francji. Były to jednak wydarzenia sporadyczne.

Obecność Polski w NATO, współpraca międzynarodowa naszych sił zbrojnych, a także rozwój badań nad bezpieczeństwem w naturalny sposób skłaniają do otwarcia kart pisma dla międzynarodowego środowiska badawczego. Dwukrotnie gościliśmy na naszych łamach prof. Christophera Bassforda, badacza uznawanego za najwybitniejszego znawcę myśli strategicznej Carla von Clausewitza. Bieżący numer „Kwartalnika Bellona" jest wyjątkowy i wyznacza nowy etap w naszym dążeniu do umiędzynarodowienia czasopisma. Po raz pierwszy w swojej 102-letniej historii pismo zawiera artykuły autorów wyłącznie z zagraniczną afiliacją. „Kwartalnik Bellona" nadal będzie się opierał głównie na polskim środowisku naukowym, ale jego umiędzynarodowianie stanie się stałym elementem. Tylko taka droga pozwala środowisku badawczemu skupionemu wokół kwartalnika współuczestniczyć w rozwoju światowych badań nad bezpieczeństwem i wnosić w nie swój wkład. Zachęcamy naszych zagranicznych odbiorców i przyjaciół do zaangażowania się w życie naukowe periodyku.

Niniejszy numer otwiera artykuł „The Complexity of NATO's Southeast European Defense" Pétera Steppera i Klementiny Kozmy, w którym autorzy analizują dynamikę procesów geostrategicznych w obszarze Europy Południowo-Wschodniej. Ukazują infrastrukturę obronną tego obszaru w kontekście zagrożeń ze strony Rosji. Wskazują na konsekwencje współpracy Turcji, członka NATO, z Rosją dla bezpieczeństwa innych państw Europy Południowo-Wschodniej. Argumentują, że środek ciężkości bezpieczeństwa Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego przesuwa się ku Morzu Śródziemnemu. Na nim bowiem stykają się geopolityczne przestrzenie Europy, Azji i Afryki. Powodować to będzie wzrost zagrożeń i wyzwań dla bezpieczeństwa i przyszłości NATO.

W następnym tekście – „The Kremlin's Strategic Narratives on the Baltic States During the COVID-19 Crisis" – Holger Mölder i Vladimir Sazonov omawiają rosyjską narrację propagandową wobec państw bałtyckich w odniesieniu do pandemii COVID-19. Wyróżniają cele strategiczne rosyjskiej wojny informacyjnej oraz analizują motywy polityczne i ekonomiczne rosyjskiej strategii dezinformacyjnej. Wskazują na motywy, które mają dezintegrować społeczeństwo, a także podważać struktury i instytucje tych państw.

Cristóbal Fundora Sittón w artykule „Cyberterrorism – the Invisible Threat" analizuje zjawisko cyberterroryzmu. Porządkuje je terminologicznie, a także analizuje teorie cyberterroryzmu oraz podejścia badawcze do niego. Na podstawie odpowiedniej konceptualizacji prezentuje sposób, w jaki cyberterroryzm jest wykorzystywany do zwielokrotnienia działania grup terrorystycznych.

Z kolei Ioannis Kotoulas w artykule „Greece as a NATO Member in the Historical Longue Durée" prezentuje współczesne problemy geostrategiczne Grecji. Państwo to zostało członkiem Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego razem z Turcją w 1952 roku. Napięcia między Atenami a Ankarą wielokrotnie negatywnie wpływały na spoistość NATO, a obecny konflikt turecko-grecki dotyczący zasobów surowcowych w basenie Morza Śródziemnego ujawnia i tworzy głębsze linie podziału w całym regionie, czego przykładem były wspólne manewry morskie Grecji, Włoch i Francji, które miały wyraźnie kontekst turecki. Autor ukazuje problemy natury strukturalnej i dylematy strategiczne, jakie wynikają z obecności Grecji w NATO. Przedstawia też genezę współczesnych dążeń greckich w basenie Morza Śródziemnego i związanych z nimi napięć z Turcją. Świat cywilizacji greckiej historycznie był związany z morzami Egejskim, Śródziemnym i Czarnym. W najnowszych dziejach, po długim procesie wyzwalania się Grecji z panowania Imperium Osmańskiego, rywalizacja obu państw jest stałym elementem regionalnych napięć i ma swój wymiar w rywalizacji morskiej.

Szczególnym, historycznym akcentem numeru, niewchodzącym do jego części naukowej, jest publikacja artykułu gen. bryg. prof. Mariana Kukiela „Miejsce kampanji 1920 r. w historji wojen". Tekst ten po raz pierwszy został opublikowany w „Bellonie" w 1924 roku. W 2020 roku obchodziliśmy stulecie Bitwy Warszawskiej, wydarzenia, które miało szczególne znaczenie militarne i geopolityczne. Dzięki pokonaniu przez polskie wojsko sowieckiej armii II Rzeczpospolita i powstałe państwa Międzymorza znów stały się kluczem do bezpieczeństwa i stabilności całego kontynentu. Z inicjatywy redakcji kwartalnika i Wojskowego Instytutu Wydawniczego ukazała się publikacja „Polskie zwycięstwo dla wolności Europy" zawierająca wszystkie artykuły na temat Bitwy Warszawskiej, jakie ukazały się na łamach „Kwartalnika Bellona". Znaleźć w niej można także opublikowany w niniejszym numerze tekst generała Mariana Kukiela.

W numerze został zamieszczony również spis artykułów opublikowanych w „Kwartalniku Bellona" w 2020 roku. Stanowi on podsumowanie rocznego wydania.

Serdecznie zapraszamy autorów, naukowców i pasjonatów nauk o bezpieczeństwie do zgłaszania propozycji artykułów do kolejnych numerów „Kwartalnika Bellona".

Szanowny Czytelniku, z szacunkiem i pokorą oddajemy w Twoje ręce numer 4(703) „Kwartalnika Bellona". Czynimy to w okresie, w którym nadal wyzwaniem dla bezpieczeństwa świata jest pandemia koronawirusa, życzymy więc dużo zdrowia.

dr hab. Piotr Grochmalski, prof. ASzWoj,
redaktor naczelny „Kwartalnika Bellona"

dr Piotr Lewandowski,
redaktor prowadzący „Kwartalnika Bellona"

Editorial

Dear Readers,

Kwartalnik Bellona is one of the oldest Polish scholarly journals. It first appeared when the Republic of Poland was reborn. As a result of the Second World War, the journal (at the time entitled simply Bellona) was published simultaneously in Great Britain and in post-war Poland as an immigration periodical, which continued the tradition of the Second Republic of Poland's military thought. It was published in Polish by the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces. It was the most important platform for discussion and forming new Polish strategic culture. Sporadically, Bellona would open for foreign authors. In 1941, General Charles de Gaulle, later President of France, published one of his significant articles.

Polish presence in NATO, international cooperation of the Polish Armed Forces, and the research and development on security naturally open Kwartalnik Bellona for international R&D academic milieu. For instance, Professor Christopher Bassford, considered one of the most renown experts on the Carl von Clausewitz's strategic thought, has shared his expertise knowledge with KB readers twice. However, this issue of Kwartalnik Bellona is exceptional, and marks out a new stage in our efforts to make our periodical international. For the first time in its 102-year history, all published articles have been written by authors of foreign affiliation. Kwartalnik Bellona still hosts mainly authors from the Polish academic milieu, but its internationalization becomes a fact. This way, the scholars centered around the journal will be able to co-participate in the global research and development processes on security, and share their expertise as well. We therefore invite our foreign audience and friends to engage in the scholar life of our periodical.

The opening article of this issue is on "The Complexity of NATO's Southeast European Defense" by Péter Stepper and Klementina Kozma, where the authors analyze the dynamic of geostrategic processes in the area of Southeastern Europe. They discuss the region's defense infrastructure in the context of potential threat from Russia. They indicate what consequences the cooperation of Turkey, a NATO member, with Russia may have for the security of other Southeastern European countries. They prove how the center of balance of the North-Atlantic Alliance's security moves towards the Mediterranean Sea. It is where the geopolitical spaces of Europe, Asia and Africa are edged. This fact may lead to the increase of threats and challenges for the security and future of NATO.

The following article – "The Kremlin's Strategic Narratives on the Baltic States During the COVID-19" Crisis by Holger Mölder and Vladimir Sazonov – discusses the Russian propagandist narrative towards the Baltic states in reference to the COVID-19 pandemic. The authors further distinguish the strategic goals of informational war, and analyze political and economic motives for Russian disinformation strategy. They point to those motives which are to disintegrate the society, but which also question the structures and institutions of these states.

Cristóbal Fundora Sittón in his article on "Cyberterrorism. The Invisible Threat" analyzes the phenomenon of cyberterrorism. He provides terminology, analyzes theories on and scholarly attitudes towards cyberterrorism. Based on proper conceptualization, he presents the way cyberterrorism is used to multiply activities of terrorist groups.

Ioannis Kotoulas in his article on "Greece as a NATO Member in the Historical Longue Durée" presents contemporary geostrategic problems of Greece. The state became a NATO member along with Turkey in 1952. Tensions between Athens and Ankara have many a time affected the cohesion of NATO, and current Greek-Turkish conflict about natural resources in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea reveals and creates deeper divisions in the entire region, the illustration of which were joint naval maneuvers of Greece, Italy and France put in an obviously Turkish context. The author shows the problems of structural nature as well as strategic dilemmas stemming from Greece's presence in NATO. He further discusses the genesis of contemporary Greek pursuits in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea, and related tensions with Turkey. The world of Greek civilization historically was related to the Aegean, Mediterranean and Black Seas. In the newest history, after a long process of Greek liberation from the Ottoman Empire ruling, the rivalry of both states has become a permanent element of regional tensions and is also present in maritime rivalry.

An exceptional, historical accent in this edition of Kwartalnik Bellona is the article authored by BrigGen Marian Kukiel, Prof. on "The Place of 1920 Campaign in the History of Wars." This article was originally published in Bellona in 1924. In 2020, we celebrated the centenary of the 1920 Battle of Warsaw, the event of a particular military and geopolitical significance. Defeating Soviet army by the Poles made the Second Republic of Poland and the Intermarium states once again the key to security and stability of entire contingent. By initiative of the Kwartalnik Bellona's editorial staff and Wojskowy Instytut Wydawniczy (Military Publishing Institute), the publication entitled „Polish Victory for Europe's Freedom" was released to present all articles about the Battle of Warsaw ever been published in Kwartalnik Bellona. One of them is the above-mentioned article by BrigGen Marian Kukiel.

This edition also contains a list of articles published in Kwartalnik Bellona in 2020, as an annual summary.

Last but not least, we extend our invitation to authors, scholars and those interested in security sciences to submit their articles for publishing in the next editions of Kwartalnik Bellona.

Dear Readers, with humble and respect we present you this edition of Kwartalnik Bellona in a time when the world's security is still challenged by the coronavirus pandemic. Stay sound and healthy!

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KWARTALNIK BELLONA

The Complexity of NATO's Southeast European Defense

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ABSTRACT:

The article examines the Southeast European security landscape and challenges, by analyzing not only the military dimension of security issues but pays attention to energy, transportation, and trading factors as well. Since 2014, the security dialogue between NATO members on Russian movements and its bilateral relations with several countries has been an increasing topic. As a result, some states, like Turkey started to build a less hostile relationship with Moscow, while others like Romania went openly against it. Changes in the security environment are heavily influenced by geopolitical and geo-economical ambitions and as a result, we could not divide into pure security sections any of those questions which appeared in the last six years regarding transatlantic security. We found that complexity and connectivity bring geopolitical dialogue into a more shady and challenging situation. The Mediterranean Sea is Europe's main connection route to remote places like the Pacific region and Asia, therefore it is not a surprise why military strength building has started here in recent years.

Introduction

Security has a very complex nature in the 21st century, and this article examines the broad spectrum of security concerns, reflecting upon the broadening and widening debate in scientific literature.[1] Therefore, we understand the problems of NATO's eastern flank as not exclusively of military nature, but rather focusing on various dimensions of security. The importance of military, political, economic, societal, and environmental layers of security have been highlighted by many scholars.[2] Some would argue that limiting security sectors to five categories is artificial and obsolete.[3] This article, however, keeps the original framework drawn in mainstream literature to show the complexity of challenges.

Literature Overview

As Mitchell Wess and Jakob Grygiel argue in their famous book, *The Unquiet Frontier*, it is the national interest of the United States to maintain alliances.[4] It is far more cost-effective than abandoning Europe, letting the frontier become unprotected, and leaving open the question whether the US must invest in power projection later on. Unexpected, nonetheless earth-shaking catastrophes eventually happen, such as the events in Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014. Scientific literature of IR and security studies has focused on the problem of war and peace since time immemorial. Realists have always been prepared for war, while idealist opponents have been struggling to find solutions for peaceful resolutions by building trust and regimes. The Russo-Georgian war and the annexation of Crimea can both serve as reference points for defensive realist scholars. Defensive realism argued the importance of alliances,[5] while offensive realism[6] prefers the *attack-until-you-can* approach and traditionally suggested to the West to gain as much power as possible by enlarging NATO in the 1990. Hence, realist scholars would argue that NATO made a serious mistake at the Bucharest Summit in 2008 when they passed the opportunity to accept the Membership Action Plan for Georgia and Ukraine. Although NATO could offer much more than a partnership, it is nonetheless important to utilize the existing framework of cooperation, mostly because of the increasing military activity of the Russian Federation in the eastern flank.

Hence, NATO needs to reassure its members and support its partners to maintain stability in the region. To do so, it needs to provide rotational military presence, and im-

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1 Buzan, B. et al., "Widening and deepening security." *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 187–225.

2 Buzan, B. et al., *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Lynne Rienner, 1997; Roe, P., *Ethnic Violence and the Societal Security Dilemma*, Routledge, 2014; Stepper, P., et al., *A biztonság szektorális értelmezése*, Publikon Kiadó, 2015.

3 Marton, P. et al., *Biztonsági Tanulmányok: Új fogalmi keretek, és tanulságok a V4 országok számára*, Antall József Tudásközpont, Budapest, 2015.

4 Wess M.A. et al., *The Unquiet Frontier: Rising Rivals, Vulnerable Allies, and the Crisis of American Power*, Princeton University Press, 2017.

5 Walt, S., *The Origins of Alliance*, Cornell University Press, 1990; Gilpin R., *War and Change In World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

6 Mearsheimer, J.J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton & Co., 2001.

prove military mobility by supporting transport infrastructure. Some of the measures, like enhanced Forward Presence and tailored Forward Presence have direct effect on military security. Others, however, are only loosely connected with NATO affairs, but will nonetheless be important in terms of strategic rivalry in the long run. Energy security is a key concern of East-Central European countries, but it has only a limited, rather complementary role in the NATO agenda.[7] Issues like transportation and energy infrastructure can be addressed by Western forums, like the Three Seas Initiative, or Blue Dot Networks.

Methods

Firstly, the article defines the eastern flank itself and focuses on the military presence in the region. Secondly, it analyzes the case study of tFP countries from the perspective of transport and energy infrastructure, and evaluates the indirect effects of mobility on regional security. Lastly, the initiatives like 3SI and Blue Dot Networks are analyzed in order to understand the potential in these newborn institutions as products of geopolitical rivalry.

Defining the Eastern Flank

NATO has awakened from its long post-Cold War dream after the Russian Federation annexed the Crimean Peninsula in 2014 and became militarily involved in Eastern Ukraine until the ceasefire guaranteed by the Minsk Agreement. In the Wales Summit, member states published a historic communique to start the adaptation process, which proved to be necessary to react to the new strategic reality. The two most important goals were to reassure Eastern European member states and to provide credible deterrence steps against the Russian Federation. Modern deterrence, however, as highlighted by Allers, is not based upon Cold War logic thinking. It is not about "heavy divisions standing toe to toe as they did [in the Cold War],"[8] but deployment of light, mobile, responsive force with a high level of situational awareness and clear messaging. The key to successful deterrence is credibility and clear strategic communication towards geopolitical rivals: NATO is here, the United States is here, and we are ready to protect our values, and to invest in our defensive capabilities.

NATO's eastern flank consists of the Baltic region in the north, the V4 countries in the middle, and Romania and Bulgaria in the south. Some argue that the transatlantic community should perceive this group of countries as one flank and adopt common mea-

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sures and create a common agenda.[9] LtGen (Ret.) Ben Hodges argued that only a common flank approach could guarantee that no capability gaps would occur (like Kaliningrad enclave in the North, or the Black Sea region in the South). Differentiation, however, is embedded in the very nature of how NATO works. Scholars argue NATO is a pluralist security community,[10] sharing core values, but also facing different kinds of threats. In reality, these countries have very different threat perceptions related to the complex challenges stemming from Russian behavior.

The Bucharest 9 countries (Poland, Bulgaria, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, and Hungary) and the southern flank Allies (France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Turkey) have different ideas on the balance of defense measures emphasized by the notion of a 360-degree approach. Interestingly, the voice of B9 echoed louder and louder in Washington, despite the failed experiment of Obama's reset policy in 2015. As Calmels argues, B9 countries might not be the primary policymakers in the framework of the UN or the EU, but their opinion has become important in the sense of NATO,[11] thanks to the Anglo-American momentum to react to the Ukraine war decisively.

There are, however, some minor differences within the B9 group as well. The perception of threat in the Baltic region is heavily influenced by military concerns. For Hungary and Slovakia, it is just as important to maintain good relations with the Russian Federation because of gas supplies, as it is to modernize their defense forces to deliver within the transatlantic Alliance.[12] Hungary has introduced significant measures[13] in the last years to reach the 2% threshold for military expenditures. Hungary and Poland have a very delicate position related to societal security in Ukraine. It is primarily because of Hungarian national minorities living there, Ukrainian labor migrants working in Poland, and certain debates revolving around the issue of national remembrance of Poland and Ukraine related to WWII. These diplomatic affairs do not necessarily influence the reassurance measures, but sometimes they have consequences. One of the most important examples of such a situation is the Hungarian veto as to organizing the NATO-Ukraine summit, because of their concerns regarding Ukrainian language law and minority protection. As a community of common values, NATO shall find compromises for these sensitive areas if it takes its global role seriously.

Baltic States

Post-Soviet countries of the Baltic region (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) are situated between two great powers, Germany and the Russian Federation. Almost 1 million eth-

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9   Hodges, B. et al., "One Flank, One Threat, One Presence. A Strategy for NATO's Eastern Flank." https://cepa.org/one-flank-one-threat-one-presence [accessed: 4.12.2020].

10 Pouliot, V. and Lachmann, N., "Security Communities as Vectors of Regional and International Order." *Revue internationale et stratégique*, Vol. 54, Issue 2, 2004, pp. 131–140.

11 Calmels, C., "NATO's 360-degree approach to security: alliance cohesion and adaptation after the Crimean crisis." *European Security*, Routledge, 10 Jul 2020.

12 Rada, P. and Stepper, P., "Hungarian perspective on NATO." *NATO in the 21st century – A Central European perspective*, Baranyi, T. P. and Stepper, P. (eds.), Antall József Knowledge Centre, Budapest, 2019.

13 Stepper, P., "Magyarország hozzájárulása a NATO működéséhez." *Fókuszban*, Vol. 4, No 2, 2019.
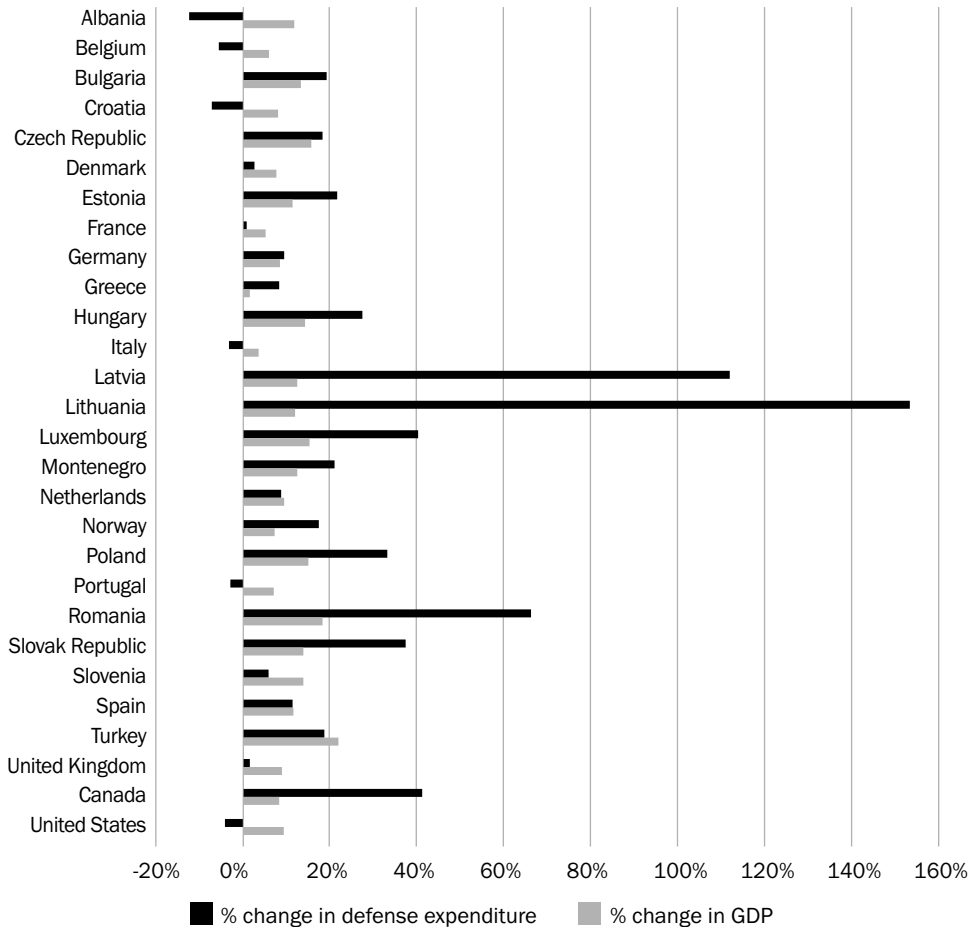
Figure 1. Percentage change in defense expenditure vs. percentage change in GDP (2013–2017 estimates)

Source: K.H. Hicks et al., "Counting Dollars or Measuring Value", CSIS, 2018, https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180703_Hicks_CountingDollars.pdf/.

nic Russians and primarily Russian-speaking communities live in the region,[14] and Moscow would be prepared to 'protect' them in case of a situation similar to that in Georgia in 2008. Being small states with little to nonstrategic depth, and small armies, all of the three countries perceive their security as something guaranteed by NATO. They joined the Alliance in 2004 and fully supported the common initiatives. The contribu-

14 Kirch, A., "Russians as a Minority in Contemporary Baltic States." *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 23, No 2, 1992, pp. 205–212.

tion of small states might only be symbolic if you look at the bigger picture, nonetheless costly for those who deliver. Lithuania and Latvia increased their defense budget ten and fifteen times faster than their economy is growing. Estonian defense budget also increased two times faster than its GDP.

The fears of Baltic countries in military sense can be justified. As a recent study from the Atlantic Council revealed, NATO can win a conventional war in the Baltics – even in the face of a short-notice Russian attack – if appropriate steps are taken to provide substantial defense.[15] However, most of the experts are afraid of Russian A2/AD (anti-access/area-denial) capabilities, and advanced air defense systems, which have created a capability gap to the advantage of the Russian forces. Russians are systematically testing NATO's air defense capabilities, but the Baltic air policing mission has been quite successful, and NATO proved to be resilient.

V4 countries

The Visegrad group has also had experiences with Soviet oppression after 1945, but their geopolitical considerations differ from the Baltic region. Except for Poland, they do not have common borders with the Russian Federation. They also do not have a large proportion of Russian minorities like the Baltic countries, and there is no sign of cultural embeddedness or 'soft power' upon which Moscow could build its political influence. Even pan-Slavic ideology able to connect e.g. Slovaks to Russians is more like a non-issue, mistakenly identified as a basis for explaining certain foreign policy steps like the non-approval of Kosovo's statehood in 2008. Hence, there is neither sympathy towards the Kremlin because of any form of Russian 'soft power,' nor antipathy towards Moscow because of their activities in the imminent neighborhood. Three of the V4 countries are very pragmatic in their policy towards Russia, mainly because of economic reasons, and to sustain energy security. All of them have close ties to the Russian energy sector both in terms of natural gas imports and nuclear power plants based on old Soviet technology. However, some of the V4 countries (Slovakia and the Czech Republic) have opened to Western alternatives, Italian and American companies like Enel or Westinghouse, to modernize their nuclear facilities. In the case of Hungary, Rosatom put the best offer on the table and they won the concession to build a new reactor bloc in Paks.

Threat Perception of Romania and Bulgaria

Both Romania and Bulgaria have hopes, fears, and doubts which determine their foreign policies. They share a common post-Soviet socialist history and they also joined NATO (2004) and the EU (2007) together, going through almost the same processes. However, in geopolitical and historical terms, we can find differences between their strategic priorities.

After the Ukrainian crisis erupted and Russia annexed Crimea in 2014, security dialogues and interpretations have become more assertive both in Bucharest and Sofia, but

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15 Kramer, F.D. and Craddock, B.J., "Effective Defense of the Baltics." *Atlantic Council*, 6 May 2016, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/effective-defense-of-the-baltic [accessed: 12.12.2020].

their behavior towards Russia differed in many ways. From a historic perspective, the Russian-Romanian relation has been obnoxious[16] but after Romania committed itself to a strategic partnership with the United States in 1997[17] and joined transatlantic communities, the relation with Russia has undergone a deep fall. The fear of Russian aggression has been growing in Romania and pushes it towards active involvement in NATO military developments. Romania is criticizing Russia because of its influence in the Republic of Moldova, which Romania has wanted to unite with for decades. Up until now it has remained a unilateral ambition, although current political changes in Romania[18] and Moldova[19] might bring these countries closer to each other and sharpen the conflict with Russia in the future. The newly elected President of Moldova, Maia Sandu, is a pro-EU and pro-Romanian politician, and inherited a country with several domestic issues, such as the question of Transnistria. Some Romanian analysts argue that if Moldova wants to leave the grey zone it has to leave behind Transnistria, which is already under Russian influence.[20] Another main issue between Romania and Russia is the presence of American troops in Romanian territory and the Aegis Ashore Missile Defense Facility in Deveselu.[21] The purpose of the Aegis Ashore system is to protect NATO's European territories and population,[22] but Russia questioned whether this site is only for defense purposes and demanded destruction of the facility.[23]

In contrast to Romania, Bulgarian-Russian relations have traditionally been good, and the country was able to maintain good relations with Moscow after NATO and EU enlargement as well. However, the question of how to deal with Russia repeatedly raised domestic issues in Bulgaria. The Slavic brotherhood which connects the two countries is rooted in close historical, cultural, and political ties, but it also divides the Bulgarian society's opinion, putting decision-makers in a sensitive position on the international level as to their reactions to certain issues, like EU sanctions on Russia.[24] Since Bulgaria

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16 Muschei, I., "Romania, the European Union and Russia." https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/198449/1/ceswp-v08-i1-p110-119.pdf [accessed: 12.12.2020].

17 "The 20th Anniversary of the United States – Romania Strategic Partnership." https://ro.usembassy.gov/20-years-strategic-partnership [accessed: 12.12.2020].

18 Alegeri pentru Senat și Camera Deputaților – 6 decembrie 2020, http://www.mae.ro/node/52162 [accessed: 12.12.2020].

19 Alegeri prezidențiale 2020. http://alegeri.md/w/Pagina_principal%C4%83 [accessed: 12.12.2020].

20 Fati, S., "Ce poate schimba Maia Sandu pe axa București-Chișinău." https://www.dw.com/ro/ce-poate-schimba-maia-sandu-pe-axa-bucure%C8%99ti-chi%C8%99in%C4%83u/a-55623250 [accessed: 12.12.2020].

21 Kozma, K., "The Romanian Perspective on NATO. *NATO in the 21st Century: A Central European Perspective*, Baranyi, T. P. and Stepper, P. (eds.), Budapest, 2019, p. 211.

22 "United States Ballistic Missile Defense Site at Deveselu Air Base in Romania." https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/avc/rls/162446.htm [accessed: 12.12.2020].

23 "U.S. Says 'In Compliance' With Treaty After Russia Demands Washington Destroy Defense System." https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-demands-u-s-destroy-missile-defense-system-in-romania-military-drones/29758623.html [accessed: 12.12.2020].

24 Vukov, N., "Bulgaria - The Importance of Being Outright: Bulgarian Reactions to the Ukrainian Crisis." https://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/focus/ukrainian-crisis/bulgaria-the-importance-of-being-outright-bulgarian-reactions-to-the-ukrainian-crisis [accessed: 12.12.2020].

is a NATO and EU member, pro-Russian sentiments need to be put aside and Sofia must emphasize its commitment towards NATO and the EU again and again. Reflecting on the Crimean case, the Bulgarian Security Council of the Council of Ministers published in September 2014 a document based on the country's White Paper on Defense and the Armed Forces. Focusing on the changes in the security environment, the Council adopted the National Program Bulgaria in NATO and in European Defence 2020, which quasi highlights Bulgarian commitment in transatlantic security cooperation. This program included directions of development in the Armed Forces, funding for cooperation, and integration of Bulgaria's defense industry into the Euro-Atlantic community.[25] Bulgaria supports NATO's activities and has started to increase military spending actively, but good relations with Moscow still create ambiguity and uncertainty.[26]

As we can see, while Romania undoubtedly experiences Russian activities as a direct security threat and usually rushes into diplomatic quarrels with Moscow, Bulgaria is often accused, mostly by the EU, of being a pro-Russian Trojan horse within the system.[27] Nevertheless, in its strategic documents, Bulgaria committed itself to strengthening deterrence and defense potential of NATO, including the enhanced Forward Presence to the East and the tailored Forward Presence to the South East.[28]

Besides the common defense policy commitments, there are other similarities between the CEE countries. Unfortunately, the post-Cold War era led many of them into the rush to catch up with the West, but there was no fundamental basis neither by common sense nor by other means. Lack of mobility and underdeveloped infrastructure is also an important factor both from the economic and military perspective. The region has a clear development gap compared to the West, when we think about gas pipelines, railroads, motorways, bridges, especially in the sense of North-South interconnectivity. Infrastructure development projects have always meant big financial investments, and they also have geopolitical implications. The one who controls the road networks and the energy infrastructure can be considered as a major power in the region. The challenges ahead of the transatlantic community here are twofold. Western powers need to understand the realities of the energy security situation in East-Central Europe and react accordingly. They have to offer viable alternatives for diversification and invest in the region; otherwise, their geopolitical rivals will do it. It is also true in the sense of transportation infrastructure. China is looking for partners to continue the Belt and Road Initiative, established the 17+1 negotiations with Central and Eastern European countries, which can be seen as competing with Western hegemony in this area as well. Russia and Turkey agreed to build the TurkStream gas pipeline which will bring Russian

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25 "Bulgaria in NATO and in European Defence 2020." Sofia, 2 Sept 2014.

26 Wezeman, S.T. and Kuimova, A., "Bulgaria and Black Sea Security." https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2018-12/bp_1812_black_sea_bulgaria_1.pdf [accessed: 12.12.2020].

27 Grashkin, A., "Russia's Political Influence in Bulgaria," https://www.fpri.org/article/2020/01/russias-political-influence-in-bulgaria [accessed: 12.12.2020].

28 "National Plan for Increasing the Defense Spending to 2% of the Gross Domestic Product until 2024." Sofia, 2017, https://www.mod.bg/en/doc/cooperation/20181009_National_Plan_EN.pdf [accessed: 12.12.2020].

gas through the Black Sea to South- and Central-European countries.[29] The United States, Japan, and Australia also initiated a project for financing infrastructure developments, the so-called Blue Dot Network (BDN). It aims to promote investments that are sustainable and compliant with international standards[30] and serves as an alternative option against the Belt and Road Initiative.[31] The question that remains unraveled is which European countries will benefit from BDN.

The Geopolitical and Geo-economic Importance of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea Regions

These regions are geographical and cultural lines between Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. The Mediterranean is a key trading route for European countries which provides economic resources and shortens shipping distances, bringing more profit to companies. The main shipping ports in the Eastern Mediterranean are Limassol, Alexandria, Damietta, Ashdod, and Beirut, and in the Western part of the Mediterranean region – Barcelona, Valencia, Naples, and Livorno.[32] The strategic position of the Mediterranean Sea can be measured by the growth in the amount of cargo (477% between 1995-2018), and besides, there is no alternative route that would provide the same efficiency for European trade to and from South Asian countries.[33] However, now that the security of the region is highly challenged by piracy, terrorism, organized crime, and hostile states, the benefits of the Mediterranean depend on stability and cooperation.[34] Operation Sea Guardian in the Mediterranean Sea is a flexible maritime security operation aiming to build maritime capacities, support maritime situational awareness, and counter terrorism. Through this operation, NATO cooperates with the EU and other Mediterranean countries such as Israel. The aim is to protect trading and information routes running across the region.

The Black Sea is another unique link, which is geographically situated in an essential crossroad between the Mediterranean region, the Balkans, Eastern Europe and Asia, and has emerging importance in security issues.

Historically, the Black Sea region represented an important interest zone of the Russian and the Ottoman Empires. Fights for Crimea date back for centuries, but in the 18th century, Russia gained access to the Black Sea region by signing the Treaty of Küçük

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29 TurkStream, https://turkstream.info/documents [accessed: 12.12.2020].

30 Blue Dot Network, https://www.state.gov/blue-dot-network [accessed: 12.12.2020].

31 Kuo, M.A., "Blue Dot Network: The Belt and Road Alternative," https://thediplomat.com/2020/04/blue-dot-network-the-belt-and-road-alternative [accessed: 12.12.2020].

32 Shipping Routes from China, https://cargofromchina.com/shipping-routes/.

33 Basagni, L., "The Mediterranean Sea and its Port System: Risk and Opportunities in a Globally Connected World." George Marshall Fund of the United States, https://www.gmfus.org/sites/default/files/Chapter%20Laura%20Basagni__JPS_Infrastructures%20and%20power%20in%20the%20MENA-12-33.pdf [accessed: 12.12.2020].

34 Guterres, A., "Remarks to the Security Council on Security Challenges in the Mediterranean Region." https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2017-11-17/security-challenges-mediterranean-region-remarks [accessed: 12.12.2020].
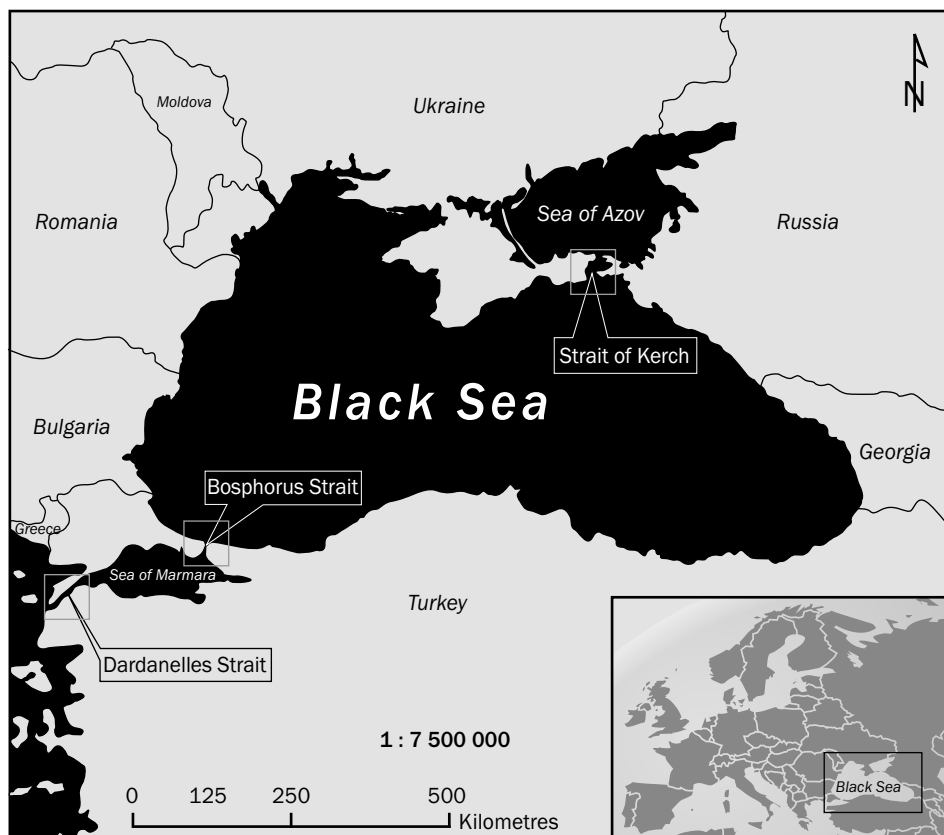
Figure 2. Location map of the study area

Source: H. Stanchev et al., "Determination of the Black Sea Area and Coastline Length Using GIS Methods and Landsat 7 Satellite Images." Geo-Eco-Marina 2011, No 17, https://www.geoecomar.ro/website/publicatii/No.17-2011/03_stanchev_BT.pdf [accessed: 12.12.2020].

Kaynarca in 1774 with the Ottoman Empire. Despite the agreements, regional power struggle continued between them and led to the Crimean War (1853-1856).[35] While the Ottomans were weakened, Russia tried to reach beyond the Turkish straits, the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, and gain access over them, but failed to accomplish its goal in both World Wars and during the Cold War as well. The Montreux Convention (1936) gave full control over the Bosporus and the Dardanelles to Turkey, which led to the Turkish Straits crisis in 1946, right after World War II. The Soviet Union demanded military bases from Turkey and tried to pressure the Turkish government to agree, but

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35 Toucas, B., "The Geostrategic Importance of the Black Sea Region: A Brief History." https://www.csis.org/analysis/geostrategic-importance-black-sea-region-brief-history [accessed: 12.12.2020].

it only led Turkey and Greece to find protection under NATO aegis.[36] In the post-Cold War years, the question of the Black Sea region became less important than nuclear disarmament and international stabilization, but after 2014, the Russian Federation gained control over Sevastopol, a key maritime base in the region, and strengthened its position on the Crimean Peninsula. From the geopolitical point of view, the country which rules Sevastopol rules the whole of Crimea, and who rules Crimea, rules the Black Sea as well. From Sevastopol, Russia can support operations in Syria and fight against rebels of the Syrian President Bashar al Assad.[37] Since 1977 Russia has had a naval base in Tartus, Syria, and in 2017 it announced deployment of forces for permanent stationing in Tartus and at the Khmeimim airbase, to ensure Russian presence in the Mediterranean region.[38] In terms of military expenditures, Russia is one of the top five countries that spend the most on military developments, although after 2016 its defense budget declined.

Compared to Russia, the US spent 11 times more on defense in 2019, but other European countries were lagging.[39] During the 2017 Brussels Summit, NATO Member States agreed to increase their defense expenditures and to comply with the 2% of GDP requirements for this purpose. They also agreed that the evaluation process will be based on annual data, and the modernization and rearmament of Armed Forces was defined as a must in the future. According to the Reflection Group nominated by Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg, NATO needs reinforcement in solidarity, unity, and cohesion. It also needs to improve consultations between Allies and strengthen its political role on a global level. The NATO 2030: United for New Era report states that while NATO is trying to deter Russia from aggression, it should focus on dialogue with it as well.[40]

As a consequence, we cannot separate economic, political, and military interests to talk about regional security in the South-East European region, as the very nature of conflicts is based on complex, multidimensional interests. In geo-economic terms, the focus is on energy competition and safety of transit corridors, therefore military support for transportation safety has become fundamental. Diversification of gas pipelines fueling the European markets is regarded as a strategic asset for many European countries. Some of them, like Turkey, want to assert their interests and act more independently.[41] Striving for a regional leader position, Turkey has created a new system for seis-

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36 Ibidem.

37 Report by Elena Volochine, with Gulliver Cragg, https://www.france24.com/en/20190320-focus-crimea-sevastopol-port-naval-base-russia-navy-syria-war-operations-trade-tartus [accessed: 12.12.2020].

38 Clarke, C.P. et al., "Russia Is Eyeing the Mediterranean. The U.S. and NATO Must Be Prepared." https://www.rand.org/blog/2020/06/russia-is-eyeing-the-mediterranean-the-us-and-nato.html. [accessed: 12.12.2020].

39 Wezeman, S.T., "Russia's military spending." https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-backgrounder/2020/russias-military-spending-frequently-asked-questions/.

40 NATO 2030: United for New Era. https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/2020/12/pdf/201201-Reflection-Group-Final-Report-Uni.pdf/, p. 25 [accessed: 12.12.2020].

41 Bauomy, J., "TurkStream: Europe needs gas and Russia has it - the story behind that new pipeline." https://www.euronews.com/2020/01/08/turkstream-europe-needs-gas-and-russia-has-it-the-story-behind-that-new-pipeline [accessed: 12.12.2020].
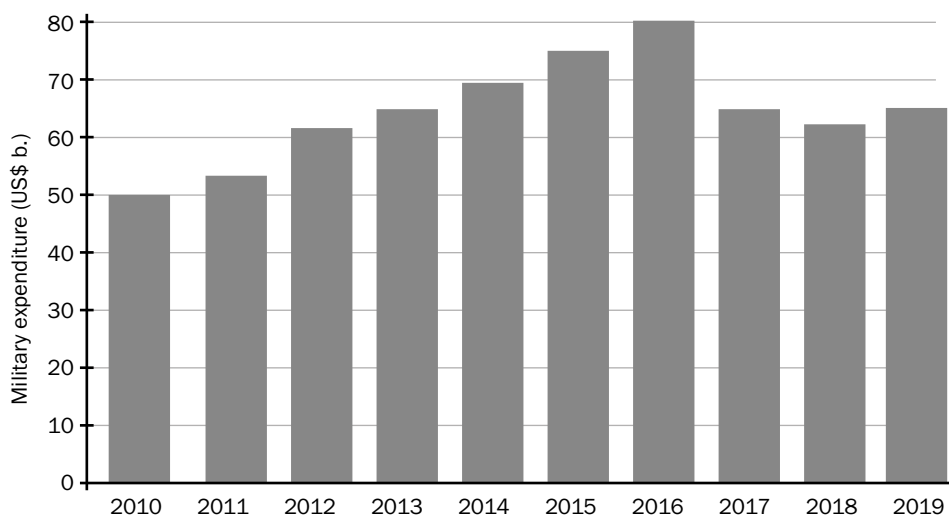
Notes: Figures are in US$ b. at constant (2018) prices and exchange rates.
      Figures and percentage shares may not add up to stated totals or subtotals due to the conventions of rounding.

Figure 3. Russian military expenditure, 2010–2019

Source: S.T. Wezeman, "Russia's Military Spending." https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-backgrounder/2020/russias-military-spending-frequently-asked-questions/.

mic research in the Eastern Mediterranean, the so-called Navtex (Navigational Telex). This maritime communication system is a tool aimed at helping Turkey to resolve the issue with Greece over the delimitation of the continental shelf and exclusive economic zone.[42] In 2019, Greece and the US signed a Defense Cooperation Agreement which allows the US and NATO forces to use military bases and facilities in Larissa, Stefanovikio, and Alexandroupolis.[43] The US is already using a military facility on the island of Crete at Souda Bay. In Larissa, the US Air Force has MQ-9 Reaper-type UAVs. The agreement between Greece and the US could be interpreted as a caveat for Turkey.[44] In May 2020, Turkish ships began drilling operations near Cyprus.[45] This sharpened the conflict with Greece, which already reached out for defense support. The possibility of an open military conflict between Turkey and Greece is unlikely, but in other dimensions, technological or economical, for example, they will compete fiercely.

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42 Navigational Telex is a maritime communication system that allows ships to inform other vessels about their presence in the area, as well as transfer other information. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkeys-navtex-alerts-reflect-its-determined-stance/2024654 [accessed: 12.12.2020].

43 Cinar, A., "Military exercises in Greece are stretching US-Turkey relationship." https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/military-exercises-in-greece-are-stretching-us-turkey-relationship-38609 [accessed: 12.12.2020].

44 Ibidem.

45 Navigational Telex..., op.cit.

Reinforce the Black Sea Region

NATO started the adaptation process to new realities in 2014. The following years showed us how much is to be done to ensure rapid reaction capabilities in real battle situations. Between 2014-2015 NATO conducted 25 different military exercises in the eFP and tFP regions.[46] A multinational brigade under the Multinational Division Southeast in Romania is responsible for multinational training and cooperation of NATO member states taking part in the protection of the region, and establishing defense capabilities in the Black Sea.[47] Military exercises like Trident Juncture 2018 in Norway, or Defender Europe 2020 proved to be the largest military deployment since the Cold War years. Decision-makers realized rapid reaction is a multifaceted challenge, which needs an adequate number of troops, a high-level of military mobility, and an advanced command structure at the same time. The command-and-control (C2) architecture of NATO has improved a lot since 2014, but there are still several tasks ahead of the members.

The North Atlantic Council adopted several landmark decisions at the Brussels Summit in 2018 to strengthen military mobility. As the text of the NATO summit declaration highlights:

> [we] welcome the Enablement Plan for SACEUR's Area of Responsibility and we will give its implementation the highest priority at the national level. We have agreed to improve the necessary legislation and procedures, enhance command and control, and increase transport capabilities, and we have also recognized the need to upgrade infrastructure in Europe. Besides, today we have declared the initial operational capability of Rapid Air Mobility aimed at allowing short notice, cross-border air movement in Europe.[48]

Member states made pledges to adopt the Enablement Plan until 2024 and solve the issue of free entry for NATO troops within 5 days until the end of 2019. To maintain a high level of mobility, member states establish NPCs (NATO Point-of-contact), and develop rapid air mobility (RAM) capabilities, primarily relying on the Ramstein airbase.

Gen (Ret.) Ben Hodges and his colleagues at CEPA have created a report called One Flank, One Threat, One Presence, enlisting numerous policy recommendations. As they argued in the executive summary:

> NATO's Eastern Flank stretches from the Arctic to the Caucasus and includes the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea littorals. […] the most vulnerable sector of the Alliance […] exposed daily to military probing, subversion, disinformation […] by the Kremlin. After […] the illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014, the Alliance prioritized the Baltic Sea region […]and deployed »enhanced Forward Presence« (eFP) Battle Groups in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland while settling for 'tailored Forward Presence' (tFP) in the Black Sea region. This tiered approach to deter-

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46 Major NATO exercises, https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Major-NATO-Exercises-TABLE_ELN.pdf [accessed: 12.12.2020].

47 Tailored Forward Presence. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_136388.htm [accessed: 4.12.2020].

48 Brussels Summit Declaration, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_156624.htm?selectedLocale=uk [accessed: 4.12.2020].

rence capabilities created a degree of incoherence along the Eastern Flank, in effect yielding the initiative in the Black Sea region to the Kremlin, putting strains on the cohesion of the Alliance, and exposing NATO to continued aggressive probing from Russia[49]

Therefore, the reflection group of CEPA suggested to raise the priority of the Black Sea region, not to differentiate between eFP and tFP, and instead upgrade this initiative into Tiered Forward Presence. Furthermore, they suggest NATO improve situational awareness and deterrence by regional military build-up, reinforcing Romania in the land, sea, and air battlegrounds.

Military mobility
Navy

Hodges and colleagues suggested accelerating the establishment of HQ Multinational Corps South-East (MNC-SE). MNC-SE oversees the work of the NATO Force Integration Unit (NFIU) in Romania and Bulgaria and commands the Multinational Brigade Southeast (MNB-SE) located in Craiova.[50] They are convinced that the USA should deploy a battery-size element for the MNB-SE, in exchange for the Romanian Air Defense Battery to the eFP Battle Group in Poland.[51] They also highlighted the importance of naval command elements and suggested deploying regional maritime NATO HQ in Constanta to coordinate activities of littoral states and other NATO members. Now, the regional naval HQ is only a sub-element within MARCOM, located in Northwood, UK. MARCOM did an excellent job to increase C2 capabilities through the new naval command in Rostock. The same C4ISR (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Reconnaissance) capabilities could be built in the Black Sea region, using the potential of the Constanta naval base. US-Romanian naval cooperation would also be better if a US Navy Liaison Officer was deployed to the Romanian Navy HQ. Furthermore, the US needs to react to Russian fleet modernization efforts and increase its presence in Europe. Deployment of non-littoral states in the Black Sea region (like the US, or any other major European naval powers) could be managed by rotational presence. NATO could increase its defense position by adding more troops and naval destroyers to those already stationed in the naval base of Rota, Spain.

Air Force

Air transport is no less important in the sense of logistics and military mobility. In terms of military mobility rankings, NATO enlists country groups with green, amber, gray,

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49 Hodges, B. et al., "One Flank, One Threat, One Presence. A Strategy for NATO's Eastern Flank." https://cepa.org/one-flank-one-threat-one-presence [accessed: 4.12.2020].

50 "Romania's Multinational Brigade - Bolstering NATO'S Tailored Forward Presence." https://shape.nato.int/news-archive/2018/romanias-multinational-brigade-bolstering-natos-tailored-forward-presence- [accessed: 4.12.2020].

51 This could be done with a rotational unit from the National Guard such as the Alabama Army National Guard (Romania's state partner) or from the rotational ABCT.

Figure 4. Military Mobility Rankings (Air)

Military Mobility Rankings (Air)	
Green	
Over Flight	5 countries (Iceland, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Germany)
Landing	3 countries (Estonia, Denmark, Germany)
Clearance Window	12 countries (Iceland, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Montenegro, Albania, Italy, Latvia, Slovakia, United Kingdom, Finland)
Amber	
Over Flight	12 countries (United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Greece)
Landing	9 countries (Norway, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Slovakia, Italy, Greece, Bulgaria)
Clearance Window	8 countries (Norway, Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal, Romania, Georgia, Czech Republic)
Gray	
Over Flight	15 countries (Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Moldova, Georgia, Turkey, Romania, Montenegro, Albania, Croatia, Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Slovenia)
Landing	19 countries (Iceland, United Kingdom, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, France, Czech Republic, Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Moldova, Albania, Romania, Georgia, Turkey, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Slovenia)
Clearance Window	8 countries (Belgium, Luxembourg, Croatia, Lithuania, Moldova, Turkey, Greece, Poland
Red	
Over Flight	0 countries
Landing	1 countries (Montenegro)
Clearance Window	4 countries (Sweden, Austria, Bulgaria, Slovenia)

Source: K.H. Hicks et al., "Counting Dollars or Measuring Value", CSIS, 2018, https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180703_Hicks_CountingDollars.pdf/.

and red color markers to visualize the achievements they have made in the field. It is good to see that none of the NATO countries are in the red zone regarding overflight expectations, but there are serious problems with landing capacities in Montenegro, and with the clearance window in Bulgaria and Slovenia. It is interesting to examine the Eastern Flank (Poland) and the Baltic, as well as the Black Sea region. We can see that Romania in the south and Lithuania, Latvia in the north, are within the second-worst category in terms of landing, so there is a lot of room for improvement. Only three countries are labeled green in all categories: overflight, landing, and clearance window – Estonia, Denmark and Germany.

Figure 5. Military Mobility Rankings (Ground)

Military Mobility Rankings (Ground)	
Green	
APOD	all countries
SPOD	20 countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, United Kingdom, Croatia, Slovenia, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey, France)
Road System	28 countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Czech Republic, Austria, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, Slovenia, Croatia, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, Moldova, Ukraine, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece)
Dip. Clearance	5 countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Croatia)
Rail Head	22 countries (Norway, Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Czech Republic, Austria, France, Belgium, Netherlands, United Kongdom, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Slovenia, Slovakia, Greece, Romania, Hungary, Luxembourg)
Amber	
APOD	none
SPOD	7 countries (Iceland, Montenegro, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Georgia)
Road System	2 countries (Italy, Georgia)
Dip. Clearance	19 countries (United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Slovenia, Montenegro, Albania, Greece, Slovakia, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria)
Rail Head	none
Red	
APOD	none
SPOD	none
Road System	3 Countries (Iceland, Montenegro, Albania)
Dip. Clearance	8 countries (Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, France, Portugal, Turkey, Georgia)
Rail Head	11 countries (Iceland, Sweden, Finland, Croatia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkey, Montenegro, Albania, Bulgaria, Moldova)

Source: K.H. Hicks et al., "Counting Dollars or Measuring Value", CSIS, 2018. https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180703_Hicks_CountingDollars.pdf/.

Several experts suggested reinforcement of Mihail Kogălniceanu Airport (MK Air Base) to help NATO's power projection and create a platform for logistics, land, mission command, and air activity. Such an improvement would increase the landing capabilities of NATO forces in the Black Sea region.

Ground Forces

Ground military mobility rankings evaluate the existence of adequate road systems, the pace of diplomatic clearance, the availability of railroads, seaport for debarkation (SPOD), and airport for departure (APOD). All NATO and partner countries have available airports and most of the littoral states have SPOD in the green zone. However, the Black Sea region (Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia) is only in the second-best category in terms of seaport capabilities, and pace of diplomatic clearance.

CEPA report suggests Romania needs significant military reinforcement. Although the report suggests building road and rail infrastructure above all, it is yet to be proven that such development would result in greater ground mobility. The quality of Romanian infrastructure might not be in the best condition, but the number of roads available is sufficient, as the graph shows. However, SPOD is more problematic and the development of the seaport of Constanta might be more beneficial in this sense. Constanta, being the largest port in the Black Sea region, is also important from the perspective of Chinese investments and the Belt and Road Initiative.[52] Not surprisingly, Hodges and colleagues recommended supporting infrastructure investments by the Three Seas Initiative (3SI) or any other kind of Western initiative, like the EU TEN-T network. The question is if 3SI would be large enough financially and stable enough politically to become a real factor in geopolitical rivalry for the region.

Three Seas Initiative (3SI)

3SI was initiated on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meeting in New York in 2014 by Poland and Croatia, and brings together 12 EU member countries. It is considered to be an informal initiative of the heads of states. The main aim is to enhance cooperation in three sectors, namely transport infrastructure, energy, and digital agenda. Similarly, an important priority is to strengthen the internal market of the EU, while seeking to avert further differentiation within the EU.

The name Three Seas Initiative has led to a connotation with the interwar *Intermarium* initiative and naturally triggered some concerns about the intentions behind it. The participating countries share some similarities but are also to a significant extent different in their structural characteristics, as well as in their priorities. 3SI has been a multi-speed initiative since the very beginning of its existence. Some of the participating countries are within the Eurozone, but others are not. An informal character of the whole initiative, with only a few commonly shared priorities, seems to be an adequate response to this challenge at the moment. The participating countries see the future of 3SI differently – while some of them, including the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia – perceive TSI more as an informal discussion platform for exchanging ideas, Poland, Croatia, but also Romania, assign more importance to it. The V4 countries can also consider using the existing V4 and V4+ infrastructure for the sake of joint projects. For

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52 Romania hopes that Constanta port will become an important hub on the Belt and Road, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-09/11/c_137459208.htm [accessed: 4.12.2020].

some global players, such as China or the US, V4 is too small, so they are looking for bigger formats of cooperation. In this particular case, 3SI can be of added value.[53] It is even more true for the traditional ally of the old continent, the United States of America.

As David Morris highlighted in his article published at the Lowy Institute:

> A new infrastructure connectivity initiative in Central Europe is the latest stage for a geopolitical contest. ... in the traditional 'buffer zone' between Western Europe and the East have long suffered lagging living standards and weaker economies. Their poorly connected energy and transport infrastructure reflects their history. [3SI] officially launched in 2016 by Croatia and Poland, was enthusiastically endorsed by the EU's strategic partner, the US… The US support reflects the primary geopolitical purpose behind the 3SI. The opportunity to drive a wedge between Russia and its former zone of influence in Central Europe not only appeals to the US, but promises the added advantage of beefing up US trade and other interests in the region.[54]

At the Tallinn 3SI summit, the US delegation announced a $300 million investment through the US Development Finance Corporation (DFC) in the Three Seas Fund. At the same time, US Deputy Secretary of Economic Affairs, Energy and Environment, Keith Krach, announced the US commitment to contribute 30% of the contributions of the 12 countries of the initiative, taken together, to a maximum of 1 billion euros. The US support reflects the primary geopolitical purpose behind the 3SI. The opportunity to drive a wedge between Russia and its former zone of influence in Central Europe does not only appeal to the US, but promises the added advantage of beefing up US trade and other interests in the region.[55]

The 3SI is a great chance for Romania to fulfill the long-wanted bridge role between different EU areas and increase connectivity not only in economic terms, but in the fields of energy, infrastructure, and digital connectivity as well.[56] Romania hosted the 3SI Summit in Bucharest in 2018 and presented those priority projects which boost the Initiative's programs in each of the abovementioned fields.[57]

US Foreign Policy in the Post-Trump Era

President-elect Joe Biden has a very difficult task at hand. Scholars expect a more centrist and moderate political credo from Biden, primarily because of his institutionally

53 Strazay, T., "Regional cooperation formats in CEE and its their relation to the V4." *Central European and the Visegrad Cooperation*, Stepper, P. (ed.), Antall József Knowledge Centre, Budapest, 2018.

54 Morris, D., "The Three Seas Initiative: A European answer to China's Belt and Road?" *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute, 26 Oct 2020, https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/three-seas-initiative-european-answer-china-s-belt-and-road [accessed: 4.12.2020].

55 Kandilarov, E., "Bulgaria external relations briefing: Bulgaria and the 'Three Seas Intiative'." *China-CEE Institute Weekly Briefing*, Vol. 33, No 4, https://china-cee.eu/2020/11/04/bulgaria-external-relations-briefing-bulgaria-and-the-three-seas-intiative [accessed: 4.12.2020].

56 The Three Seas Initiative (3SI), http://www.mae.ro/en/node/52671 [accessed: 4.12.2020].

57 3Seas Initiative Summit Bucharest, 2018, https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/Lista_regionala_de_proiecte_prioritare_de_interconectare_I3M.pdf [accessed: 4.12.2020].

limited power position. Biden can still do a lot of things, for example by using the tool-box of presidential decrees, nominating experienced diplomats into key positions on the one hand. On the other hand, he cannot put a Democrat nominee in a Supreme Court chair, as Donald Trump did three times in the last four years, hence six of nine judges can be considered as conservatives. Biden will not be able to push through the legislative agenda easily while Republicans have the majority in the US Senate. Even if midterm elections in Georgia and Pennsylvania could change the ratio, Democrats would still have to deal with a 50-50 situation. Although Biden won the popular vote as well, counting more than 81 million supporters, he also has to reflect upon the will of the people who voted for Trump, which was around 74 million voters.[58] Further alienation of these voters and even small mistakes in terms of handling the COVID-19 pandemic, the economic crisis, and the rise of China, could lead to a Red Wave in midterm elections of 2022, or even a return of a Republican president (not necessarily Trump) in 2024.

Foreign policy is a different matter, however. Biden shall not be cautious and sensitive about domestic politics, because foreign policy is traditionally a non-issue for American voters. Voters might care about military involvement in the Middle East, but Biden is expected to continue the withdrawal of troops from Syria, Afghanistan and Yemen.[59] He has already mentioned how unwinnable these wars are, hence harmful to America. Biden will remain tough on China, and he will expect more actions from European allies on the subject matter. NATO has to figure out what to do with these issues before it is too late. China questions US power positions economically, politically, and in its unique way of combining market capitalism with maintaining an oppressive communist regime, which is unacceptable in the sense of Western values. Europeans cannot remain neutral. Even if Biden uses less confrontational rhetoric on defense spending and trade issues, China is going to remain its number one priority. The US foreign policy regarding European issues will focus more on multilateral level negotiations, rather than a bilateral approach. Washington will negotiate with Brussels as it would like to strengthen the EU as an institution.

Central Europe has never been at the forefront of US foreign policy, and with the pivot of Asia, it has unfortunately become less and less significant. However, it is in the interest of Biden to keep Europe's stability. Therefore, he needs to counter Russian and Chinese efforts to gain more influence in this region. Certain Central European projects have helped this effort, particularly those which decreased reliance on Russian energy sources and helped to build infrastructure without involving China and the Belt and Road Initiative. Therefore, we can expect that the Three Seas Initiative will have bipartisan support in the United States House of Representatives, which recently adopted a resolution for an additional 300 million dollars of financial support for energy

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58 Presidential Results, https://edition.cnn.com/election/2020/results/president?iid=politics_election_national_map [accessed: 4.12.2020].

59 "Anchal Vohra: Trump Promised to End America's Wars. Biden Might Actually Do It." https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/11/06/trump-promised-to-end-americas-wars-biden-might-actually-do-it/.

and infrastructure projects. 3SI can help to start the process by being able to act as a kick-off tool, but infrastructure business needs much more FDI, so it needs to attract private investment companies in the region.[60] The TSI Investment Fund is financed by a growing number of member states[61] and the United States has also made a political pledge to reach 1 billion dollars[62] of federal financial support if Central Europeans can raise their public investment level accordingly.

Conclusion

The study proved that security threats are multidimensional indeed. The way these threats are evolving proves that military developments have many other aspects, not simply showing strength in a certain point or part of the Black Sea region. Geopolitical interests of the Eastern and Southeast European countries are heavily influenced by economic development goals, which means that the main purpose of armed forces developments and modernization is based on the idea to guarantee a profitable trading and transportation system. The language of geopolitics has influenced scientific debates and political negotiations. Some European NATO members (Poland, Lithuania, Romania) frequently reflect upon the challenges stemming from Russian aggression and the revival of great power politics. Hence, they want to see more commitments on the part of the US and the European members of NATO. Washington, however, wants to see clear messages from Europe on how the allies are planning to support their initiative to counter China, the strategic rival of America.

Southeast Europe is a region of strategic importance, even though its infrastructure is heavily underdeveloped because of historical reasons and economic situation. Neither China's Belt and Road Initiative nor the Central European 3SI, which is also supported financially by the US, has any direct connection to NATO and military affairs. The paper revealed that NATO's reassurance measures, like the development of NRF (VJTF, NFIU) and the enhanced Forward Presence (military presence on a rotational or permanent basis) need Southeast Europe to achieve a higher score in the infrastructure and mobility rankings. However, infrastructure development is an expensive business, which needs long-term commitment. Public and primarily private investors have to provide sufficient funds for the railroad, motorway construction, seaport improvement, or airbase development. The days of the Trump administration might be over, but the geopolitical rivalry in the southeastern part of Europe is not, and will become an important challenge on both sides of the Atlantic. ∎

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60 Discussion with Ian Brzezinski, Szymon Kardas and TamásVörös during the conference Central European Visions 2020 organized by the Antall József Knowledge Centre in Budapest, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rl9wWMEMn6o [accessed: 15.12.2020].

61 Slovenia and Hungary join the Three Seas Initiative Investment Fund, https://3siif.eu/news/slovenia-and-hungary-join-the-three-seas-initiative-investment-fund [accessed: 15.12.2020].

62 Jones, J.L. et al., "US commits $1 billion dollars to develop Central European infrastructure." https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/news/press-releases/us-commits-1-billion-dollars-to-develop-central-european-infrastructure [accessed: 15.12.2020].

STRESZCZENIE:

W artykule przedstawiono prognozowane kierunki rozwoju rozpoznania wojskowego w przyszłych konfliktach zbrojnych. Skoncentrowano się na trzech zasadniczych zagadnieniach: omówiono scenariusze wojen przyszłości stanowiące implikacje do zmian w strukturze systemu rozpoznania wojskowego, zwrócono uwagę na zmiany w sposobie prowadzenia działań militarnych wpływające na sposób organizacji systemu rozpoznania wojskowego oraz poruszono kwestie związane z prognozowanymi kierunkami rozwoju rozpoznania wojskowego. W artykule wykorzystano wnioski z doświadczeń zdobytych w czasie konfliktów militarnych w Iraku i w Afganistanie.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

rozpoznanie wojskowe, wojny przyszłości, architektura systemu rozpoznania, kierunki zmian, organizacja rozpoznania

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KWARTALNIK BELLONA

The Kremlin's Strategic Narratives on the Baltic States During the COVID-19 Crisis*

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ABSTRACT:

Current article is examining articles published in the pro-Russian media outlets in the spring 2020 during the spread of COVID-19, which promoted Russian strategic narratives constructed and disseminated by the Russian Federation for the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). These strategic narratives spread during pandemic of COVID-19 may emphasize: 1) political and economic motives related to the policies of governments of Baltic states; 2) motives to disrupt the international system and Western political institutions with the Baltic membership; 3) motives indicating conflictual identities between Russian and Baltic nations, which have been often placed in a Russophobic context.

Introduction**

The massive spread of SARS-CoV-2 (corona-virus) and consequently the COVID-19 disease started in China in late 2019 and had conquered most of the planet by early 2020.[1] The spread of the pandemic demonstrated that in today's globalized world, in addition to imminent military threats, mankind faces a variety of unpredictable risks the impact of which on a global security environment is often difficult to predict.[2] Very often these threats are hybrid in nature and simultaneously target various vulnerabilities of opponent societies like historical memory, legislation, traditions, geostrategic factors, strong polarization of society, technological disadvantages or ideological differences, among others.[3] During the crisis it became obvious that the world was unprepared to deal with such an unconventional and untraditional security threat like the spread of COVID-19, and it has been proven that open liberal and democratic societies of the Western world are particularly vulnerable, being more influenced by popular opinion that puts pressure on elected politicians who should take into account those fear and insecurity-creating trends in their decision-making process.

The vulnerabilities of the Western liberal democracies have been successfully abused by revisionist powers interested in changing the balance of power, and a number of rising powers aimed to strengthen their international status in order to increase their influence in international relations. China and Russia most obviously represent such status-seeking revisionist and rising powers interested in changing the status quo in the current post-Cold war international order.[4] For example, China has skillfully used the corona panic in its propaganda activities against both the US and EU, as it sees them as potential market economy rivals.[5] The main goal of Russia's influence operations is to widen the political gap between Europe and the United States, which would help weaken it,

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1 World Health Organization, "Coronavirus," 2020, https://www.who.int/health-topics/coronavirus [access: 8.05.2020].

2 Franke, U., *War by Non-Military Means: Understanding Russian Information Warfare*, Stockholm: Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut, 2015; Renz, B., "Russia and Hybrid Warfare," *Contemporary Politics* 2016, Vol. 22, Issue 3, pp. 283–300; Heap, B., Krauel, S., Althuis, J. (eds.), *Hybrid Threats: A Strategic Communications Perspective*, Riga, NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence 2019.

3 *Countering Hybrid Threats*, https://www.hybridcoe.fi/hybrid-threats [access: 1.05.2020].

4 See Lebow, R.N., "The Past and Future of War," *International Relations*, 2010, 24(3), pp. 243–270.

5 Rough, P., "How China is Exploiting the Coronavirus to Weaken Democracies," *Foreign Policy*, 25.03.2020, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/25/china-coronavirus-propaganda-weakens-western-democracies/?utm_source=PostUp &utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=20502&utm_term=Editor&fbclid=IwAR20YdPImmmH8JA8xvH9VvDRaGq-Kq73-2imqjtg3-jK2QXzMNidQS5Igpb0#39;s%20Picks%20OC&?tpcc=20502 [access: 29.05.2020].

e.g., to reduce the US contribution to NATO and European security. However, the purpose of information activities in hybrid and influence operations is to shape public opinion and to force populist movements all around the world that oppose the liberal democratic principles and are skeptical about the constitutional guarantees of minorities and the protection of individual rights.[6] Moreover, the populist definition of 'homogeneous people' cannot be the basis of a modern democracy because it ignores the principle of pluralism of opinion.[7] All in all, the interoperability of the international community in standing against unconventional security threats left much to be desired during the corona-crisis.

The global spread of SARS-CoV-2 is just one new episode of influencing efforts perpetrated by these countries to take advantage of the chaotic situation created by the virus.[8] Insufficient preparedness of the globalizing world to respond to the crisis of COVID-19 increases the effectiveness of illiberal challenges in which COVID-19 becomes an effective propaganda tool that can destabilize liberal democratic societies by sowing insecurity, fear and confusion. With the spread of the pandemic of COVID-19 a lot of information noise, fake-news and conspiracy theories have been released and disseminated into both the mainstream and social media.[9]

This article analyzes the affiliation and impact of the strategic narratives produced and disseminated by the Russian Federation in articles from media outlets supporting the Kremlin's policy in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania during the spread of COVID-19. Ventsel et al. argue that "narratives are influential because they provide ordered and simplified meaning frames that are easy to communicate, comprehend and remember, and also to associate with the interpreter's personal experience."[10] Strategic narratives take into account stories existing in the collective memory as well as other factors framing the interpretative atmosphere (e.g., shared ideological beliefs, political agendas, but also people's fears and expectations).[11]

Methodology

Qualitative content analysis was applied to analyze the collected data by using a hidden pilot sample (three articles from three different publications) on the basis of which pri-

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6 See Makarychev, A., Sazonov, V. "Populisms, popular geopolitics and the politics of belonging in Estonia," *European Politics and Society,* 20 (4) (2019), pp. 450–469.

7 Galston, W.A., "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy," *Journal of Democracy,* 29 (2) (2018), pp. 5–19.

8 "Stratcom Director: China and Russia Top Covid-19 Disinformation Sources", *Latvijas Radio* 9.04.2020, https://eng.lsm.lv/article/society/defense/stratcom-director-china-and-russia-top-covid-19-disinformation-sources.a355222/?fbclid=IwAR0DOJzY_6e11aVB1098BGs89703SQfM16ISmgWoxm8jisKNQVTXWfwpTBU: [access: 24.05.2020].

9 Barnes, J.E., Rosenberg, M., Wong, E., "As Virus Spreads, China and Russia See Openings for Disinformation," *New York Times*, 28.03.2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/28/us/politics/china-russia-coronavirus-disinformation.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article [access: 27.05.2020].

10 Ventsel A., et al., "Discourse of Fear in Strategic Narratives: The Case of Russia's Zapad War Games," *Media, War & Conflict*, 2019, p. 6.

11 Ibidem.

mary coding was performed.[12] A substantive analysis of a larger number of articles followed the pilot study. The authors analyzed the content of specific texts as well as the expressions, words and sentences in the articles, including the tone of the texts (e.g., emotionality, ridiculing, intimidation). When analyzing the results, it is important to keep in mind that the method used in this article makes it possible to determine the presence of certain motifs in the publications under examination, but this study does not allow the deduction of broader generalization about the extent or consequences of influencing.

Literature – Overview

In this study, the authors focused on 15 articles published from March 20 to May 15, 2020 in the following news agencies, which were chosen while they target audience are Russophone community in Baltic states and also people who lived in Russia: RuBaltic. ru, Baltnews.ee, Inosmi.ru, Взгляд.ру, Ритм Евразии and Sputnik, known for supporting the strategic goals of the Putin administration of Russia. Baltnews.ee belongs to the Russian state media group Rossiya Segodnya, which is led by Dmitry Kisselyov. According to the Estonian Security Police, Baltnews.ee is a pro-Kremlin source financed by the Russian Federation and its target audience are Russophone people in the Baltic states. The activities of Baltnews.ee are financed through shadow companies located in various European countries.[13]

   RuBaltic.ru. was founded in January 2013 on the initiative of the researchers from Moscow and Kaliningrad with Sergei Rekeda as its Editor-in-Chief.[14] Inosmi.ru is an online portal registered on April 8 2014 by the state-owned company Rossija Segodnya. It is focused on Western news, and they publish a lot about the Baltic states.[15] The information agency Sputnik International was established in 2014 with the aim of developing Russia's influence operations abroad. Its actions in Estonia were terminated in 2019 after sanctions against the Kremlin propaganda channel Rossija Segodnya (Russia Today), which owns the agency.[16] In the Baltic states, Sputnik's representative office continues to operate in Latvia. The server for Lithuanian-oriented Sputnik Lietuva is located in Russia.

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12 Kracauer, S., "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis," *The Public Opinion Quarterly,* Vol. 16, No. 4, 1953, pp. 631–642; Kuckartz, U., *Qualitative Text Analysis: A Guide to Methods. Practice & Using Software*, London, Sage Publications 2014.

13 *Kaitsepolitsei aastaraamat 2015*, H. Puusepp, Tallinn: Iloprint 2015, p. 9. https://www.kapo.ee/sites/default/files/ public/content_page/aastaraamat-2015.pdf [access: 16.09.2018]; „Uuriv ajakirjandus valgustab Kremli propagandamasina siseelu," *Propastop*, 3.09.2018, https://www.propastop.org/2018/09/03/4187/ [access: 16.09.2020].

14 Редакция. RuBaltic.ru, https://www.rubaltic.ru/edition/ [access: 19.5.2020].

15 Spriņģe, I., "How Russian Propaganda Becomes Even Nastier in Baltic News," *Re:Baltica*, 29.03.2018, https://en.re-baltica.lv/2017/03/how-russian-propaganda-becomeseven-nastier-in-baltic-news/[access: 24.4.2020].

16 "Sputnik peatas Eestis tegevuse"*, Err.ee,* 31.12.2019, https://www.err.ee/1019225/sputnik-peatas-eestis-tegevuse [access: 23.05.2020].

The web portal Взгляд.ру (Sight) belongs to the Russian online newspaper *Vzglyad*. Its Editor-in-Chief is Konstantin Kondrashin, and it has been in publication since May 2005. The newspaper's editorial office is located in Moscow.[17] The Ритм Евразии (Rhythm of Eurasia) is a Russian-language platform which was created primarily for politicians, public figures, experts and journalists in the post-Soviet space, but they also have a wider target audience.[18]

Results and Discussion
Strategic Narratives in the Kremlin's Influence Operations

The concept of these strategic narratives has been widely adopted in political communication and international relations.[19] According to Miskimmon et al.,[20] strategic narratives are stories "by which political actors attempt to construct a shared meaning of the past, present, and future of international politics to shape the behavior of domestic and international actors." Strategic narratives may be projected to serve various aims, such as justifying the strategic objectives of the countries or explaining political responses to economic and security crises, forming international alliances, and also to rally domestic public opinion. Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle state that strategic narratives can affect:

1) the international system, expressing how a political actor (state, international organization) shapes perceptions of the organization of international relations;
2) politics, such as the desire of political actors to influence international arms control negotiations or to interfere in disputes between the parties in the management of armed conflicts;
3) identity, i.e., how political actors want to project their identity in international relations.[21]

The better political actors succeed in aligning the narratives of the system, politics and identity with their strategic goals, the greater chance they have to increase their influence in international relations.[22]

The Kremlin's strategic narratives are often targeted at potential international target groups, which include various alternative and anti-establishment groups, e.g., Eurosceptics,

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17 Выходные данные. – Взгляд, https://vz.ru/about/staff.html [access: 25.05.2020].

18 https://www.ritmeurasia.org/articles--o-proekte-167 [access: 18.05.2020].

19 See Antoniades, A., O'Loughlin, B., Miskimmon, A., "Great Power Politics and Strategic Narratives," *Working paper,* No. 7. The Centre for Global Political Economy, Falmer: University of Sussex 2010.

20 Miskimmon, A., O'Loughlin, B., Roselle L. (eds.), *Forging the World. Strategic Narratives and International Relations*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2018, p. 6.

21 Roselle, L., Miskimmon, A., O'Loughlin, B., *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order,* Routledge 2013.

22 Miskimmon, A., O'Loughlin, B., Roselle, L. (eds.), *Forging the World. Strategic Narratives and International Relations,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2018, p. 3.

anti-US, anti-immigration and anti-globalization movements. These target groups may represent both the right and left side of the political spectrum, and strategic narratives are brought before target groups through public and covert methods. Russia's influence operations outside the post-Soviet space disseminate strategic narratives that amplify or shape perceptions of the world and political preferences in line with the Kremlin's foreign policy goals.[23] In doing so, the narratives conveyed often remain declarative without specifying specific steps or timelines or assessing their effectiveness in achieving the objectives.[24]

For Vladislav Surkov,[25] the Kremlin's long-time leading ideologue who was fired by presidential order in February 2020, one of Russia's highest strategic goals is to become a world leader, and to do so, it must first and foremost achieve the well-being of its citizens.[26] Surkov's concept of modernization without Westernization has strongly influenced the policies of Vladimir Putin's administration, and has had a rather significant impact on Russia's strategic narratives. His perceptions of Russia's sovereign democracy can be understood as a unique way for the Russian Federation to achieve its strategic goals, where no outside power dictates to Russia and the Russians how this path should proceed.[27] One of the key elements in Surkov's concept is to strengthen the worldwide competitiveness of the Russian economy. Russia's raw materials-based economy should be transformed into an innovative and intellectual economy.[28] G.H. Karlsen analyzes intelligence reports from various countries and argues that Russia has three primary strategic goals: ensuring the power and security of the Putin administration in the country; maintaining influence in the 'near abroad' (former USSR countries except three Baltic states); and securing the status of a great power internationally.[29]

Strategic narratives on the international system spread by Russia describe the Western world, along with its institutions (EU, NATO), predominantly as a vanishing and diminishing force suffering from liberal democratic values equated with weakness.[30] In its opposition to US hegemony Russia has paid more attention to international law, in that

23 See, e.g. van Herpen, M., *Putin's Propaganda Machine. Soft Power and Russian Foreign Policy*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield 2016; Mölder, H., Sazonov, V., "Information Warfare as the Hobbesian Concept of Modern Times – Principles, Techniques and Tools of Russian Information Operations in Donbass," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies,* 2018, Vol. 31 No. 3, pp. 308–328.

24 Kuhrt, N., Feklyunina, V. (eds.), *Assessing Russia's Power: A Report*, King's College London and Newcastle University 2017.

25 Surkov was advisor of Vladimir Putin until February 2020.

26 Mäkinen, S., "Surkovian Narrative on the Future of Russia: Making Russia a World Leader," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics,* 2011, Vol. 2 No. 2, p. 145.

27 See Yablokov, I., *Fortress Russia. Conspiracy Theories in Post-Soviet Russia*, Cambridge: Polity Press 2018, pp. 81–90.

28 Surkov, V., "Russian Political Culture: The View From Utopia," *Russian Social Science Review,* 2008, Vol. 49, No. 6, pp. 81–97.

29 Karlsen, G.H., "Divide and Rule: Ten Lessons About Russian Political Influence Activities in Europe," *Palgrave Communication,* 2019, 5 (19), p. 5.

30 Szostek, J., "The Power and Limits of Russia's Strategic Narrative in Ukraine: The Role of Linkage," *Perspectives on Politics,* 2017, Vol. 15, Issue 2, pp. 379–395; Sakwa, R., "Vladimir Putin and Russian Foreign Policy towards the West: Towards a New Realism," in: Robertson, L., Gower, J., Timmins, G. (eds.), *Russia and Europe in the Twenty-First Century,* An Uneasy Partnership, Anthem Press 2007, pp. 1–22.

it manifests itself as a normative power and portrays Washington as a power that violates the norms of international law. Russia does not claim the status of norm-maker, but wants to create a new normative world order with Western countries divided into spheres of influence which, however, may not always be in line with the political ambitions of the EU and the USA.[31] Russia's narratives describe Western institutions primarily as corrupt and in need of reform, which is why Russia supports alternative formats of international cooperation excluding the West (e.g., BRICS–Brazil, Russia, India, China, Republic of South Africa).[32] The Baltic states are in general described as a poor periphery of the West, abandoned by their new hosts and facing serious difficulties after leaving the Soviet bloc, such as economic and social decline. The political strategic narratives constructed by the Kremlin's policymakers emphasize Russia's role as a holder of traditional conservative values, rescuing the world from the shackles of liberal ideology in the degenerate Western world.[33] In some cases they are more affected by imperial nostalgia for local audiences and alienated public sentiment abroad.

Strategic narratives emphasizing identity present two dominant motives that are strongly emerging: the patriotic image of Russia as a great power and a distinct civilization; and the need to secure Russian society.[34] For Russian propaganda, it is important to emphasize Russia's peculiarity and alternative to the Western political and economic elites so they can easily find common ground with dissatisfied communities in Western countries, something which poses a serious challenge to both Western internal stability and ideological unity in defending liberal democratic values.[35]

President Vladimir Putin has called Russia a unique civilization that must be protected through the development of genetics, artificial intelligence, unmanned vehicles and other high technologies.[36] Identity-based strategic narratives are often based on a strong opposition between imagined collective identities – Us and Others. At the same time, motives referring to Russophobia in strategic narratives are sympathetic to the politics of the Kremlin.[37] Andreas Ventsel et al. believe that the term Russophobia has been "used by Russia for both domestic and foreign policy purposes, and historically the Kremlin's elite has concentrated much of the negative flow of information on Russia under the narrative of Russophobia."[38] The popular narrative of the oppression of the Russian-speaking

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31 *Assessing Russia's power: A Report*, op. cit.

32 Hinck, R.S., Kluver, R., Cooley, S., "Russia Re-Envisions the World: Strategic Narratives in Russian Broadcast and News Media During 2015, *Russian Journal of Communication* 2018, Vol. 10 Issue 1, p. 27.

33 Laruelle, M., Radvanyi, J., *Understanding Russia: The Challenges of Transformation,* Rowman and Littlefield Publishers 2018, p. 126.

34 *Assessing Russia's power: A Report*, op. cit.

35 Ibidem.

36 "Russia Is a "Distinct Civilization, Putin Says," *The Moscow Times,* 18.05.2020, https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2020/05/18/russia-is-a-distinct-civilization-putin-says-a70295 [access: 29.05.2020].

37 Darczewska, J., Żochowski, P., "Russophobia in the Kremlin's Strategy. A Weapon of Mass Destruction," *Point of View. Centre of East European Studies*, October 2015, No. 56.

38 Ventsel A., et al., "Hirmu mehhanismid strateegilistes narratiivudes Õppuse Zapad 2017 näitel," *Sõjateadlane,* 2018, Vol. 8, p. 118.

population in the Baltic states tells us they are hated and deprived of many fundamental rights because of their national identity.[39]

Very often, Russia's strategic narratives support various theories about the conspiracy of Western civilization against Russia. Conspiracy thinking has been a widely-used political tool to keep society in a single constructed information space since the days of the Russian Empire. During the Soviet era there was the belief that Western countries dreamed of destroying and humiliating the Soviet Union, which was widespread in Soviet society, and such conspiratorial thinking has been transferred to today's Russian Federation.[40] However, such activities have also been transferred to the post-Soviet space, especially for fueling regional conflicts and for accusing the West in anti-Russian conspiracies.[41]

During the global corona crisis, Russia's influence operations in the West have shown no signs of fading. Saara Jantunen points to a fundamental difference between Western and Russian influence activities. In the West, legislation imposes fundamental restrictions on the use of influence in communication by the state and military organizations in target groups, but Russia does not recognize such restrictions so there is no problem.[42] On February 3, 2020 the World Health Organization (WHO) declared that coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) is a global threat and since then messages have spread on social media proclaiming it as a new type of biological weapon. Western analysts believe the campaign was launched by President Vladimir Putin personally who has previously claimed that large-scale viral epidemics such as Ebola, bird and swine flu, or now the coronavirus, were developed by American scientists.[43] According to the New York Times, this is not surprising as, during his 16-year KGB career in 1975–1991, Vladimir Putin was responsible for, among other things, a campaign accusing the United States of using diseases (more attention was paid to HIV) as biological weapons. [44]

Opposition to the West is also one of the main motives for presenting the consequences of the coronavirus, which calls into question the West's ability to cope successfully with the crisis, and is not shy in returning to conspiratorial sources when constructing its strategic narratives. Several US experts refer to Russia's new strategy of producing less fake news itself, but spreading messages produced by others that cause fear[45] and chaos. It is possible that such slippery news is even bought in.[46] Pro-Russian social me-

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39 Lucas, E., Pomerantsev, P., *Winning the Information War: Techniques and Counter-strategies to Russian Propaganda in Central and Eastern Europe,* CEPA Report: Washington D.C. 2016.

40 Yablokov I., *Fortress Russia. Conspiracy Theories in Post-Soviet Russia*, Cambridge: Polity Press 2018.

41 Mölder, H., Sazonov, V., "The Impact of Russian Anti-Western Conspiracy Theories on the Status-Related Conflict in Ukraine – the Case of Flight MH17," *Baltic Journal of European Studies,* 2019, Vol. 9, Issue 3, pp. 96–115.

42 Jantunen, S., *Infosõda*, Tlk Tuule Meri, Tallinn: Kultuurileht, 2018, pp. 158–159.

43 Broad, W.J., "Putin's Long War Against American Science," *New York Times,* 13.04.2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/13/science/putin-russia-disinformation-health-coronavirus.html [access: 17.05.2020].

44 Ibidem.

45 See more about creating fear D.L. Altheide, *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis*, Hawthorne, NY: De Gruyter 2002.

46 Broad, W.J., "Putin's Long War…," op. cit.

dia have been keen to disseminate the allegations of the US conspiracy virus blog Naturalnews.com[47] that coronavirus was engineered by scientists in a laboratory using advances in genetic engineering that have left traces of genetic code that can only be artificially generated. According to the blog, both the American CDC and the WHO are trying to hide the causes of coronavirus because the virus escaped from Chinese biological weapons laboratories, just as the Ebola virus escaped from US laboratories in 1989.

The goal of influence operations in general is to direct societal attitudes by sowing panic and fear and creating information confusion or chaos. The main goal of Russian influence operations is to spread fear and instability and to increase political and ideological divisions in Europe, the United States and, more broadly, the West (Rutenberg 2017).[48] The most important tools of modern influence operations are not only related to the mainstream media but also social media can reach target groups, these capabilities having been developed not only by Russia but also by China (EEAS Special Report Update, 2020).[49] Facebook, Twitter and other social media platforms and channels have long become instruments of information manipulation through which messages delivered to the target audience may contain distorted and skewed information or outright falsehoods. For example, China's outreach has projected thousands of English-language social media posts accusing the United States of unleashing the virus (Weedon, Nuland, Stamos, 2017).[50]

Russia's information activities have been remarkably active in promoting their influence all over the world. Videos distributed through the international social channel RT social media YouTube platform accumulate up to a million viewers a day and have been visited four billion times since 2005.[51] RT's strategy is primarily aimed at Russian, English, Spanish and Arabic viewers. They have been successful in the first three languages, while the impact of their Arabic channels has been smaller.[52] In 2012 the Internet Research Agency was founded in St. Petersburg. It became a successful trolling company that conducted influential social media campaigns on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram,

47 Adams, M., "Irrefutable: The coronavirus was engineered by scientists in a lab using well documented genetic engineering vectors that leave behind a 'fingerprint'," *NaturalNews,* 3.02.2020, https://www.naturalnews.com/2020-02-03-the-coronavirus-was-engineered-by-scientists-in-a-lab.html/ [access: 14.04.2020].

48 Rutenberg, J., *RT,* "Sputnik, and Russia's New Theory of War," *New York Time Magazine,* September 13, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/13/magazine/rt-sputnik-and-russias-new-theory-of-war.html [access: 10.05.2020].

49 *EEAS Special Report Update: Short Assessment of Narrative and Disinformation around the COVID-19/Coronavirus Pandemic*, https://euvsdisinfo.eu/eeas-special-report-update-short-assessment-of-narratives-and-disinformation-around-the-covid-19-pandemic [access: 10.05.2020].

50 Weedon, J., Nuland, W., Stamos, A., "Information Operations and Facebook," *Facebook Inc.,* 27.04.2017, https://fbnewsroomus.files.wordpress.com/2017/04/facebook-and-information-operations-v1.pdf/ [access: 10.05.2020].

51 Director of National Intelligence, *Background to "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections." The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution*, 6.01.2017, https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf [access: 20.05.2020].

52 Orttung, R.W., Nelson, E., "Russia Today's strategy and effectiveness on YouTube," *Post Soviet Affairs,* 2018, Vol. 35, Issue 2, pp. 77–92, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1060586X.2018.1531650?journalCode=rpsa20/ [access: 17.05.2020].

and was successful in the United States where their posts reached the computers of tens of millions of social media users.[53]

The global corona crisis dealt a major blow to international cooperation, including the European Union's cooperation in managing the crisis which was launched much later when national protection measures were put in place. Despite the agreement on the Schengen common visa area, to which a large number of European Union member states have acceded, the spontaneous closure of member states' borders began immediately, a move which was not coordinated with other member states. The threat of the virus was largely ignored in January and February before the crisis had reached its peak when it would have been much more effective to fight against it.[54] However, the chaotic actions taken in implementing joint action showed the European Union's lack of interoperability, offering Russia and other competitive powers interested in weakening Europe an easy opportunity to launch a propaganda war.

Narratives from Russia unequivocally show the role of the Russian Federation as a helper, not the one who needs help. At the height of the corona crisis in Europe in mid-March the Russian Federation attracted the attention of the international media when they, together with the People's Republic of China and Cuba, offered aid to Italy who was at the center of the Covid-19 crisis. The Russian Federation provided Italy mainly with diagnostic equipment and disinfectants.[55] China, on the other hand, mainly supplied respirators and medical devices.[56] US analyst Mark Galeotti believes that the main purpose of Russia's assistance was related to its intelligence activities in order to gather as much information as possible about the Western countries' fight against the virus, and among Russian experts sent to Italy were those involved in intelligence.[57]

The issue of humanitarian aid was used in influence activities against other European Union member states, from which Estonia did not escape either. At the end of March 2020 the pro-Kremlin media claimed that protective masks that had arrived from China to Tallinn Airport were actually Russian humanitarian aid to Estonia because the protective masks were brought to Tallinn by a plane leased from Russia.[58] Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov told Russia's First TV Channel "Bolshaya Igra" (in Russian "Big game") that many NATO and EU member states would be interested in Russia's assistance in

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53 Howard P.N., et al., "The IRA, Social Media and Political Polarization in the United States," *2012–2018, Working Paper,* 2018/2, https://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/research/ira-political-polarization/ [access: 11.05.2020].

54 Parts, M., Paet: "Euroopa sulgemise vigadest on vaja tulevikus õppida," *Postimees*, 8.05.2020. https://maailm.postimees.ee/6968855/paet-euroopa-sulgemise-vigadest-on-vaja-tulevikus-oppida [access: 29.05.2020].

55 Prothero, M., "Russia sent Italy a military convoy of medical supplies to help with the coronavirus outbreak, Italy said it was useless and accused them of a PR stunt," *Business Insider,* 26.03.2020, https://www.businessinsider.com/coronavirus-italy-russia-military-convoy-supplies-useless-pr-stunt-2020-3 [access: 11.4.2020].

56 "Ajaleht: 80 protsenti Vene sõjaväe abist Itaaliale osutus kasutuks," *Err.ee,* 26.03.2020 https://www.err.ee/1068903/ajaleht-80-protsenti-vene-sojavae-abist-itaaliale-osutus-kasutuks [access: 27.04.2020].

57 Ibidem.

58 Einmann, A. „Kremli propagandasõnum: maskid Eestisse on Venemaa humanitaarabi," *Postimees,* 6.04.2020, https://www.postimees.ee/6943089/kremli-propagandasonum-maskid-eestisse-on-venemaa-humanitaarabi [access: 27.04.2020].

halting COVID-19, but their "big brothers" (leading countries) denied it.[59] With regard to the aid sent to Italy, Lavrov also claimed that the European Union had refused to help Italy, which led the Italian Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte to turn to Russia with the request.[60]

The strategic narrative Lavrov seeks to promote tells us that Russia is ready to take responsibility for the functionality of the international system because the countries of the European Union are unable or unwilling to do so. All in all, the nature of Russia's strategic narratives did not change much during the COVID-19 outbreak in Europe as the motive of confrontation with the West remained at the center of strategic objectives, as did the reliance on conspiracy theories in communication. The next chapter deals in more detail with the course of Russia's strategic narratives in information activities during the corona crisis in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Strategic Narratives Constructed and Disseminate by the Russian Federation for Estonia Latvia and Lithuania

The Kremlin's official strategic narratives[61] no longer speak about the Baltic states as an integral part of the Russian empire, but they are certainly interested in their connection with Russia's sphere of influence in that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania would possibly become a "window to Europe" allowing Moscow to put constant pressure on Western political institutions such as the European Union and NATO.[62] For this reason, the Putin regime is interested in fostering an unstable region with strong Eurosceptic sentiments.

The chapter analyses the most popular of Kremlin's strategic narratives in the Baltic states which highlight a post-pandemic economic downturn and crisis failure, the lack of sustainability of the European Union and the weakness of its democratic structure, and the spread of discrimination and Russophobia among the Russophone population in the Baltic states. All three archetypes of strategic narratives of Russian origin described by Miskimmon, O'Laughlin, Rosselle are present in the context of the COVID-19 crisis: a) political and economic narratives that shape the international system and strategic ambitions of Russia; b) strategic narratives that emphasize the failure of international organizations (EU, NATO) to cope with the crisis; c) narratives based on the decline of European identity and Western liberal democratic values.

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59 "Several EU countries cannot ask for Russia's help because of their 'big brothers' – Lavrov," *TASS Russian News Agency,* 26.04.2020, https://tass.com/politics/1149715 [access: 7.05.2020].

60 Giuffrida, A., Roth, A., "Moscow's motives questioned over coronavirus aid shipment to Italy," *The Guardian*, 27.04.2020, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/27/moscow-motives-questioned-over-coronavirus-aid-shipment-to-italy, [access: 21.05.2020].

61 See also Ventsel A., et al., "Discourse of fear in strategic narratives…," op. cit., pp. 1–19.

62 Radin, A., *Hybrid Warfare in the Baltics: Threats and Potential Responses*, Santa Monica: Rand Corporation 2017; Karlsen, G.H., "Divide and rule…," op. cit., p. 5.

Political and Economic Narratives

Information manipulations concerning the economic crisis during the pandemic of COVID-19 have played a big role in the dissemination of Russian strategic narratives in the Baltic states.[63] Krishtal emphasizes the catastrophic state of the Baltic economy after the pandemic and introduces statistics in his attempt to make the article more reliable, arguing, among other things, that the coronavirus pandemic conditionally divided the countries into two groups:[64] the first includes countries that have the necessary financial airbag to minimize losses from quarantine measures; the second group includes countries whose economies depend on foreign aid and will suffer under the worst effects of the coronavirus. According to Krishtal's narrative the Baltic states belong to the second category, his text being full of expressions like: "... therefore it is even difficult to imagine what predictions will delight Lithuanians sometime later",[65] and the information about the Baltic states is presented with a negative undertone and often in sarcastic way.

Some authors portray the Baltic states as an insecure and unstable economic environment that is unable to secure employment for their people and, as a result, emigration has increased.[66] Ivanov argues that Baltic people can no longer find jobs in their home countries. The author also states that, as a result of increased emigration, the Baltic countries will soon be depopulated. The article predicts that the demographic situation in the Baltic states has a gloomy future mostly because of economic weakness and the inability to provide jobs for their own people. Russian publications have even compared current emigration from Lithuania to the Stalin era of mass deportations, and refer to Lithuanian politician Romualdas Ozolas (1939–2015), arguing that 60,000 Lithuanians per year are leaving the country, while between 1941 and 1952 about 130,000 people were deported from Lithuania and another 150,000 were placed in Gulag prison camps.[67] Russian propaganda channels also paint the situation in Estonia and Latvia quite negatively, pointing out that the unemployment rate in these countries may soon increase in many important sectors of the economy.

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63 See e.g. *"Последний гвоздь? Коронавирус может «добить» железнодорожный транзит через Прибалтику,"* *Baltnews.ee,* 20.03.2020, https://baltnews.ee/ekonomika_onlinenovosti/20200320/1018421925/Posledniy-gvozd-Koronavirus-mozhet-dobit-zheleznodorozhnyy-tranzit-cherez-Pribaltiku.html [access: 11.05.2020]. Иванов, А., *"Чума на три прибалтийские хаты – со всех вокзалов поезда везут домой реэмигрантов,"* *Фонд стратегической культуры,* 27.04.2020, https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2020/04/27/chuma-na-tri-pribaltijskie-haty-vezut-domoj-reemigrant-ov-50733.html [access: 27.04.2020]; Иванов, Е., *"Страх и ненависть пандемии. Литва расплачивается за чужие ошибки,"* *Baltnews,* 1.04.2020, https://baltnews.lt/mir_novosti_/20200401/1019845558/Strakh-i-nenavistpandemii-Litva-rasplachivaetsya-za-chuzhie-oshibki.html [access: 13.04.2020].

64 Кришталь, М., *"Кто в Прибалтике сильнее всех пострадал от коронавируса?,"* *RuBaltic.ru,* 30.03.2020, https://www.rubaltic.ru/article/politika-i-obshchestvo/30032020-kto-v-pribaltike-silnee-vsekh-postradal-ot-koronavirusa/ [access: 27.04.2020].

65 Ibidem.

66 Круглей, И., *"Коронавирус „схлопнул" Шенген: куда теперь податься прибалтийским гастарбайтерам,"* *Baltnews,* 1.04.2020, https://lv.baltnews.com/ekonomika_online_novosti/20200401/1023795618/Koronavirus-skhlopnul-Shengen-kuda-teper-podatsyapribaltiyskim-gastarbayteram.html [access: 22.05.2020].

67 Иванов, А., *"Чума на три прибалтийские хаты – со всех вокзалов поезда везут домой реэмигрантов,"* *Фонд стратегической культуры,* 27.04.2020, https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2020/04/27/chuma-na-tri-pribaltijskie-haty-ve-zut-domoj-reemigrantov-50733.html [access: 17.05.2020].

Narratives on the System
of International Relations

Russian media outlets often claim that coronavirus destroys the unity and interoperability of the EU, with the help of governments and the political establishment in EU member states that are carrying out destructive and unconstructive policies.[68] In the current post-truth environment where information is often constructed according to strategic objectives, the political and economic narratives described above may easily lead to the conclusion that only alignment with the Russian Federation can be the lifeline of the Baltic economy brought to the brink of catastrophe by the spread and quarantine of COVID-19, and that the Western world and its political institutions (EU, NATO) will not help them. Avva[69] claims that the pandemic and its many negative effects are destroying the Latvian economy, whereas Latvia, which is in deep crisis, is not expected to get help or support from the West to overcome the crisis it will have. It is for this reason that Avva recommends Latvia to change the current strategic goals of its foreign policy and instead to consider a strategic partnership with Russia.

Petrinis notes that the impact of the coronavirus in Europe is very tragic, as it has shown Europe's weakness, instability, unsustainability and lack of solidarity, which have directly affected the Russian Federation's strategic narratives about the EU as a failed utopian project. The author predicts decentralization, disintegration and disappearance of the EU, that Europe will return to a past in which fragmented nation-states competed and fought with each other.[70]

On 16 April 2020 *Inosmi.ru* published an article by US paleoconservative ideologue Patrick Joseph Buchanan claiming that the imposition of quarantine will cause a major economic depression around the whole world. The editorial commentary on Buchanan's article wonders that, if Estonia is seriously struggling with a pandemic affecting 1-3% of the population, how is it expected to cope with Russia's imminent nuclear war? According to the editors, Estonia is advised to pay more attention to preserving the country's

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68 See e.g. Армазанова, Т., "*Коронавирус разделяет Евросоюз,*" *Inosmi.ru*, 31.03.2020, https://inosmi.ru/politic/20200331/247165844.html [access: 11.05.2020]; "*Дневник (Болгария): если коронавирус уничтожит еврозону, виноватой будет «бережливая четверка»,*" *Inosmi.ru*, 2.04.2020. https://inosmi.ru/politic/20200402/247180668.html [access: 11.05.2020]; "*Развал Евросоюза – чьи-то мечты или неизбежное продолжение пандемии коронавируса?,*" *Baltnews.ee*, 15.05.2020, https://baltnews.ee/mir_novosti/20200515/1018553399/Razval-Evrosoyuza–chi-to-mechty-ili-neizbezhnoe-prodolzhenie-pandemii-koronavirusa.html [access: 21.05.2020]; "*ЕС – не Европа, а немцы, итальянцы и поляки»: американский эксперт высказался о будущем континента после пандемии,*" *RuBaltic.ru,* 30.04.2020, https://www.rubaltic.ru/news/30042020-es-ne-evropa-a-nemtsy-italyantsy-i-polyakiam-erikanskiy-ekspert-vyskazalsya-o-budushchem-kontinenta-/ [access: 21.05.2020]; Круглей, И., "*Коронавирус „схлопнул" Шенген...,*" op. cit.; Пятринис, А., "*Захват ЕС. Как коронавирус убил единую Европу и показал, кто есть кто,*" *Sputniknews,* 21.03.2020, https://lt.sputniknews.ru/columnists/20200321/11659770/Zakhvat-ES-Kak-koronavirus-ubil-edinuyu-Evropu-i-pokazal-kto-est-kto.html [access: 22.05.2020].

69 Авва, В., "*Возращение Латвии к России: коронавирус расставляет все по своим местам,*" *RuBaltic.ru,* 24.03.2020, https://www.rubaltic.ru/article/ekonomika-i-biznes/24032020-vozvrashchenie-latvii-k-rossii-koronavirus-rasstavlyaet-vse-po-svoim-mestam/.

70 Пятринис, А., "*Захват ЕС. Как коронавирус убил единую Европу и показал, кто есть кто,*" *Sputniknews,* 21.03.2020, https://lt.sputniknews.ru/columnists/20200321/11659770, Zakhvat-ES-Kak-koronavirus-ubil-edinuyu-Evropu-i-pokazal-kto-est-kto.html [access: 22.05.2020].

economy than to threats posed by Russia. Buchanan discusses the value of human life and is concerned about the United States' response to the pandemic of COVID-19, asking if anyone believes that a country collapsed by the coronavirus is ready to fight a nuclear war that could kill millions and compete with Russia for influence over the Baltic states or with China for control over the South-China sea.[71]

Identity-Based Narratives

Opposition to the Western world and its liberal democratic values is becoming a part of Russia's identity-based strategic narratives. Recently, the "war of narratives" has become an increasingly influential political-strategic game in which mental constructions by which people perceive each other follow specific emotional patterns, often expressed in permanently fighting opposing identities, or virtual wars between the identity of "Us" and the identity of "Others".[72]

Russophobia[73] has been strongly emphasized by Kremlin-orchestrated information campaigns, according to which all political forces that do not approve of the policies of the Putin administration are suspected of spreading anti-Russian sentiment. The main message of such a narrative underlines that the Baltic states simultaneously hate and are afraid of Russia; they hate everything about Russians, the Russian language, Russian history, and Russian culture. The Kremlin has used Russophobia as a strategic incentive in influence operations against the Baltic states for decades by referring to conflicting identities, which has been one of the favourite strategic narrative motifs constructed by Russia.[74]

Playing on identity issues belongs to the traditional model of Russian information activities and influence operations that seek to capture nations living in the Baltic states, targeting the feelings and integrity of the Russophone audience. With their influence operations, the Kremlin not only seeks to consolidate the citizens in its own country

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71 Бьюкенен, П. *"The American Conservative (США): какова будет цена победы в войне с коронавирусом," Inosmi.ru,* 16.04.2020, https://inosmi.ru/politic/20200416/247273254.html [access: 20.05.2020].

72 Mölder, H., "The War of Narratives -Putin's Challenge to International Security Governance in Ukraine," *Sõjateadlane* 2016, Vol. VI, Issue 2, pp. 88−113.

73 Ventsel, A., et al. "Discourse of Fear in Strategic Narratives…," op. cit. pp. 11−12; Darczewska, J., Żochowski, P., "Russophobia in the Kremlin's Strategy…," op. cit.; Feklyunina, V., *Constructing Russophobia*, in: *Russia's Identity in International Relations: Images, Perceptions, Misperceptions*, Taras, R. (ed.), London: Routledge 2013, pp. 91–109.

74 Баранов, А., Афонина, Е., *"Прибалтийская русофобия и её истоки," Радио 'Комсомольская правда,' Национальный Вопрос,*8.04.2016, https:// www.kp.ru/radio/26511/3531281/ [access: 21.05.2020]; Николаев, Н., *"Коронавирус головного мозга: русофобов Эстонии Оскорбила помощь Москвы," RadioSputnik,* 11.04.2020, https://radiosputnik.ria.ru/20200411/1569849152.html [access: 13.05.2020]; О. Пых, Коронавирус в *"Латвии: русские и латыши по-прежнему говорят на разных языках, и это хорошо," Sputknews,* 12.04.2020, https://lv.sputniknews.ru/columnists/20200412/13545838/Koronavirus-v-Latvii-russkie-i-latyshi-po-prezhnemugovoryat-na-raznykh-yazykakh-i-eto-khorosho.html [access: 19.04.2020]; Бабурин, Р.. *"Даже во время эпидемии страны Балтии верны русофобии," Ритм Евразии,* 6.04.2020, https://www.ritmeurasia.org/news--2020-04-06--dazhe-vo-vremja-epidemii-strany-baltiiverny-rusofobii-48323 [access: 11.05.2020]; Винников, А., *"Коронавирус подарил Прибалтике новый повод для русофобии," Взгляд. Деловая Газета,* 7.04.2020, https://vz.ru/world/2020/4/7/1032712.html [access: 13.05.2020].

under policies manifested by the Putin administration, but also to increase its influence in Eastern Europe, including the Baltic States, Ukraine and, more broadly, the whole of the post-Soviet space.

Summary and key points

According to the sample of articles in the pro-Russian media, strategic narratives constructed and disseminated by the Russian Federation for the Baltic states may emphasize:

- political and economic motives related to the policies of their governments
- motives to disrupt the international system and Western political institutions with the Baltic membership
- motives indicating conflictual identities between Russian and Baltic nations, which have been often placed in a Russophobic context.

These motives reflect the Kremlin's strategic objectives which aim to destroy the unity of Western alliances and to increase ideological fragmentation in the EU. The Baltic states have become an important and vulnerable target of influence operations conducted by the Kremlin, given the widespread use of the Russian language and the significant size of the Russian-speaking population that permanently resides there.

According to the sample of articles published in the Russian media, the message sent attempts to convince the audience that the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian economies depend on future assistance from abroad to restore their pre-crisis economic standards, but that the EU is not interested or able to assist them. The Baltic governments have often shown incompetence in managing the crisis and after the crisis they may face fading economies, a high rate of unemployment and increasing emigration from the Baltic states. Russophobic motives attributed by Kremlin propaganda to the Baltic states have also been discussed in the researched Russian and pro-Russian media outlets. During the outbreak and spread of COVID-19, these articles have incited distrust against the Baltic governments, civil society organizations and the concept of Western liberal democracy and its institutions (e.g., NATO, EU). Propagandistic messages from Russia sought to show the lack of cooperation, incompetent management and lack of sustainability that appeared in the Baltic states during the COVID-19 crisis. Russian strategic objectives in the Baltics during COVID-19 do not differ significantly from their strategic goals in the last two decades. This study does not expect any significant change in narratives spread by Russian influence operations in the near future. ∎

STRESZCZENIE:

W artykule przeanalizowano publikacje, jakie były zamieszczane w mediach prorosyjskich wiosną 2020 roku podczas rozprzestrzeniania się pandemii COVID-19. Promowano w nich strategiczne narracje przygotowywane i rozpowszechniane przez Federację Rosyjską w odniesieniu do społeczeństw państw bałtyckich – Estonii, Łotwy i Litwy. Z narracji tych wybijały się zwłaszcza motywy polityczne i gospodarcze związane z polityką rządów państw bałtyckich, widoczne były również dążenie do zakłócania systemu międzynarodowego oraz spójności zachodnich instytucji politycznych, których członkami są kraje bałtyckie, a także intencje skonfliktowania grup identyfikujących się z narodem rosyjskim oraz narodami państw bałtyckich. Treści te często były zamieszczane w kontekście rusofobicznym.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Rosja, Kreml, strategiczne narracje, państwa bałtyckie, rusofobia

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KWARTALNIK BELLONA

Cyberterrorism – the Invisible Threat

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ABSTRACT:

There are numerous documents, books, and several publications with different approaches to describing what cyberterrorism is or attempting to unify its meaning since Barry Collin* first used this concept in 1980. Until now, this concept has been interpreted differently. If we ask someone who knows how to use a technological device that can connect to the internet network, what is cyberterrorism? They will give us the same description. Different groups of people use different vocabulary as there is no exact definition of what cyberterrorism is. Nevertheless, they express the same basic facts that are associated with their minds. This document will not attempt to define what cyberterrorism is, however, it will mention some concepts. We will focus on how terrorist groups will use cyberspace as a force multiplier to increase their capabilities. We will also cover terrorist information gathering techniques, how future attacks are prepared, how operations are planned, and how attacks are executed.

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Introduction

There is a real war going on in cyberspace, but it is invisible to most of us."[1] The rapid growth of terrorism on a global scale today is undisputed. National Security and Defense forces face the fact that terrorist groups are increasing and evolving their capabilities through cyberspace. During the past two decades, there has been a collective common conscience effort to decrease our vulnerabilities and increase protection in the cyber domain.

The advances in information technology and modern society dependency on digital infrastructure have created new challenges that need to be addressed. Cyberspace has no borders, and the emergence of modern technology and the information-based world has created new opportunities for terrorists and criminals. Cyberterrorism, cybercrime, and individuals representing transnational challenges in a hyper-connected environment are increasing international security threats. With technological developments and global broader internet connectivity, governments and communities now face a new battlefield where cyberterrorists have the advantage of anonymity and updated technology, making them a challenge to detect before achieving their terror agendas. According to Dr. Gabriel Weimann, PhD, cyberterrorism is a high threat for nations since terrorist organizations may use their "computer network devices to sabotage critical national infrastructures such as energy, transportation, or government operations."[2]

This article provides an overview of the increasing threats in global security and the implications for security forces and national security responses. We will approach cyberterrorism at the strategic, operational, and tactical perspectives. Topics like cyberwarfare, cyberterrorism, the role of the internet in radicalization, extremism, recruitment, and types of cyberattacks will be covered. We will also understand various definitions of cyberterrorism and information warfare, and how nation-states and non-nation state actors utilize the internet as an attack vector in information warfare to infiltrate digital systems to gain control of critical infrastructure.

Literature Review

Cyberterrorism has been an increasing concern to the governments, security forces and intelligence agencies. Several empirical studies discussed the information-age security: the emergence of cyberattacks, the challenge of a new age of cyber threats, cyber wars, and cyber espionage, cyberterrorism (Weimann, 2014; Dr. Phillip W. Brunst, 2009; Dorothy E. Denning, 2000; Fred Schreier, 2013), and with this, a whole new dimension is emerging in the realms of cyberdefense. Since there is a lack of literature about cyberterrorism attack capabilities, we will use the knowledge derived from the references of this article and theoretical methods applied to understand and have a comprehensive approach and counterterrorism activities empowered by new technologies in cyberspace.

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1 Weimann, G., *Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, the New Challenges*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006.

2 Idem, *Terrorism in Cyberspace: The Next Generation*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press/Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2015, p. 150.

Methodology

The theoretical foundation of this research will consist of three approaches to understanding cyberterrorism threats. These theories will be adapted and merged to create a theoretical understanding of Irregular Cyber Warfare. These theoretical approaches are: Military Theory, Grounded Theory, and Social Theory.

- **Military Theory.** The Art of War laid the foundations for modern military capabilities (operational planning, tactics, strategy, and logistics). This theory will analyze the Military and Security forces› behavior and operations in the cyber domain.
- **Grounded Theory.** This research will produce more information and knowledge of Irregular Warfare (IW) by the collection and analysis of data: (Observations, participation in projects, literature reviews, relevant documentary analysis, experience, and fieldwork).
- **Social Theory.** With this theory, we will make a Social Network Analysis to find connections between Irregular Warfare (IW) group members and society.

A mixed-method will be applied (qualitative and quantitative) to promote both theory development and theory evaluation. By utilizing qualitative and quantitative techniques within the same study, we can incorporate both methodologies' strengths and fit together the insights into a workable solution.

Cyberspace as a Warfighting Operational Environment

Cyberspace is an operational environment that connects countries regardless of their physical borders, diplomatic status, or political relations.[3] It changes the traditional relational approach by bypassing the institutional structures. Techpedia refer to the cyberspace as "Cyberspace refers to the virtual computer world, and more specifically, is an electronic medium used to form a global computer network to facilitate online communication. It is a large computer network made up of many worldwide computer networks that employ TCP/IP protocol[4] to aid in communication and data exchange activities. Cyberspace's core feature is an interactive and virtual environment for a broad range of participants." Collier (2013) divided cybersecurity into four domains[5]: the physical domain (hardware and software); the information domain (confidentiality, integrity and availability of information); the cognitive domain (how information is perceived and analyzed); and the social domain (attention to ethics, social norms and a broad social landscape).

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3   Brunst, P.W., "Chapter 2. Terrorism and the Internet: New Threats Posed by Cyberterrorism and Terrorist Use of the Internet." October 15, 2009, p. 54.

4   The Internet protocol suite provides end-to-end data communication specifying how data should be packetized, addressed, transmitted, routed, and received. This functionality is organized into four abstraction layers, which classify all related protocols according to the scope of networking involved. From lowest to highest, the layers are the link layer, containing communication methods for data that remains within a single network segment (link); the internet layer, providing internetworking between independent networks; the transport layer, handling host-to-host communication; and the application layer, providing process-to-process data exchange for applications. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet_protocol_suite#cite_note-rfc1122-1/.

5   Warfighting Domains were based on elements such as the Air, Land, and Maritime Domains. Recently, the military has added the Cyber Domain to join the other Domains. The Cyber Domain, unlike its elemental based brethren, is a domain whose key terrain crosses elemental barriers.

> *The cyber age is not as unique as we may believe. The cyber industry is well with-in the synergy wave and stands ready to mature. Technology such as cloud computing reflect this phase.*
>
> /NATO – Joint Cyber Command/

According to the Joint Publication 1-02, it is a global domain within the information environment, consisting of the interdependent network of information technology infrastructures, including:
- the Internet,
- telecommunications networks,
- computer systems,
- embedded processors and controllers.[6]

Cyberspace connects operations between land, sea, air, and space. It is a worldwide network interconnected and everything they can connect and control via cable, fiber-optics, or wireless[7]. It is not just computers and the Internet.[8] Cyberspace is the convergence of the physical and virtual world, where hardware, software, data, geography, infrastructures, and human elements are combined.

The cyberspace is composed of 3 layers[9]:
1. Physical Network Layer (infrastructures and geographic components)
2. Logical Network Layer (software, data)
3. Cyber-Persona Layer (people on the network)

These three layers are interconnected and have permanent functionality. Any damage to any of them will have a direct impact on the others. "Each represents a level at which cyber operations[10] can be conducted."[11]

Warfare of the 21st century involves all kinds of opponents with high, medium, or low technology connected to the cyberspace. Modern military capabilities would not be possible without cyber-based systems connected to the cyberspace. New concepts such as 'network centric warfare[12]' will be impossible to achieve. i.e., "the ability to operate a UAV on its way to the target. The UAV and the pilot rely on real-time updates from a GPS satellite

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6   *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms.* Joint Publication 1-02, November 8, 2010, p. 89.

7   Schreier, F., "On Cyberwarfare." *DCAF Horizon 2015 Working Paper,* No. 7, p. 10.

8   The Internet is an open network of end points, devices, and computer networks that communicate with each other using the TCP or IP communications protocol. It is an open, decentralized network, and from any end point it is possible to communicate with any other end point.

9   "Cyberspace Operations." *Joint Publication 3-12 (R),* p. V.

10 Cyber Operations is an interdisciplinary major that covers the entire scope of cyberspace and related operations, both technical and non-technical. As such, the Cyber Operations major provides a basic foundation in computer architecture, programming, data structures, networks, internet, database systems, information assurance, cryptography, and forensics. United States Naval Academy. https://www.usna.edu/Academics/Majors-and-Courses/Majors/Cyber-Operations.php/.

11 "Cyberspace Operations." *Joint Publication 3-12 (R).*

12 Network-centric warfare, also called network-centric operations or net-centric warfare, is a military doctrine or theory of war that seeks to translate an information advantage, enabled in part by information technology, into a competitive advantage through the robust computer networking of well informed geographically dispersed forces.

to precisely strike that target.[13]" Cyberspace exists across and connects the physical domains of land, sea, air, and space. It has a few unique characteristics:

1. Cyberspace cannot exist without being able to manipulate the already occurring EMS. Without the EMS, not only will millions of information and communications technology (ICT) be unable to communicate with each other, but the ICTs themselves would be unable to operate.[14]

2. Cyberspace requires the existence of man-made objects, which again makes cyberspace special as opposed to land, sea, air, and space. Cyberspace would not work if it were not the human capacity to develop and produce technology.[15]

3. Cyberspace is still replicable. Cyberspace can be as many as one can reasonably generate.[16]

4. Entry costs to cyberspace are relatively modest. The tools and skills needed to reach and manipulate cyberspace are small in contrast to those needed to control ground, sea, air, and space.[17]

5. In cyberspace, the attack is dominant rather than the defense, for a variety of reasons:

- IT-system and network protections depend on insecure protocols and open architectures;[18]

- attacks in cyberspace arise at high speed, placing defenses under immense pressure, as an attacker must only succeed once, while the defender must always be successful;[19]

- the range is no longer a problem in cyberspace because attacks can be executed and take place from anywhere in the world;[20]

- the attribution of attacks is particularly difficult, which makes possible responses and prevention measures difficult;[21]

- the vast dependence of modern society on cyberspace is creating a target-rich atmosphere for every intruder, resulting in considerable pressure on the protector to protect the domain effectively.[22]

Qualitatively, cyberspace is different from the domains of sea, air, and space, yet it continually operates within all of them. It is the only domain in which all the national power instruments (diplomatic, informational, military, and economic) can be exercised simultaneously by manipulating data.[23] In the domain of cyberspace, cyber operations are devel-

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13 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 11.

14 Lonsdale, D.J., *The Nature of War in the Information Age: Clausewitzian Future.* London, Frank Cass, 2005, pp. 179-200.

15 Schreier, F., op.cit.*,* p. 12.

16 Ibidem.

17 Ibidem.

18 Clarke, R.A. and Knake, R.K., *Cyber War: The Next Threat to National Security and What to do About it*. New York, Ecco, 2010, pp. 103-149.

19 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 12.

20 Rattray, G.J., "An Environmental Approach to Understanding Cyberpower," in *Cyberpower and National Security*, Franklin D. Kramer. Stuart H. Starr and Larry K. Wentz, eds., Dullas, VA, Potomac Books, 2009, pp. 255-256.

21 Brenner, S.W., *Cyberthreats: The Emerging Fault Lines of the Nation State*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2009.

22 Clarke, R.A. and Knake, R.K., *Cyber War...*, op.cit., pp. 170-175.

23 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 13.

oped. Cyberpower[24] is the whole of the strategic effects generated by cyber operations in cyberspace. "cyberpower is the ability to use cyberspace to create advantages and influence events in other operational environments and across the instruments of power."[25] Cyberspace exists as an environment, and cyberpower is the measure of the ability to use that environment. Cyberpower is shaped by three factors:

- **Technology.** It gives the ability to 'enter' cyberspace is what makes its use possible. Technology is continuously evolving, so do users, countries, societies, non-state actors.
- **Organizational factors.** Organizations embody human objectives and interests, and their viewpoint on the development and usage of cyberpower is influenced by their organizational role, whether it be military, economic, or political.[26]
- **Information.** Cyberspace and cybernetic power are components of the intellectual instrument of power, and there are innumerable aspects in which cyberpower links, help, and allows the exercise of other instruments of power.[27]

Cyberterrorism as the Invisible Global Threat

According to the United States Department of State, in 1998, only a few terrorist groups carried out activities on websites. By 1998, terrorist organizations were succeeding since Google, one of the most powerful search engines on the web, was already stable and reached millions of people. By the end of 1999, almost all the terrorist groups had established their presence on 'the online Network.'[28] Nowadays, all terrorist groups have a presence in cyberspace, and some carry out complex operations.

Postmodern terrorists are taking advantage of the new technology (e.g., communication technology) and cyberspace to apply strategic communication, distribute propaganda, recruit new members, coordinate operations, perform campaigns, and launch further attacks.[29] New cyberterrorists are not restrained to a geographic position since terrorists can be at any point on the globe. Furthermore, they do not depend on large funds to operate. They rely on a single computer (that does not need to have advanced technological capabilities) or a mobile phone connected to the internet. If any of these devices are not available, internet cafes are available on almost every corner of the cities. They can be used as a tool to have affordable access to the Internet.[30]

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24 Cyberpower is "the ability in peace and war to manipulate perceptions of the strategic environment to one's advantage while at the same time degrading the ability of an adversary to comprehend that same environment." John B. Sheldon, "Deciphering Cyberpower: Strategic Purposes in Peace and War," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Summer 2011), pp. 95–112.

25 Kuehl, D.T. in Kramer, op.cit., p. 38.

26 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 14.

27 Kuehl, D.T., "From Cyberspace to Cyberpower: Defining the Problem." *Cyberpower and National Security, National Defense University Press*. Washington, D.C., 2009.

28 Weimann, G., "The Psychology of Mass-Mediated Terrorism." *American Behavioral Scientist*. Vol. 52, No. 1, September 2008, p. 74.

29 Ibidem.

30 Brunst, P.W., "Chapter 2. Terrorism and the Internet: New Threats Posed by Cyberterrorism and Terrorist Use of the Internet." October 15, 2009, p. 55.

Terrorists will engage in all kinds of activities in order to achieve their objectives. They recognized the advantages that new information communication technologies (ICT) and social networks offer in cyberspace, and they began to exploit them many years ago. After the 9/11 attacks, millions of people suffered an increased perceived risk of terrorist attacks; they were more aware of the willingness and capabilities of terrorist organizations to carry out attacks on a global scale. To benefit, many terrorist groups established websites, platforms, and began to develop applications to send their messages, coordinate operations, and enhance activities.[31] New social media is a potent tool because it gives the ability to share information with millions of users in real-time, to any point in the world, and at the same time.

> *One hacker and one modem cause an enemy damage and losses almost equal to those of a war.*
>
> /Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui/

Dorothy Denning, a professor of computer science in her testimony given to the House Armed Services Committee Special Oversight Panel on Terrorism in May 2000: "Cyberterrorism is the convergence of cyberspace and terrorism. It refers to unlawful attacks and threats of attack against computers, networks, and the information stored therein when done to intimidate or coerce a government or its people in furtherance of political or social objectives. Further, to qualify as cyberterrorism, an attack should result in violence against persons or property, or at least cause enough harm to generate fear. Attacks that lead to death or bodily injury, explosions, or severe economic loss would be examples. Serious attacks against critical infrastructures could be acts of cyberterrorism, depending on their impact. Attacks that disrupt nonessential services or that are mainly a costly nuisance would not."[32]

NATO defines cyberterrorism as 'a cyberattack using or exploiting computer or communication networks to cause sufficient destruction or disruption to generate fear or to intimidate a society into an ideological goal.'[33]

The Technolytics Institute defines cyberterrorism as 'the premeditated use of disruptive activities, or the threat thereof, against computers and networks, with the intention to cause harm or further social, ideological, religious, political or similar objectives. Or to intimidate any person in furtherance of such objectives.'[34]

On August 5, 2008, Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) claimed to be the perpetrator of a terrorist attack on the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan pipeline near Refahiye in Turkey. There is

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31 Weimann, G., "New Terrroism and New Media." Commons Lab of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, 2014, p. 2.

32 Denning, D.E., Testimony Before the Special Oversight Panel on Terrorism Committee on Armed Services, US. House of Representatives. 105 Cong. Georgetown University, May 23, 2000.

33 Center of Excellence for Defense Against Terrorism. *Responses to Cyber Terrorism*. 2008

34 Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Asst. Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence - Threats, US Army Training and Doctrine Command. *Cyber Operations and Cyber Terrorism*. Handbook No. 1.02, Fort Leavenworth, KS, August 15, 2005.

ample circumstantial evidence that this attack was a sophisticated and complex cyberattack on the control, safety, and protection systems of the line, which resulted in increased pressure in the pipelines resulting in an explosion. Other nations, including Colombia, Nigeria, Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, have suffered similar attacks. Consistent evidence suggests that the PKK has been committing at least 25 years of these kinds of assaults. Why the kind of attacks like this? Pipelines are highly important targets on which governments and communities depend on sources of electricity. Such attacks can have a significant indirect effect on nations' physical, psychological, and national power. This is because the consequences of such an attack will cause an interruption of heating in winter conditions, environmental disasters, physical-psychological damage between populations, fluctuations in world energy markets, and diplomatic and legal disputes overcompensation and responsibilities.[35]

Terrorists often choose weapons such as assault rifles, suicide bombings, hijacking the transport system, or outright bombings as they did recently in the city of Kabul, Afghanistan, on May 31, 2017, one of the worst strikes in the Afghan War. On one hand, these methods inflict more fear into society because people experience them directly; they are live breaking news, broadcasted immediately, watched by international audiences, and transcend by far the boundaries of theatrical events.[36] Furthermore, on the other hand, by using these methods, terrorists have high costs and high risks of being detected (difficult to conceal them in crowded areas), and if the attacks do not achieve high visibility (and therefore fear in the population), have to be disregarded in favor of more 'efficient' instruments (Giacomello, 2004).[37]

Cyberattacks have the power to shift the balance of power by empowering those involved in asymmetric conflicts who operate from a position of inferiority, such as terrorist organizations. Cybernetic capabilities allow attacking facilities, networks, vehicles, and information causing serious physical damage and exerting a significant psychological impact on society. In this way, they acquire capacities different from those familiar to conventional terrorist attacks, such as suicide bombings, booby traps, hostage situations, and kidnappings.[38] It is proven that some types of hacking attacks can cause great damage and have similar sequences, but to define actions as cyberterrorism, cyberspace must be part of a terrorist campaign or activity. Cyberattacks are very difficult to prove since cyberspace allows terrorists to carry out their activities with little or no physical risk to themselves.[39]

35 The Jamestown Foundation. "Energy Security and the PKK Threat to the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline." *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 3, Issue: 18, September 22, 2008.

36 Weimann, G., "The Psychology of Mass-Mediated Terrorism." *American Behavioral Scientist,* Vol. 52, No. 1, September 2008, p. 70.

37 Brunst, P.W., op.cit., p. 55.

38 Siboni, G., *Cyberspace and National Security*. Institute for National Security Studies, June 2013, p. 18.

39 US Army Training and Doctrine Command, Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Asst. Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence – Threats. *Cyber Operations and Cyber Terrorism*. Handbook No. 1.02, Fort Leavenworth, KS, August 15, 2005, II-1.

> *The Internet is a prime example of how terrorists can behave in a truly transnational way; in response, States need to think and function in an equally transnational manner.[40]*

/Ban Ki-moon,
Former Secretary-General
of the United Nations/

Terrorist organizations focus on areas where they can operate at the same level. New technologies and cyberspace provide them with complex capabilities, and these elements are transforming how wars are fought. Cyberspace gives disproportionate power to irregular groups or lone wolves that would otherwise represent an insignificant threat.[41] The center for the Study of Terrorism and Irregular Warfare at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, defined three levels of cyberterror capability:

• **Simple-Unstructured.** The conduct of basic hacks against individual systems using tools created by someone else (possesses little target-analysis, command-and-control, or learning capability).

• **Advanced-Structured.** The conduct of more sophisticated attacks against multiple systems or networks (possesses an elementary target-analysis, command-and-control, and learning capability).

• **Complex-Coordinated.** The coordinated attack capable of causing mass-disruption against integrated, heterogeneous defenses, including cryptography (highly capable target-analysis, command-and-control, and organization learning-capability).

In these times of advanced technology, global terrorist organizations are making use of cyberspace. However, although they still do so in a limited and underdeveloped way, they can plan operations and carry out attacks generating significant damage. A study has identified several specialties that enhance the organizational structures and operational capabilities of terrorist organization.[42]

• **Propaganda.** Using the web for fundraising under the guise of charities and aid organizations as well as to steal identities and credit cards. Terrorist groups use propaganda for radicalization, support, and receive funding from sympathizers through online platforms. Cyberspace and social media allow them to reach more people (billions) faster and globally. This way is more efficient than in the past, where they only published small articles, not well-distributed newspapers, and had face-to-face contact. According to STATISTA, "in the second quarter of 2017, Facebook had two billion monthly active users."[43] Facebook became an essential tool for several of the most radical terrorist organizations such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and Hezbollah. They use this platform to analyze the social environment by con-

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40 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. "The Use of The Internet for Terrorist Purposes." New York 2012.

41 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 27.

42 Examining the Cyber Capabilities of Islamic Terrorist Groups, Institute for Security Technology Studies at Dartmouth College, Technical Analysis Group, March 2004.

43 https://www.statista.com/statistics/264810/number-of-monthly-active-facebook-users-worldwide/.

ducting social network analysis[44] and narrowcasting operations[45] to select potential members, support their agendas, and deliver their messages more effectively.

Facebook is the most powerful social media and networking site globally, and almost every person who knows how to use a computer has an account. For terrorists, this makes it much easier to find like-minded people, see their interests, and easily connect with them through private messages, videos, and group chats. By exchanging information in real-time, it gives a great advantage. It is a good source for up-to-date information on the latest news and to offer services and products. A Jihadists in his online forum called Facebook Invasion stated the following: "Facebook is a great idea, and better than the forums. Instead of waiting for people to [come to you so you can] inform them, you go to them and teach them!... [I] mean, if you have a group of 5,000 people, with the press of a button you [can] send them a standardized message. I entreat you, by God, to begin registering for Facebook as soon as you [finish] reading this post. Familiarize yourselves with it. This post is a seed and a beginning, to be followed by serious efforts to optimize our Facebook usage. Let's start distributing Islamic jihadi publications, posts, articles, and pictures. Let's anticipate a reward from the Lord of the Heavens, dedicate our purpose to God, and help our colleagues."[46]

Influence. Recruitment and training: using the web to identify and recruit potential members as well as to transmit instructional and training materials. Members are a fundamental part of a terrorist organization and for them to have as many members as possible is best. When an information campaign has been effective and has attracted potential sympathizers' attention, it is time to recruit. Terrorist organizations have always used traditional recruitment methods to promote their cause, ideology, and doctrines such as newspapers, audio-video, local leaders, disguised recruitment points such as information offices, and face-to-face interaction.[47] These methods are risky to maintain since they are easily detected; they leave an easy trail to follow and expose them to a public environment.

To work from a more anonymous and secure environment, terrorist organizations have developed interactive web pages as a platform for recruitment, enabling them to be more efficient and work faster. To make these platforms more effective and eye-catching for their followers and encourage potential members to join, their administrators upload information about their achievements, ideologies, and activities. They show sympathy for some social issues that affect society to buy potential members' hearts and minds. Even a number of these platforms have didactic classes on building an IED (improvised explosive device), acquiring hacking skills, and developing planning for an attack. Some good examples of these websites include:

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44 Social network analysis [SNA] is the mapping and measuring of relationships and flows between people, groups, organizations, computers, URLs, and other connected information/knowledge entities. http://www.orgnet.com/sna.html/.

45 Spreading an advertising message or signal over a small geographical area, or to a select group of audience. Narrowcasting uses cable television, direct mail, specialized trade publications, seminars, and keyword-associated web advertising. http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/narrowcasting.html/.

46 Department of Homeland Security. "Terrorist Use of Social Networking Facebook Case Study." *Public Intelligence*, December 5, 2010. http://publicintelligence.net/ufouoles-dhs-terrorist-use-of-social-networking-facebook-case-study. Retrieved February 10, 2014.

47 US Army Training and Doctrine Command..., op.cit.

- Earth Liberation Front (ELF), http://www.earthliberationfront.com/main.shtml.
- Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), http://www.farcep.org/pagina_ingles/
- HAMAS, http://www.hamasonline.com/
- Hezbollah, http://www.hizbollah.org/

These pages are constantly updated, and the information sent to its subscribers is in real-time.

- **Fundraising and financing.** Using the web to fundraise under the guise of charities and aid organizations as well as to steal identities and credit cards.
- **Communications.** Using the web for operational communications while employing a range of tools as sophisticated encryption software.
- **Identifying targets and intelligence.** Using information available on the web to identify targets and gather intelligence. This gives them the capability of design, planning, and execution of an attack.

> *Using public sources openly and without resorting to illegal means, it is possible to gather at least 80% of information about the enemy.*
>
> /Al Qaeda training manual/

In former times, only high-quality images were available only to experts; nowadays, they are a common good and accessible anywhere and by anybody.[48] Google can be used to gain access to unlimited documents such as databases, addresses, forums, profiles of people, and libraries to gather information in text, images, MP3s, and videos.[49] Google Maps can also uncover sensitive information about national critical infrastructures located around cities; they can gather data from satellite images, geographic positions, coordinates, detailed topography at different scales, distance, and time between objects. With this information easily accessible, they could develop accurate intelligence products for planning, coordinating operations, and evacuation routes for future attacks.

Military assets are not exempt from this type of research activity.[50] By using the same methods, terrorists can get information about any military installation around the globe related to infrastructure designs, schedules, names and ranks, telephone directories, military and security protection capabilities, and crisis response timing.

> *Al-Qaeda "was using the Internet to do at least reconnaissance of American utilities and American facilities. If you put all the unclassified information together, sometimes it adds up to something that ought to be classified."*
>
> /Richard Clark,
> Former Chairman, President's Critical Infrastructure Protection Board,
> February 13, 2002/

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48 Brunst, P.W., op.cit., p. 74.

49 US Army Training and Doctrine Command..., op.cit.

50 Ibidem.

In cyberspace, we can identify four categories of actors that possess advance cyber skills that make them dangerous:

- **Type 1: A nation attacks another nation.** When radical regimes use their high advance cyber capabilities to attack government entities and their critical infrastructure. This type of attack is cataloged as an Advanced Persistent Threat (APT's).
- **Type 2: State-sponsored cyberespionage targeting foreign companies.** When radical regimes sponsor criminal groups for industrial espionage and exploitation of the private-sector information.
- **Type 3: Self-inspired cyberterrorism against a target government.** When civilians commit acts against a nation-state. These kinds of attacks mostly include non-official nationalist groups with politically motivated actions.
- **Type 4: Financially motivated terrorism and transnational organized crime nexus.** These types of individuals and groups attack via the illegal acquisition of personal data, industrial technologies, intellectual property, and bank accounts for financial purposes. Type four represents the majority of cyberattacks.[51]

These actors may be an individual working for a self-motivated purpose or a nation-state. Depending upon the motivation of the attack, it could be cataloged as a cybercrime, hacktivism, or cyberterrorism. We are increasingly dealing with more complex opponents who use technology as a force multiplier for operations and tactics. A single person who owns a computer or even a cell phone connected to the network, who has the knowledge of how the web works and the minimum training, can do more damage than a hundred insurgents armed with bombs and rifles. Attacks depending on their magnitude can be classified as the following:

- **Non-violent attacks.** Attacks are directed to penetrate network security to steal sensitive financial information, resulting in a high economic loss rather than human life. i.e., activities directed to steal information about new military fighting jets.
- **Violent attacks.** It is not easy to address a violent attack in cyberspace. Violence can be physical or psychological. i.e., the disruption of communication channels and social media applications by terrorist groups to spread fear and show power creates psychological damage to the victims. Therefore, it can be labeled as a violent attack.
- **Physically destructive attacks (kinetics attacks).** Kinetic cyberattacks have the potential to become extremely dangerous or even strategic game-changing in cyber warfare and other aspects of cyber conflict. A cyber kinetic attack is a direct or indirect attack that causes extensive damage, injury, or death solely through the exploitation of vulnerable information systems and processes. These types of attacks have already occurred, resulting in physical damage inflicted on nuclear power plants, water facilities, oil pipelines, factories, hospitals, transit systems, and apartment structures. Although humans interact on cyberspace's physical layer, they are not an element of it, and cyberattacks cannot directly harm them since humans are lethally threatened by the indirect consequences of an attack directed to critical infrastructures.

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51 de Silva, E., *National Security and Counterintelligence in the Era of Cyber Espionage*. University of Leicester, UK & Virginia Research Institute, USA. p. 227.

– **Ukrainian power outages.** In December of 2015, a massive blackout hit Ukraine. Using phishing e-mails, the actors started a monitoring and data acquisition (SCADA) attack leaving about 230,000 people in the west of the country without power for hours. A year later, the Pivichna substation near Kyiv was attacked, causing a one-hour blackout.[52]

– **Rye Brook, New York dam attack.** By using a cellular modem, the actors accessed the central command and control system with the intention of seizing the infrastructure. They only used a cellular modem to do it. Although the attack struck in 2013, it was not reported until 2016. The United States Department of Justice claimed that it was like an Iranian attack.[53]

Societies. Attacks are directed to society in order to cause maximum fear between populations with the objective that people put pressure on the governments and accept the terrorists' demands. Another result is that the attack could paralyze the commerce of a nation by making people so afraid that they would not go to work, and the economy will be affected. Here's how:

- seizing of a media channel in order to demonstrate ability and power,
- information operations (in this case disinformation),
- psychological campaigns,
- violence and blackmail,
- sabotage to public services (i.e., communication, transportation).

Economies. Any attack will have an impact on the economy. On June 21, 2015, the Polish National Air Carrier (LOT) was the target of a cyberattack. The assailants were unidentified, resulting in the cancellation of 10 scheduled flights departing from Poland's capital, Warsaw, and long delays for others, RFE/RL reported. No further information was available.[54] An attack could paralyze a nation's commerce by making people so afraid that they would not go to their jobs. An impact on the economy will have a direct impact on governments. Another example is the attack on the World Trade Center on 9/11. Some of the disruptions were not made by the attack itself, but rather by the government's response to the attack. It is difficult to say if the attack could be cataloged as cyberterrorism, but it is a fact that they used cyberspace as a force multiplier to create maximum fear and project the organization's power by showing the damage on a global scale. Some of the indirect impacting factors were: Closing of borders, A shutdown of air and maritime traffic, International trade disruption, Evacuations of surrounding buildings.

Governments. Terrorist activities can have a political influence on government and military decisions by creating chaos among societies. Using social media, radical groups can establish a link to actors with shared objectives. Radical actors could seize media channels to spread disinformation, demonstrate the power, and change the international community's perception. i.e., Russia's information campaign in Crimea when in the Russian language TV news, Ukrainian protesters were portrayed as radicals and Neo-Nazis com-

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52 Ball, T., "Top 5 critical infrastructure cyberattacks." *Computer Business Review*, July 18, 2017.

53 Ibidem.

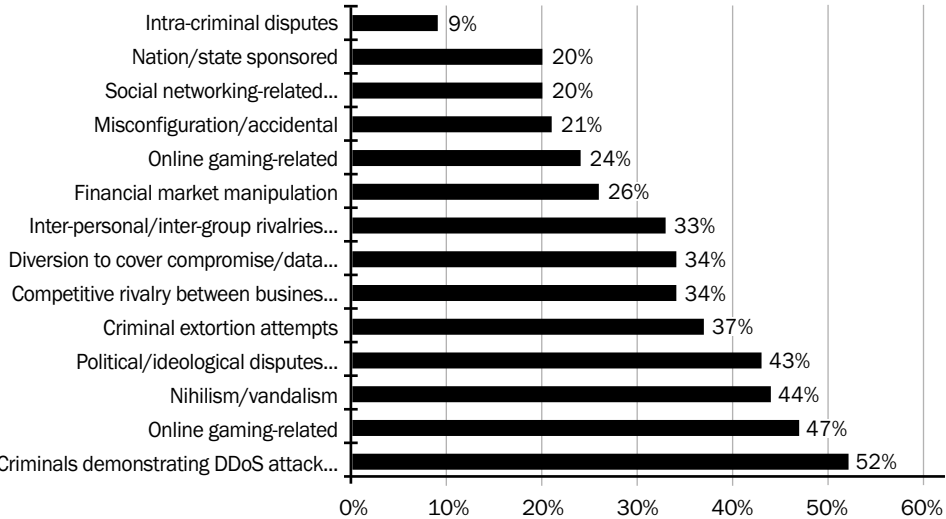54 Jane's, Terrorism and Insurgency Intelligence Centre, June 21, 2015, database.

Intra-criminal disputes		9%
Nation/state sponsored		20%
Social networking-related...		20%
Misconfiguration/accidental		21%
Online gaming-related		24%
Financial market manipulation		26%
Inter-personal/inter-group rivalries...		33%
Diversion to cover compromise/data...		34%
Competitive rivalry between busines...		34%
Criminal extortion attempts		37%
Political/ideological disputes...		43%
Nihilism/vandalism		44%
Online gaming-related		47%
Criminals demonstrating DDoS attack...		52%

0%   10%   20%   30%   40%   50%   60%

Figure 1. Attack motivation

Source: Arbor Network "Worldwide Infrastructure Security Report" Volume XIV, p. 47.

	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
TRADITIONAL METHODS	inflicts more fear into society	high cost
	people experience them directly	high risks of detection
	they are live breaking news broadcasted immediately	challenging to conceal in crowded areas

	ADVANTAGES
CYBER METHODS	new technologies are low costs
	explosives and weapon training not needed
	anonymous characteristics
	more complex and sophisticated worldwide attacks
	masking during pre-targeting and an actual attack
	future attacks are difficult to predict

Figure 2. Terrorism attacks considerations

mitting hostile actions. Russians stated that they were ready to defend Russian rights in Crimea. In social media, hundreds of bloggers, online forums, and chat rooms activated their platforms in order to spread information supporting Russia's narrative and discredit opponents.

Cyberwarfare

Military cyberpower was the most powerful tool for the last two decades. Cyber power and cyberspace were at the center of modern ideas and doctrines of war. These two elements have been an integral feature of new technology-based military capabilities in confrontation stages, from insurgency to conventional war main force. Cyberwarfare has become the drumbeat of the day as nation-states prepare themselves for cyberdefense. Many states not only perform cyber-spying, cyber-recognition, and probing missions; they establish offensive cyberwar capabilities, develop national strategies, and participate in alarming frequency cyberattacks.[55]

Threats in cyberspace are complex and exist in an environment that does not conform to the physical limits of land, sea, air, and space. Unlike these traditional domains, cyberspace fosters an unpredictable threat that can adapt, transform, and reproduce without national identity or face.[56] These threats manifest themselves in an environment that is neither limited nor governed by the traditional norms and rules of warfare. To ensure that nations can maintain dominance over cyberspace to anticipate, respond quickly, and counter threats, cyberwarfare strategies must adapt and incorporate unconventional approaches and hybrid warfare into their operational capabilities.

In a workshop conducted by the Joint Special Operations University and Special Operations Forces (SOF), it was concluded that special operations are "a multi- and cross-domain force, capable of conducting or sup-porting conventional or unconventional operations on various levels leading to or supporting military and political outcomes." The Workshop members identified the following features of the SOF operating environment:

- A dynamic operational environment characterized by uncertainty and ambiguity, acts of aggression, power, and manipulation is carried out in a nonlinear and sometimes indirect fashion and requires subtlety and guile operations at low levels.[57]
- A high-risk, highly volatile environment in which activities are performed with great personal and political risk.[58]
- An unconventional warfare climate is marked by civil aggression intrastate and substate incidents, plus insurrection, subversion, militant political action, and terrorism.[59]

55 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 7.

56 Lichty, P., *Variant Analyses Interrogations of New Media Art and Culture*. Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures, 2013, p. 54.

57 Celeski, J., "A Way Forward for Special Operations Theory and Strategic Art." Joint Special Operations University SOF-Power Workshop, August 2011, MacDill Air Force Base, p. 15.

58 Ibidem.

59 Ibidem.

According to joint Publication 3-05, Special Operations, the special operations environment is a "hostile, denied, or politically and diplomatically sensitive (…) and (…) characterized by one or more of the following: time-sensitivity, clandestine or covert nature, low visibility, work with or through indigenous forces, greater requirements for regional orientation and cultural expertise, and a higher degree of risk." Cyberspace shares similarities with special operations due to its complexity and actors. The new global domain of cyberspace relies on the connected information technology infrastructure that includes all the automation and networked system components through which information or content flows or is stored.

Special operations and cyberspace share similarities due to their complexity and actors. The cyberspace domain is based on the connected information technology infrastructure that includes all network and automation system components through which information or content flows or is stored[60]. Operations in cyberspace take place in the three main layers (Physical, logical, and cyber-persona)[61]. The ease of entry into cyberspace allows individual actors, terrorist organizations, criminal networks, and small groups to operate in an environment similar to nation-states and transnational organizations. The anonymity and lack of attribution granted to actors in the cyberspace domain resemble SOF's covert or clandestine aspects.

Core special operations activities are integrated into the context of cyberspace missions. Offensive operations in cyberspace are similar to the intention of the direct action of special operations such as: countering weapons of mass destruction, operations to support military information, and special reconnaissance missions. Similarly, foreign special operations intent and security force assistance missions are compared to defensive operations in cyberspace[62]. Cyberwarfare creates three major threats for military forces:

Cyberattacks. All military operations are supported by cyberspace. Defense forces are constantly increasing their cyber operations capabilities (Defense and Warfare), i.e., The DoD operates 2-3 million computers, around 100,000 LAN's (Local Area Networks), long-distance networks, and special systems to perform:
- Command and control (C2)
- Supporting distributed collaborative planning
- Logistics and supplies
- Fire power
- Sustainment
- Distributing intelligence (national and global)
- National defense[63]

Military campaigns rely on cyberspace since all domains (Land, Air, and Sea) are interconnected. Advanced technologies such as GPS and weapons systems depend on IT and the uninterrupted flow of information. The ability to execute a weapon's targeting on its target depends on real-time connections from a GPS satellite. This ability is possible only

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60 JP 3-12 (R), Cyberspace Operations (Washington, DC: The Joint Staff, 2013), I-2.

61 Ibidem.

62 JP 3-12 (R), Cyberspace Operations, vii.

63 "Cyber Operations." *Joint Publication* 3-12 (R), February 5, 2013.

using cyberspace.[64] If the information flow is interrupted, it will have a negative impact upon the overall operation. As a result of non-execution, it can cause a decrease in capabilities or even massive casualties. The primary purpose of cyberwar is to disrupt and paralyze the adversary rather than confront their forces directly. Therefore, NATO stated that the organization now takes cyberattacks "as seriously as the risk of a missile strike" and sees cyberterrorism as a tremendous future threat.

Cyber Espionage. Targets and seeks sensitive information like the following:
- Operations
- Salaries (insider threat)
- Intelligence
- Critical infrastructure
- New technologies

Illegal obtaining of any of these types of information would result in identifying vulnerabilities and weaknesses. At the same time, terrorists could gain significant advances that would allow them to develop, produce, and use these elements against their targets. i.e., with the illegal obtaining of information related to military ballistic missiles and the new technology of biological components, terrorists could create WMD (weapons of mass destruction).

Misinformation. The aim is to affect the perceptions of audiences, groups, and individuals. By establishing a well-developed, synchronized strategic information campaign (Info-Ops), they will influence the public opinion that shapes the general populous' attitude and behaviors to gain more sympathizers. Military and security forces are frequent targets by using propaganda to discredit military-strategic mission objectives. i.e., the propaganda campaign that Al-Qaeda delivered against NATO forces in Afghanistan where the Taliban were trying to discredit the legitimacy of the mission by showing that NATO forces were the intruder and that they were disrespectful to Islamists and Muslims.

The term 'cyberwarfare' is not as new as we thought. When cyberspace and the Internet were established, a wide range of vulnerabilities were created. To see an example of when cyberspace became a battlefield, let us look at the following examples:

- **The United States 1982.** President Reagan approved a CIA plan to use modern software, targeting pipe pumps, turbines, and valves of the Soviet Union. This software was designed to create an interruption in these components proper functioning, which resulted in a large (non-nuclear) explosion.[65] This attack had serious psychological and economic effects on the former Soviet Union.[66]
- **The United States 1991.** The United States showed great cyber capabilities in the Gulf War in Iraq in 1991. In Phase I of Operation Desert Storm, US Forces degraded Iraq's air components C3 (command, control, and communication) systems, particular elements of the national infrastructure (power sources), via a virus in a simple printer.[67]

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64 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 11.

65 Ibidem.

66 Hoffman, D.E., "CIA slipped bugs to Soviets." *Washington Post*, February 27, 2004.

67 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 107.

- **Kosovo 1999.** When NATO forces began to bomb Serbia, several pro-Serbian or anti-Western hackers, such as the 'Black Hand,' began attacking NATO's Internet infrastructure. They aimed to disrupt NATO military operations.[68]

- **The Israeli-Palestinian Cyber Conflict in July 1999.** Israeli teenage hackers jammed Hezbollah and Hamas websites in Lebanon. They launched attacks that effectively disrupted six websites of the organizations. Palestinian and other supporting Islamic organizations prepared for a cyber response and called for a cyber Holy War.[69] His attack escalated into an international incident resulting in the attack of 4 high-profile Israeli locations. The Israeli parliament, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Israeli Defense Force information site, and the Israeli Prime Minister's Office.[70] This conflict highlights the threat that cyberspace can generate when it is used for bad purposes. A few teenagers create a national conflict by taking matters into their own hands and creating actions directed toward terrorist groups' webpages.

- **The Cyber Attack on Estonia in April-May 2007.** On April 27, 2007, the relocation of a Bronze Soldier Monument from Tallinn's center to a military cemetery outside of the city started protests and riots by Estonia's Russian minority. As a retaliation act, several Estonia entities, including the Estonian parliament, banks, ministries, newspapers, and broadcasters, were attacked by sophisticated botnets. "Government websites that normally receive 1,000 visits a day reportedly were receiving 2,000 visits every second."[71] The Estonian Network could not handle the heightened amount of information traffic, and the banking system was shut down, causing great monetary costs. Estonia's government websites, emergency response, and media outlets were paralyzed as well. This attack showed to all governments around the world how vulnerable a nation is solely by digital means. NATO established the Cooperative Cyber Defense Center of Excellence (CCD COE) in Estonia in May 2008 for the coordination of cyber defense and establishing policy for aiding allies during cross-jurisdictional attacks.[72]

- **The Russia-Georgia War August 2008.** In 2008, Russia attacked Georgia in response to the Georgian attack directed against the separatists in South Ossetia. In response, Russia launched a cyberattack that affected Georgia's capabilities (land, sea, and air).[73] [74] This sophisticated attack targeted government websites, strategic key sites, and even the US and British embassies.

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68 "Yugoslavia: Serb Hackers Reportedly Disrupt US Military Computer." Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA, March 28, 1999.

69 *Cyber War Also Rages in MidEast.* The Associated Press, October 28, 2000.

70 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 108.

71 Wilson, C., "Botnets, Cybercrime, and Cyberterrorism: Vulnerabilities and Policy Issues for Congress." *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress,* January 29, 2008.

72 Schreier, F., op.cit., p. 119.

73 Ibidem, p. 112.

74 Carr, J., *Inside Cyber Warfare.* O'Reilly Media, Inc., 2012, pp. 66-89.

Table 1. Conventional, cyber and irregular

	Conventional	**Cyber**	**Irregular**
Purpose (why)	gaining political, economic, ideological, social, and religious dominance via geolocation dominance for a period of time	assisting in gaining political, economic, ideological, social, and religious dominance; gaining information for competitive advantage	assisting in gaining political, economic, ideological, social, and religious dominance; gaining information for competitive advantage
Strategy (how)	using overt operations and/or covert operations; showing might; little attribution issue	using overt operations and/or covert operations; attribution issue	using covert operations; attribution through intelligence
Involvement (who)	some people such as military or paramilitary personnel	everyone who has a device connected to affected networks	state and nonstate actors, adaptive adversaries such as terrorists, insurgents, and criminal networks
Targets (what)	humans; mainly tangible objects; directly affecting human life	mainly intangible items such as information or tangible items such as information systems; may indirectly affect human life in cyber physical cases	humans; mainly tangible objects; directly affecting human life
Space (where)	limited geolocation	anywhere with respect to geolocation if connected	global
Duration (when)	a limited period of time	ongoing, but one attack is usually within a short period of time	very limited period of time
Preparation time (when)	relatively long period of time	relatively short period of time	relatively short period of time
Cost (what)	expensive	relatively less expensive	relatively less expensive
Characteristics (what)	relatively more transparent	relatively opaque and in stealth mode	relatively opaque and in stealth mode
Attribution (what)	relatively easy to find out	may be hard to find out	relatively difficult to find out
Rules of engagement (what)	relatively clear	not clear	not clear
Impression (what)	always severe or brutal; obvious	less severe if not life or death situation; sometimes not felt	less severe if not life or death situation; sometimes not felt
Damage (what)	severe with physical casualty	severe with information loss	sometimes severe
Direct impact upon (who)	someone/some businesses	everyone/every business connected to affected networks	someone/some businesses

	Conventional	Cyber	Irregular
Impact based on (where)	geolocation	connection	geolocation
Deterrence (what)	obvious and forceful	limited currently	subtle
Dominance (what)	could be achieved	hard to achieve	hard to achieve
Result/Gain (what)	obvious	may not be very clear	may not be very clear
Winner (who)	clear to identify	may be hard to decide	may be hard to decide
Time for recovering (when)	relatively long	relatively short	relatively short

Source: Adapted from Jim Chen and Alan Dinerman, "On Cyber Dominance in Modern Warfare," in Proceedings of the 15th European Conference on Cyber Warfare and Security, ed. Robert Koch and Gabi Rodosek (Reading, UK: Academic Conferences and Publishing International Limited, 2016), 54.

> *Terrorism in all its forms, by its very nature, is an asymmetrical response to superior force, and terrorists have always used their capabilities as force multipliers – usually through the exploitation of terror. The generation of fear, in effect the use of purposeful violence as a form of psychological warfare can now be carried much further, enhanced by the modern media and the proliferation of mass media as much as by the proliferation of weapons.*

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Due to the similarities between irregular warfare and cyberwarfare, the next step is to cross the terminologies of special operations and IW to develop the basis of thought and theory regarding cyberwarfare.[75]

- First, the concept of relative superiority used in irregular warfare should be applied to cyberspace operations, "a condition that exists when an attacking force, generally smaller, gains a decisive advantage over a larger or well-defended enemy."[76] In the vast and dynamic environment of cyberspace, there are countless devices that make it impossible to maintain total cyber superiority. This is a constant risk where relative superiority can easily be lost.[77]

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75 Sanchez, L. and Korunka. "Applying Irregular Warfare Principles to Cyber Warfare." *JFQ*, 92, 2019, p. 18.

76 McRaven, W.H., *Spec Ops, Case Studies in Special Operations Warfare: Theory and Practice*. New York: Random House, 1995, p. 4.

77 Sanchez, L. and Korunka, op.cit., p. 18.
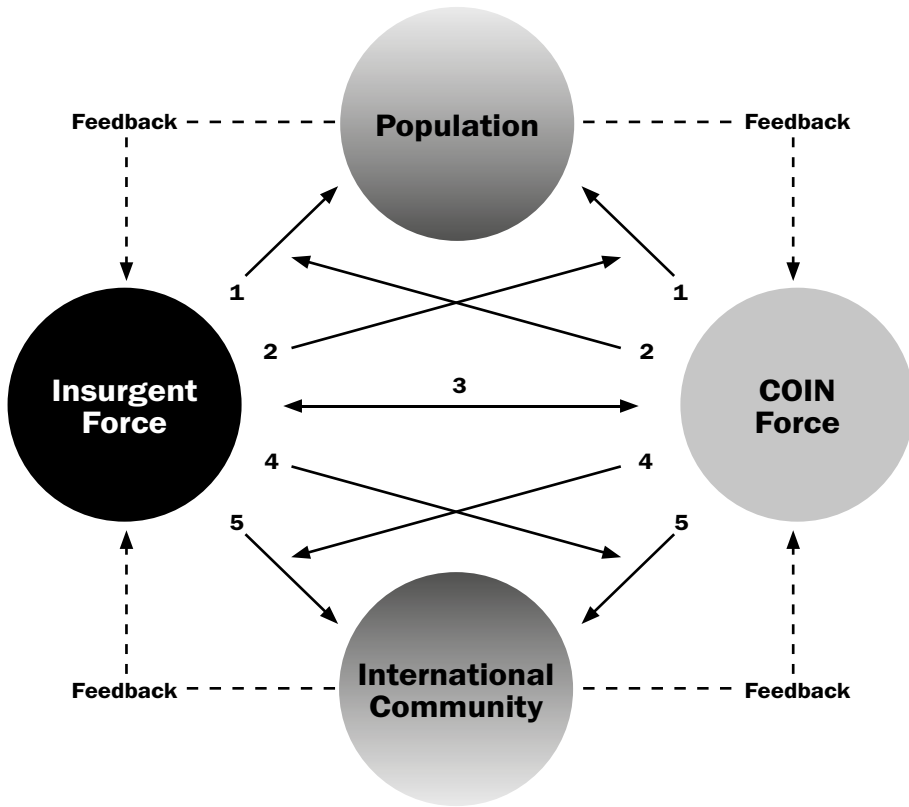
Figure 3. McCormick's Counterinsurgency Model

Source: G.C. McCormick. *Seminar in Guerrilla Warfare*. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2003.

- Second, the concept of cyber superiority must be established through 'cyberspace force application'[78] to achieve cyberpower.

At the strategic level, cyber power is the combined force of capabilities that a nation possesses in cyberspace to achieve national security objectives in times of peace and conflict. At the operational and tactical level, control and relative superiority are established through the application of cyberoperations over an adversary who uses technology to disrupt, denied, compromise, and exploit the information[79]. The principles and theories of Gordon McCormick's "Counterinsurgency Diamond Model" can be adapted and applied as a framework for developing a holistic strategic approach to cyberspace operations. The Diamond Model of Cyberspace is based on McCormick's Diamond Model of Counterinsurgency.

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78 "Combat operations in, through, and from cyberspace to achieve military objectives and influence the course and outcome of conflict by taking decisive actions against approved targets." *AFDD* 3-12, p. 50.

79 Sanchez, L. and Korunka, op.cit., p. 18.
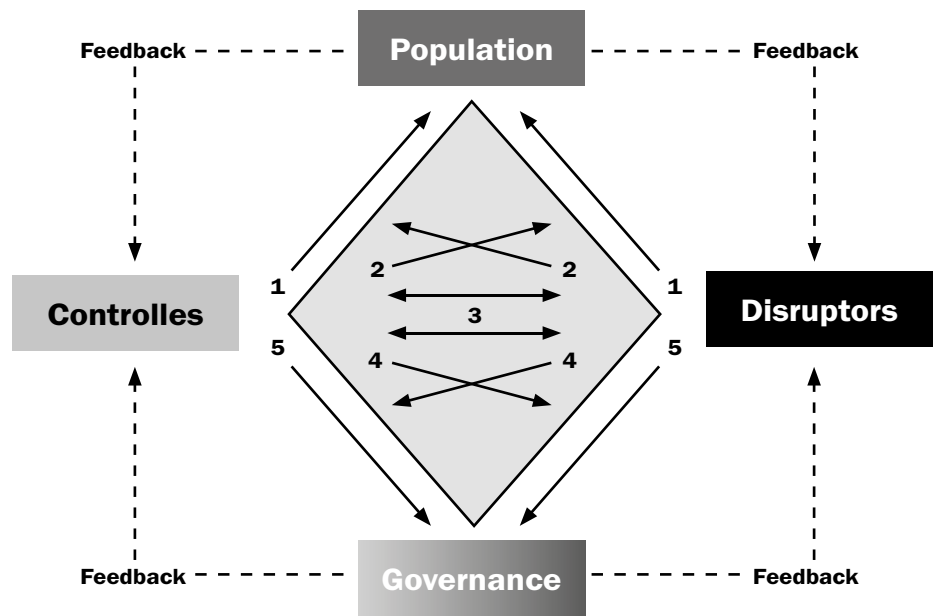
Figure 4. Cyberspace Diamond Model

Source: Adapted from McCormick's Mystic Diamond Model (McCormick. *Seminar in Guerrilla Warfare*. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2003).

Table 2. Cyberterrorism Center of Gravity

Aim:	
Terrorists will employ cyberspace as a force multiplier to expand activities and increase capabilities to achieve their objectives.	
Center of Gravity:	**Critical Capabilities:**
• detection terrorists cyber operations and capabilities. • information disruption	• capacity to attack critical infrastructures • destabilize societies (insurgency) • espionage • sabotage • disruption (operations) • conduct deception • Info-Ops
Critical Vulnerabilities:	**Critical Requirements:**
• IT activities • 3 level of layer (cyberspace) • security forces advance cyber capabilities • strong national cyber laws and regulations	• IT devices • technical personnel • sympathizers support • financial resources (not big amount) • cyber laws and regulations (weak/any)
Conclusion:	
We must establish cyberspace operations (CO) in order to deny freedom of action to adversaries and deny operational capabilities and activities.	

Author's own elaboration

At the strategic level, national leaders and the military should utilize this Cyberspace Diamond Model to frame their strategic approach to cyberwarfare. At the operational and tactical levels, leaders and planners can translate strategic direction into operational plans.[80]

"The Diamond Model establishes a comprehensive framework that considers the interactions between the state or host-nation government, the insurgents or terrorists, the local populace, and international actors or sponsors. The state or the "host nation" government's goal is to destroy the insurgents or limit their growth and influence to a manageable level. The insurgent or terrorist goal is to grow large enough to destroy the state's control mechanisms and replace the existing government or force some form of political concession from the government that achieves their desired goals. To develop an effective strategy, the state must first understand its advantages and disadvantages relative to the insurgents. The state, which normally has an established security apparatus consisting of armed forces and police, has a force advantage over the insurgents but suffers from an information disadvantage. This information disadvantage stems from the fact that the insurgents or terrorists are difficult to detect and target because they are dispersed and embedded in the local populace.[81]

Legal Considerations

In the new era of the globalized world, the international legal system is national, regional, and international, and the interaction between these law systems occur at multiple levels. As a result, these laws sometimes contradict each other, leading to collisions of laws, affecting legal response, or causing failure of the intent to apply them, leaving significant jurisdictional gaps.[82] The legal response may vary depending on the characteristics of the attack. i.e., What if an individual (hacker) in Panama breaks into the network system of a technology company in Germany to steal sensitive data related to a Nuclear Power Plant? How to investigate this case? It could cost a significant amount of time and money to address this situation, and there are no clear laws by which to approach this problem. - Besides that, how can it be proved that the attack source was from a computer (x)? With special software, the IP address from a computer can be changed. To counter these threats, we need to establish laws that improve our ability to capture, share, analyze information, and prosecute illegal activities.

The general principles of western laws of war for cyberwarfare dictate that military forces are considered the best option when there is unnecessary suffering resulting from an attack. The United States Law - Article 51 is related to the use of force in cyberwar and puts no restrictions on cyber weapons use. Several treaties are established to affect cyber war-

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80 Ibidem, p. 19.

81 Wilson, G., "The Mystic Diamond: Applying the Diamond Model of Counterinsurgency in the Philippines," in *Gangs and Guerrillas: Ideas from Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism*, ed. Michael Freeman and Hy Rothstein. Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, April 2014, p. 15. To gain a better understanding of the Diamond Model, see Gregory Wilson, "Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the Indirect Approach." *Military Review*, November–December 2006.

82 Appazov, A., *Legal Aspects of Cybersecurity.* Faculty of Law University of Copenhagen, 2014. p. 40.

fare operations that include international space laws and conventions, international telecommunications laws, and conventions on cybercrime. We cannot expect our non-western adversaries and other cybercrime organizations to abide by these treaties. Without understanding how the law relates to cyber warfare, cyberwarfare's emerging form will create uncertainties about particular acts' legality. To effectively detect, warn, and contain the effects of attacks, we must understand how the current legal system is established and complies with applicable laws and policies.

Conventions: As of 2016, there have been seventeen conventions and major legal instruments that specifically deal with terrorist activities and can also be applied to cyber terrorism.

- 1963: Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft.
- 1970: Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft.
- 1971: Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation.
- 1973: Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons.
- 1979: International Convention against the Taking of Hostages.
- 1980: Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material.
- 1988: Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation.
- 1988: Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf.
- 1988: Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation.
- 1989: Supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation.
- 1991: Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.
- 1997: International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings.
- 1999: International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.
- 2005: Protocol to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation.
- 2005: International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism
- 2010: Protocol Supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft.
- 2010: Convention on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Relating to International Civil Aviation.

Conclusions

The lack of understanding of cyberterrorism can lead to a miscalculation in the use of cyberpower and capabilities to execute or support national strategic objectives. Cyber theorists, national leaders, and security forces must recognize how IW concepts and theories can be applied to cyberspace operations. Their similarities are based on complexity, high-

Table 3. Challenges and Opportunities

CHALLENGES	OPPORTUNITIES
• cyberspace has no jurisdiction and borders (international) • independence of location • difficult attribution	• to build alliances, coalitions, and partnerships abroad with standard legal systems • to construct international bodies with norms--enforcing capabilities
• no clear definition of cyber acts of war	• to formally discuss attack thresholds which meet the criteria for active threat neutralization • to address proportionality principles applicable to active threat neutralization • to consider legal ramifications of an International Cyber Court in the Hague
• means with which to attack are cheap and openly available on the Internet	• technological education • public-private cooperation
• the proliferation of technology useful for attacks happens without any control or restrictions	
• there are no technological, financial, or legal hurdles to overcome offensive cyber proliferation and capabilities	

Author's own elaboration

ly adaptive actors, and an operational environment that is not restricted by traditional geographical boundaries.

Cyberspace operations against state and non-state actors must be conducted in protracted regional and global campaigns, often below the threshold of open warfare. Furthermore, cyber strategies require a whole-of-nation and a whole-of-international-coalition approach to obtain relative superiority in the dynamic cyberspace operational environment. By utilizing the cyberspace Diamond Model to frame cyberspace strategy in all warfare levels, military leaders and planners can translate strategic direction into operational plans for the cyber domain. Cyberspace is a new operating environment that connects countries regardless of their physical boundaries, diplomatic status, or political relationships, and characteristically bypasses traditional communication methods. The future will become more complex, and the variety of formed threats make it difficult to counter these new threats.

Terrorism likewise operates in cyberspace and is expected to increase in volume, ability, and impact. We must devise a system of laws, regulated policies, international agreements, and the unification of a suitable definition of cyberterrorism for adequate identification of its manifestations and the proper regulation of responsibilities in order to contain, defend and prosecute any illegal action in cyberspace. The development of comprehensive and clear policies on cybersecurity and the adoption of adequate legislation supporting these policies would enhance cybersecurity and make it easier to sanction illegal activities. Otherwise, it would be difficult to effectively counteract these new threats since actions taken at the political and legal levels thus far to counter cyberterrorism have remained insufficient.

Interactions and cooperation between public and private actors involved in the security system are also meaningful.

We must never underestimate our adversaries; they have the capability to interrupt cyber network systems. Terrorists are not as outdated in this field as we think. On the contrary, they are aware of the capabilities and advantages it provides. We must take steps further to anticipate future operations, methods, and attacks. Cyberterrorism is giving rise to the most pressing needs for new strategic thinking on preparedness and response. Terrorist threats, because of their ever-changing nature and means, are increasingly dangerous and difficult to oppose. Countering these threats requires deterring and preventing as much as preparing public and private organizations to respond to actual attacks. On February 12, 2013, President Barack Obama issued Executive Order 13636, "Improving Critical Infrastructure Cybersecurity" To "enhance the security and resilience of the Nation's critical infrastructure."[83] ∎

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83 The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Executive Order – Improving Critical Infrastructure Cybersecurity, February 12, 2013. Available at: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/02/12/executive-order-improving-critical-infrastructure-cybersecurity/.

STRESZCZENIE:

Odkąd w 1980 roku Barry Collin po raz pierwszy użył terminu „cyberterroryzm", wielu badaczy podejmowało próby zdefiniowania tego pojęcia oraz ujednolicenia jego znaczenia. Dotychczas nie stworzono precyzyjnej definicji cyberterroryzmu. Jeśli zapytamy osoby korzystające z urządzenia połączonego z Internetem, co to jest cyberterroryzm, zapewne otrzymamy podobne odpowiedzi, chociaż różne grupy ludzi do opisu tego zjawiska użyją różnych słów. Zwrócą uwagę jednak na te same podstawowe elementy.

W artykule nie podano precyzyjnej definicji cyberterroryzmu, lecz skupiono się na kilku związanych z nim konceptach: na wykorzystywaniu przez terrorystów cyberprzestrzeni do zwiększania możliwości oddziaływania na ludzi, na stosowanych przez terrorystów technikach zbierania informacji, a także na przygotowywaniu ataków i planowaniu operacji terrorystycznych oraz sposobach ich przeprowadzania.

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KWARTALNIK BELLONA

Greece as a NATO Member in the Historical Longue Durée

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ABSTRACT:

Greece entered NATO in order to guarantee its existence against the revisionism of the Balkan communist states during the Cold War. The rise of Greek-Turkish rivalry during the 1950s and 1960s and its climax, the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, caused Greece's withdrawal from NATO structure from 1974 to 1980. After the end of the Cold War Greece attempted to form a multilateral approach in its foreign policy and secure its interests in both the Balkan area and the Eastern Mediterranean. The new unstable environment of the early 21st century and Greece's economic crisis complicated Greece's position in NATO. Still the macro-historic parameters of Greece's identity as a sea power confirm its ties to the Atlantic world and predict a possible realignment of Greece in an increasingly unstable European framework that could well see the demise of the European Union.

Introduction

Greece became a NATO member back in 1952 along with Turkey thus creating the Southeastern Flank of the Alliance. Greek membership in NATO was intricately linked to its precarious geostrategic position on the frontline of the Western world. Greece was the only Western country and only NATO member to share land borders with three socialist states, all of which had also in the recent past expressed aggressive stance against Greek sovereignty. Participation of Greece in NATO ensured the strategic interests of Greece, a state weakened by the Greek Civil War (1944–1949), initiated by Soviet-aligned forces and the Communist Eastern Bloc. Greece's participation underwent different periods and was also connected to the country's strategic aspiration in the Eastern Mediterranean. Currently, Greece is increasingly improving its membership prospects in the Alliance in the volatile Eastern Mediterranean.

Literature Overview and Methodology

The question of Greece's membership in NATO structures in the relevant bibliography has not been so far examined according to a macro-historical and geopolitical view that takes evidently into account both the historical framework of the early Cold War period and fundamental principles of Classical Geopolitics. Instead, Greek membership in NATO has been examined only in the context of the initial entry in 1952, or in the context of bilateral Greek-Turkish relations and periodical tensions, but not on a macro-historical and geopolitical context.[1]

We present an analysis of Greece's membership in NATO as a result of its geographical position and historical trajectory. In this context, we use loci of Classical Geopolitics, such as the spatial unities of Heartland and Rimland in Eurasia. We aim to present a thorough introduction to the historical trajectory of Greece as a NATO member.

Our sources include primary documents from Greek archives, official US reports, memoirs and secondary Greek and international bibliography. These documents illustrate the historical trajectory of Greece's entry in NATO and the geostrategic considerations implicated in each historical period.

Entry of Greece in NATO

NATO was founded in 1949 under Anglo-Saxon hegemony so as to maintain the balance of power and to avert the expansion of Soviet influence and a possible Soviet hegemony over the states of Western Europe. NATO at its foundation was a security framework of *sea powers* as opposed to the continental bloc of *land powers* formed by the Soviet Union and its mainly Slavic allies.[2]

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1 Coufoudakis, V. and Valinakis, Y.G., "The Evolution of Greece's Defense Strategy in Relation to NATO Contingencies," *The International Spectator* 22:1 (1987), pp. 30-35; Smith, M., *NATO Enlargement during the Cold War: Strategy and System in the Western Alliance*, New York: Palgrave, 2000, 62-95; Chourchoulis, D. and Kourkouvelas, L., "Greek Perceptions of NATO during the Cold War," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 12:4 (2012), pp. 497-514; Binder, D., "Greece, Turkey and NATO," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 23:2 (Spring 2012), pp. 95-106.

2 Gaddis, J.L., *Strategies of Containment*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 10. See also the seminal X [George F. Kennan], "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* 25:4 (7/1947), pp. 575-576.

Initially the founding states of NATO were actually reluctant to accept Greece and Turkey as new members of the Alliance fearing that the rivalry of the two countries would undermine NATO cohesion or even considering the two states as not belonging to the cultural and geopolitical entity underlying NATO.[3] In May 1951 during the Korean War (1950-1953) the US Department of State formally broached the subject of Greek and Turkish membership in NATO to other NATO members as a possible solution for the successful protection and expansion of the southern flank of the Western defense system against the Soviet Union and its allies. In September 1951 the North Atlantic Council formally extended an invitation to both Greece and Turkey to become members of the North Atlantic Pact, with both countries finally being admitted in February 1952.[4]

The entry of Greece into NATO signified membership in a powerful and extensive military alliance, substituting the former defensive frameworks, i.e. British official protection lasting from 1863 to 1923, the Entente alliance during 1917-1919 and the aid offered by the British Commonwealth during the 1940-1941 against the enemy states of Italy, Albania and Germany. In the early 1950s Greece became a member of the most powerful military alliance in Western history.

Greece as Part of the Rimland

Greece and Turkey belong to the geopolitical unity of *Rimland* and together with Iran they formed the so-called Northern Tier or GTI (Greece, Turkey, Iran) Corridor that effectively blocked the access of the Soviet Union to the warm seas, i.e. the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. *Rimland* is a term of Classical Geopolitics, especially used in the texts of the Anglo-Saxon Geopolitical School. Rimland as a term was coined by Nicholas J. Spykman (1893–1943), Sterling Professor of International Relations (1934–1943) at Yale University.[5] Rimland was an elaboration on the initial theory of the Pivot Area or Heartland developed by the founder of Anglo-Saxon Geopolitical School, Sir Halford John Mackinder (1861–1947).[6] Rimland includes the coastal areas of Eurasia that surround the Heartland, i.e. Europe, the Middle East, the Arab Peninsula, the Indian Peninsula and Southeast Asia.

It is interesting to note that during WWII the influential analyst Walter Lippmann (1889–1974) had already included Greece in the unity of sea powers and Atlantic states in a book examining a proposed post-war US foreign policy. Lippmann used the term *Ocean* for this perceived geostrategic bloc including sea powers and the Atlantic states. *Ocean* as a concept includes the sea powers that project power to the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean, i.e. the US, Great Britain and France. According to Lippmann Greece was the only Balkan state

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3 Haass, R. and Mcdonald, R., "Alliance Problems in the Eastern Mediterranean-Greece, Turkey and Cyprus: Part I," in: O'Neill, R. (ed.), *Prospects for Security in the Mediterranean*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988, pp. 61-89.

4 For documentation on Greek and Turkish membership, see *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, 460 ff.

5 Spykman, N.J., *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, with a New Introduction by Francis P. Sempa, Piscataway, NJ: Transaction, 2007 [1942]; *Geography of the Peace*, New York: Wartime Books-Harcourt, 1944.

6 Mackinder, H.J., "The Geographical Pivot of History," *Geographical Journal* 23 (1904), pp. 421-437.

that could be included in the geopolitical unity of the Ocean due to its geographical location and characteristics. The other Balkan states due to their characteristics and especially because of their continental geographic location were attributed to the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, a land power.[7]

Greece as a Sea Power

According to Classical Geopolitics state actors are distinguished in sea powers and land powers. Historical cases of sea powers are Great Britain and the US, while Germany, the Russian and the Ottoman Empires are land powers. Greece, founded as an independent state in 1830, is a sea power due to its geophysical formation and its geostrategic orientation.

Classical Geopolitics, especially the Anglo-Saxon School of Geopolitics with the American admiral and historian Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914) used the fundamental principles of maritime and sea power.[8] *Maritime power* concerns purely military power, i.e. the military navy and relative installations. *Sea power* has a broader meaning, including not only military maritime power, but also the merchant fleet and the parameters of trade and sea communication.[9]

Greece had remarkable sea power as a combination of its geographical location, the geophysical formation of its territory, the existence of a significant merchant fleet and finally of a respectable war fleet since the early decades of the 20th century. From a geopolitical point of view Greece, being a region with many ports, sea inlets and an extended coastline, is intrinsically linked to those hegemonic powers that are sea powers and able to project their power in the Eastern Mediterranean.[10]

From a macro-historical point of view Greece had joined the sea powers already in the 19th century, when in 1863 it came under British influence that was manifested both in military support and political influence. British influence over Greek policy would last well until after WWII, during the latter phase of the Greek Civil War. The image of Great Britain in Greece would be greatly weakened during the Cyprus crisis in the 1950s due to the British refusal to allow self-determination for the Greek population of Cyprus.

Soviet Undermining of the Rimland

Greece along with Turkey and Iran formed in US strategic considerations the so-called GTI (Greece-Turkey-Iran) Corridor, a part of the Northern Tier, the geophysical formation that according to the terminology of Classical Geopolitics belongs to the Rimland. During the initial phase of the Cold War the Soviet Union attempted to undermine the strategic cohesion of the GTI Corridor projecting its power in all three countries during the years 1946–1949: in Greece

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7   Lippmann, W., *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*, Boston: Little & Brown, 1943.

8   Mahan, A.Th., *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 1660-1783, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1890.

9   Iliopoulos, I., "Strategy and Geopolitics of Sea Power throughout History," *Baltic Security and Defence Review* 11:2 (2009), pp. 5-20.

10 Kotoulas, I.E., "Greek Strategy in the Aegean Sea during the Ottoman Period and World War I," in: Çomak, H., Şeker, B.Ş. and Ioannidis, D. (eds), *Ege Jeopolitiği*, Vol. I, Ankara: Nobel, 2020, pp. 765-771.

the Eastern Bloc supported logistically and diplomatically the communist insurgents during the Greek Civil War (1946–1949); in Turkey the Soviets requested joint control of the Black Sea Straits and threatened to invade in 1946 and in Iran the Soviets backed the ethnic revolts of the Kurdish and Azeri populations against the central Iranian government in an attempt to draw Iran to their sphere of influence and obtain access to the strategically situated Persian Gulf.[11]

Western Reevaluation of Greece's Strategic Importance

The Western perception of Soviet revisionism concerning the post-war world was greatly strengthened during the Korean War (1950–1953). The conflict in Korea was widely regarded to be a clear manifestation of Soviet revisionism along the whole stretch of the Rimland, from Eastern Asia to non-communist Europe. In this context Greece's strategic importance increased, thus preparing Greece's entry into the NATO structure.

NSC 103/1, a memorandum by the US National Security Council issued in February 1951 ('The Position of the United States with Respect to Greece') highlighted the strategic importance of Greece for US and Western interests: "1. It continues to be in the security interest of the United States that Greece not fall under communist domination. a. Greece occupies an important strategic position which, in the hands of an enemy, would be a threat to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Suez, Turkey and the Turkish Straits. Communist domination of Greece would serve as a springboard for communist penetration, political and military, into the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East area. b. Communist domination of Greece would damage U.S. prestige and weaken the will to resist in other countries threatened with communist domination. c. Communist domination of Greece could only be viewed as one in a series of military and political consequences which would gravely threaten the security of the United States."[12]

Declaration of the US Truman Doctrine

Joseph Marion Jones (1908–1990), a high-ranking official of the US Department of State and a member of an advisory committee of American President (1945–1953) Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) commented on the strategic value of Greece for American strategic planning during the post-war period. Jones emphasized the historic continuity between the expansionist policy of the Tsarist Russian Empire and the expansionism of the Soviet Union adopting a macro-historical pattern of longue durée concerning Russian/Soviet foreign policy objectives. He observed that the Soviet Union attempted to undermine the averting bloc of GTI and thereby aspired to project its power and increase its influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean.[13]

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11 Marantzides, N. and Tsivos, K., *O ellinikos emfylios kai to diethnes komounistiko systima* [=The Greek Civil War and the International Communist System], Athens: Alexandreia, 2012; Knight, J., "American Statecraft and the 1946 Black Sea Straits Controversy," *Political Science Quarterly* 90:3 (1975), pp. 451-475.

12 *Foreign Relations of the United States 1951, The Near East and Africa, Vol. V, Document 212, NSC 103/1*, Washington DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1982 [https://goo.gl/vhsgdH].

13 Jones, J.M., *The Fifteen Weeks: February 21-June 5, 1947*, New York: Viking Press, 1955, p. 11.

The Truman Doctrine, declared on 12th March 1947 during the most intense phase of the Greek Civil War, had already signified the substitution of British presence by the American one. The Truman Doctrine had also confirmed American commitment to provide financial and technical aid to Greece and Turkey, both countries of the Rimland, so as to effectively face the armed opposition of Communist militias.[14] According to Truman the US would support Greece and Turkey with military and economic assistance, as these represented "free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures".[15] The Marshall Plan that followed that declaration led to the granting of 1 billion US dollars to Greece from 1948 till 1952 (in comparison Turkey received about 500 million US dollars).[16]

Greece as a NATO Frontline State

Greek commitment to its newly created alliance with the US and its willingness to intensify its ties with the hegemonic American factor manifested itself in contributing armed forces to the Korean War, in the approval of installation of US bases in Greece (1953) and in accepting the hosting of American nuclear missiles (1960).[17] In the framework of the Cold War Greece actually did not favor détente, because Greek officials were afraid that US-Soviet rapprochement would reduce Greece's strategic value as a frontline state. Thus, Greece would be pressed to compromise in the issues of Northern Epirus (claimed by Greece since 1946) –a dispute with a communist state- and Cyprus –a dispute with another NATO member, i.e. Turkey. On this matter Greece shared common views with Western Germany often invoking the latter as a similar case, as both countries were frontline states of the Western republican bloc and subject to military territorial revisionism by the Eastern Bloc communist countries.

The basic NATO doctrine during the early phase of the Cold War (1949–1962) was based on the concept of *massive retaliation*. Massive retaliation comprised the military use by a state or an alliance of states of a force disproportionate to the size of the initial attack from an external aggressor. In this way massive retaliation which had to be publicly acknowledged so as to have effect, would deter a possible external aggressor from initially attacking at all. The doctrine proved to be successful for a period, as the countries of the Eastern Bloc did not possess the ability to inflict a second strike during the 1950s. Considering Greece as a NATO member the doctrine meant that any attack on Greek borders would be considered as a casus belli for the NATO alliance.[18]

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14 Wittner, L.S., "The Truman Doctrine and the Defense of Freedom," *Diplomatic History* 4:2 (Spring 1980), pp. 161-187.

15 Truman, H.S., US President, "Address to Joint Session of Congress," March 12, 1947, Truman Library, Independence, MO, avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp/.

16 Estimates vary on the size of the financial aid offered to Greece according to the relevant methodology applied. See Stefanidis, I., *Asymmetroi etairoi: Oi Inomenes Politeies kai i Ellada ston Psychro Polemo, 1953-1961* [=Asymmetrical Partners: The US and Greece during the Cold War, 1953-1961], Athens: Patakis, 2010, pp. 254-255.

17 GES/DIS (ed.), *To Ekstrateftikon Soma Ellados eis Korean 1950-1955* [=The Greek Expeditionary Force in Korea, 1950-1955], Athens 1977.

18 Wells, S.F., Jr., "The Origins of Massive Retaliation," *Political Science Quarterly* 96:1 (Spring 1981), pp. 31-52.

Specifics of Greek Strategy inside NATO Structures

After the accession to NATO the Greek Army was placed under the jurisdiction of the Naples Headquarters, which caused some reaction by Greece given the fact that the memories of the 1940 war between Greece and invading Italy were still alive. The Greek Navy in turn came under the jurisdiction of the British Commander-in-Chief of the allied naval forces in the Mediterranean (1952–1955) Admiral Lord Mountbatten (1900–1979).[19] Great Britain still attempted to maintain its influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Greek strategy was influenced by the variables of geography, political unrest in Greece caused to some extent by the banned (since 1947) Communist Party and the inclusion in the NATO structure. Entry into NATO structure did not alter the fact that the Greek armed forces could not effectively fend off a possible attack by the main geopolitical rival of Greece until 1955, i.e. Bulgaria, in the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace.[20] According to the Greek Prime Minister (1952–1955) Alexandros Papagos (1883–1955), Bulgaria in 1953 enjoyed a considerable numerical advantage over Greece concerning the relevant size of their armed personnel. Bulgaria was estimated to have 235,000 men under arms in comparison to 143,000 men which comprised the overall strength of the Greek Army.[21] Moreover the Greek Army was not appropriately equipped to confront a possible Bulgarian attack in terms of tanks and artillery and faced serious logistical problems due to spatial fragmentation in its northern borders.

Greece was still dependent on foreign military aid in order to present a reliable fighting force that could also act as both a containing and an averting factor considering its northern Communist neighbors.[22] Greece was, as mentioned above, a frontline state and considered an immediate target of possible aggression by the Eastern Bloc. In the aftermath of the Korean War Greece feared that it would become a target of an attack by a Communist country, mainly Bulgaria, or in the worst-case scenario by a combination of Communist countries, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The geographical formation of the borders with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia offered no advantage to Greece as the latter lacked strategic depth so as to develop its defending forces or even plan a counter-attack (as was the case in the Greek-Albanian border where Greek forces had successfully counterattacked in 1940).

Rising Tensions due to Greek-Turkish Rivalry

Considering Greek-Turkish relations in the context of the early phase of the Cold War it should be noted that until 1954, when Greece actively sought to promote Enosis (Union) of Cyprus with Greece, Turkey was often viewed as a potential ally against an attack by the Eastern Bloc countries. Coordination of Greek and Turkish armed forces had appeared as

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19 Hellenic Army General Staff/Army History Directorate (ed.), *A History of the Hellenic Army, 1821-1997,* Athens 1999.

20 Chourchoulis, D., "A Nominal Defence?: NATO Threat Perception and Responses in the Balkan Area, 1951-1967," *Cold War History* 12:4 (2012), pp. 637-657.

21 Considering the other neighboring states, Albania was estimated to have 45,000 men under arms, Yugoslavia 450,000 and Turkey, a theoretical ally of Greece, 350,000 men [Papagos, speech in Parliament, March 19, 1953, *Greek Parliamentary Records,* period C, synod A, pp. 593-594].

22 NAC memoranda, "Second Report on the Annual Review Part I," *NATO Archives*, CM (53) p. 35, April 15, 1954; Annual Review 1953: Country Chapter on Greece, CM (53) p. 150, Part III, November 24, 1953.

a prospect in the 1930s, especially after the two countries had signed the 1933 Treaty that guaranteed the common border on Thrace and in 1934 the Balkan Pact.[23] The prospect of Greek-Turkish cooperation in the form of a bilateral regional alliance that would also enjoy the potential support of the Western powers was raised in the early years of the Cold War, as the 1933 Treaty between Greece and Turkey was still valid. Relevant talks and the inclusion of Yugoslavia led to the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact of 1953 between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia.[24]

This rapprochement changed dramatically in 1955 with the drastic deterioration of Greek-Turkish relations due to the unionist movement in Cyprus and the pogrom inflicted by the Turkish government and mob against the Greeks of Constantinople in September. Greek strategic priorities shifted from the Balkans to the Eastern Mediterranean. Greece sought to guarantee the Greek population of Cyprus and fulfill the prospect of national unification which was seen as incomplete and pending; after the war Greece had received only the Dodecanese Islands from Italy as a compensation, while Northern Epirus remained under Albanian control. Greek-Turkish tension intensified even after the declaration of Cyprus independence in 1959, especially during the intercommunal clashes of 1963 and 1964 in Cyprus. Greece was evidently disappointed in NATO's neutrality in the dispute with Turkey and its apathy considering the Turkish pogrom of 1955 and subsequent administrative persecutions against the Greeks of Constantinople.[25] Still, Greek-Turkish cooperation was inevitable in the NATO security framework. Such cooperation was manifested in various military operations conducted in the NATO context, such as Exercise Longstep (November 1952) that involved a large-scale amphibious assault along Turkey's western coast and Operation Deep Water (September 1957), a simulation of NATO forces protecting the bottleneck of Dardanelles from a Soviet invasion thus averting the Soviet Black Sea Fleet from entering the Mediterranean Sea.[26]

Greece's Foreign Policy in the 1970s

Greece's strategic value for NATO was increased after 1967 due to the Six-Day Arab-Israeli War (5–10 June 1967) and the increased presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean during the early 1970s (in 1971 the Soviet Fleet counted 19,000 days of presence which rose to 20,300 in 1973). In August 1972 the American President (1969–1974) Richard Nixon (1913–1994) stated that there could not be an effective policy of aid to Israel without strategic help towards the adjacent countries of Greece and Turkey. In January 1973 Greece and the US signed a bilateral agreement which provided permanent port facilities in Elefsis for the Sixth US Fleet. In October 1973, during the Yom Kippur War between a coalition of Arab

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23 Papagos, A., *O Polemos tis Hellados, 1940-1941* [The War of Greece, 1940-1941], Athens: Flloi tou Vivliou, 1945, pp. 26-42.

24 Stone, D.R., "The Balkan Pact and American Policy," *East European Quarterly* XXVIII:3 (9/1994), pp. 393-407.

25 Holland, R., "NATO and the Struggle for Cyprus," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 13:1 (5/1995), pp. 33-61; Chourchoulis, D. and Kourkouvelas, L., "Greek Perceptions of NATO during the Cold War," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 12:4 (2012), pp. 497-514.

26 "A Big Step Forward: Operation Longstep," *All Hands* 1/1953; "NATO Autumn N.A.T.O. Exercises," *Naval Review* XLVI: 2 (4/1958), p. 232. For a Soviet view see Filtinshky, S., "NATO Autumn Manoeuvres," *International Affairs* 11:3 (1957), pp. 96-97.

states and Israel, Greece, as well as other NATO members, refused to allow the use of US or NATO military bases to aid Israel.[27]

The growing autonomy of Greek foreign policy during 1973 and 1974 caused concern in both the US and NATO officials. Declassified talks between the US Ambassador (1969–1974) Henry Tasca (1912–1979) and Secretary of State (1973–1977) Henry Kissinger (b. 1923) show that in March 1974 the American side feared a possible strategic reorientation of Greece under the military regime towards France or even the Qaddafist Libya. Greece enjoyed favorable relations with Libya, even military ones, as Greek military personnel had trained the Libyan air force and Libyan navy.[28]

Withdrawal of Greece from the Military Wing of NATO (1974–1980)

After the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in July 1974 Greece under the conservative government (1974–1980) of Konstantinos Karamanlis (1907–1998) withdrew its forces from NATO's military command structure in August 1974. The inactivity of NATO in the matter of the Turkish invasion greatly undermined Greece's confidence in the Alliance.[29] Greece's intentions were to highlight the strategic importance of the country for the cohesion of the NATO alliance in the South-Eastern Mediterranean. Greece's withdrawal would soon prove to be a tactical error, as the political and military leadership had overestimated the strategic damage that would be inflicted on the South-Eastern flank of NATO from Greece's absence and the pressures that would be exerted over Turkey to withdraw its occupying forces from the northern part of Cyprus.[30]

US officials themselves prepared an analytical study that attempted to assess the strategic significance of continued Greek and Turkish support of NATO and US military policy in the Eastern Mediterranean after the 1974 Turkish invasion in Cyprus. The study evaluated the relative benefits gained by mutual defense cooperation, including deterrence of undue Soviet influence in the Mediterranean Sea and the Middle East. The study concluded that continued Greek withdrawal from NATO structure would mean that the Sixth Fleet would face logistical problems, that Turkey would be isolated from Italy with a distance of 700 miles, that the Soviet Fleet would move easily into the Eastern Mediterranean and that the US would face problems

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27 Still we should note that European US allies refused to allow re-supply aircraft to land in their territories or even overfly them; only the Netherlands and Portugal allowed the use of their territories. The US actually used the Lajes base in the Azores Islands during Operation Nickel Grass (14 October – 14 November 1973). See W.J. Boyne, W.J., "Nickel Grass," *Air Force Magazine*, 12/1998, pp. 54-59.

28 Minutes of Secretary of State Kissinger's Regional Staff Meeting, Washington, March 20, 1974, 3:18–3:54 p.m. [http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v30/d12]. Such fears were not totally ungrounded. In July 1974 Libya repeatedly urged Greece to leave NATO and join a Mediterranean non-aligned security framework, a prospect supported by some younger officers surrounding the Brigadier General Dimitrios Ioannides (1923–2010). See the telegram dated July 21, 1974 from the US Embassy in London to US Secretary of State [http://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1974LONDON09176_b.html].

29 Manousakis, G.M., "Der Aus- und Wiedereintritt Griechenlands in die militärische Integration der NATO," *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung* 2/1981, pp. 19-32.

30 Rizas, S., "Managing a Conflict between Allies: United States Policy towards Greece and Turkey in Relation to the Aegean Dispute, 1974-76," *Cold War History* 9:3 (2009), pp. 367-387.

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in supporting both Israel and pro-Western North African states. Still, according to the report Greece would imperil its own security being in an exposed frontier position without NATO support.[31]

During the period from 1974 till 1980 Greece retained its links with NATO; still it reoriented itself decisively towards the expanding European Community, finally achieving European Community membership in 1981.[32] Greek military forces had already been readmitted in NATO command structure in October 1980, a period of great upheaval that followed the 1979 Islamist revolution in Iran. The Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in December 1979 and the elimination of Iran from the GTI Corridor increased the strategic importance of both Greece and Turkey, especially of the latter. Soviet and Islamist pressure on the Rimland was mounting. Greece failed to grasp this chance, as Greek officials succumbed to the dominant internal Anti-American political atmosphere. In 1978 and again in 1979 Greek authorities refused to consent to the installation of additional US military bases or even US personnel that would be relocated from collapsing Iran to Greece. Trapped in an ambivalent ideological and political milieu Greece failed to grasp the rising opportunities; Turkey instead succeeded in the 1980s in becoming an indispensable ally for US and NATO interests due to the crisis in Iran and Afghanistan.

Greek Ambivalent Stance during the 1980s

During the 1980s Greece under the socialist government (1981–1989) of Andreas Papandreou (1919–1996) was often viewed by some NATO members as a potentially destabilizing factor for the coherence of NATO; the Greek government was seen as an unpredictable and often unstable actor that undermined the coherence of the alliance. Greece distanced itself from NATO positions and repeatedly seemed to offer diplomatic support to the Soviet Union, for instance concerning the issue of the stationing of Warsaw Pact SS-20 medium range missiles in Eastern Europe, and also to its Arab state allies and non-state actors, especially the PLO.[33]

Greece's Position in NATO after the Cold War

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the outbreak of the Yugoslav Civil War (1991–1995) and the subsequent upheaval in the Balkans provided Greece with a large strategic advantage. Greece's relative power – in comparison to its Balkan neighbors- grew exponentially, as Greece was both a NATO and an EU member featuring a stable environment and a respectable economic development. Still in the post-Cold War environment regional politics took on

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31 *Greece and Turkey: Some Military Implications Related to NATO and the Middle East: Prepared for the Special Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs*, Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975.

32 Rizas, S., "Atlantism and Europeanism in Greek Foreign and Security Policy in the 1970s," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 8:1 (2008), pp. 51-66.

33 Coufoudakis, V. and Valinakis, Y.G., "The Evolution of Greece's Defense Strategy in Relation to NATO Contingencies," *The International Spectator* 22:1 (1987), pp. 30-35; Couloumbis, Th.A., "PASOK's Foreign Policies, 1981-89: Continuity or Change?," in Clogg, R. (ed.) *Greece, 1981-89: The Populist Decade*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993, pp. 113-130.

far greater importance than before, as the international system moved decisively from a bipolar structure to a rising multi-polar form. The break-up of Yugoslavia further removed a powerful state actor from Greece's northern borders which continued to pose security challenges to Greece especially with its claims for the existence of a so-called Macedonian minority in Greece.

Dispute with FYROM

The Macedonian Question reemerged in the 1990s with the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the independence of FYROM (official name, 1991–2019, currently North Macedonia). FYROM used an expansionist agenda against Greece causing considerable tension between the two countries, which culminated in the 1994 trade embargo imposed by Greece. FYROM being a landlocked state largely dependent on the port of Salonica agreed to accept some of the terms proposed by the Greek side, for example changing its national symbols.[34]

Bilateral relation between Greece and FYROM were normalized in 1995, still Greece continued to avert the entry of FYROM into NATO for a period. In 2008 at the 20th NATO Summit in Bucharest NATO decided not to invite FYROM to become a member after considerable pressure exerted by the Greek government. After the ratification of the Prespes Agreement by the Greek Parliament in January 2019, member-states of NATO signed the Accession Protocol for FYROM.[35] On the other hand, Greece had accepted Albania's entry in NATO in April 2009 in the hope of increasing its influence in a neighboring state which holds a considerable Greek minority and has developed economic ties with Greece.

Greek and Turkish Attitudes as NATO Members

Considering the obligations that arose from Greece's participation in NATO it is interesting to note that Greece's often autonomous role resembles the stance adopted by its main geopolitical rival and co-member in NATO, Turkey. Both countries successfully avoided engagement in the bombing attacks undertaken by NATO against Serbian armed forces in Bosnia in 1995 (Operation Deliberate Force), although for different reasons, and distanced themselves to a degree from NATO interventions in Iraq in 1990, in Afghanistan in 2001 and again in Libya in 2011.[36]

Regarding Afghanistan Greece participated since 2002 in the international coalition against the Taliban regime dispatching 175 troops to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The Greek troops did not engage in combats with the Islamist Taliban forces but undertook mainly humanitarian duties. During the intervention in Libya in March 2011 Greece limited itself to allow use of its air space to NATO aircrafts, as well as free deployment of ships by the US Navy from its Souda Bay base in Crete. Still, in the general framework of NATO structure

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34 Syrigos, A.M., "Landlocked States and Access to the Sea: The Greek Blockade of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia," *Revue hellénique du droit international* 49 (1996), pp. 107-126.

35 "NATO Allies sign Accession Protocol for the future Republic of North Macedonia," https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_163078.htm/.

36 Binder, D., "Greece, Turkey and NATO," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 23:2 (Spring 2012), pp. 95-106.

the rivalry between Greece and Turkey often led to intra-alliance functional problems that required intervention by the Secretary General.[37]

Greece as a NATO Member in the Early 21st Century

The first decade of the 21st century with its dramatic reemergence of Islamist terrorism, massive migration flows had, as a supra-systemic factor, led to significant modification of Greece's perception in international relations. Greece has adopted a more pragmatic foreign policy, attempting to normalize relations in the Balkan region, to maintain a strategic balance with Turkey and to regain influence in the Mediterranean Sea. The most notable development has been the strengthening of Greece's presence in the greater region of South-East Mediterranean, wherefrom Greece had retreated since 1974.

Strengthening of Greek-Israeli economic and diplomatic partnership was initiated in 2009 with the support of the US and carried on by later governments.[38] The aggressive stance of the Turkish state actor has led to a counter-balance coalition between the state actors of Greece, Cyprus and Egypt, which in November 2014 ratified a joint tripartite treaty advancing a mutually recognized definition of their relevant EEZs in the Eastern Mediterranean, with Turkey being received as the revisionist force.[39] Greece is the only NATO member in the region that can both contribute to security of Israel and prove to be a trustworthy interlocutor to Islamic countries, as Turkey's foreign overambitious foreign policy has led to deterioration of its relations with all neighboring and adjacent countries (Syria, Iraq, Iran and Egypt). Turkey has steadily supported Islamist actors in Syria, Iraq and Egypt, the most notable among themselves being the Islamic State and Muslim Brotherhood, thus undermining NATO objectives in the Middle East.

The Migration Crisis and Greece's Response

During the 2015 migration crisis Greece experienced massive migration flows, as 1.8 million detections of illegal entries associated with approximately one million individuals were manifested along the external borders of the European Union.[40] Considerable increases in migration flows resulted in massive waves of migrants entering Europe through the Greek territory, especially in the summer months.[41] In February 2016, as the migration crisis had reached its climax, NATO decided to join international efforts, so as to deal with the ongoing crisis. After an official request submitted by Germany, Greece and Turkey, NATO deployed a maritime force (Standing NATO Maritime Group 2, SNMG2) led by a German flag-

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37 "Rasmussen Tells Turkey, Greece to Resolve Differences," NATO Source, August 28, 2009, www.natosource.com/2009/08/rasmussen-tells-turkey-greece-to.html/.

38 Mazis, I.Th., *Dissertationes academicae geopoliticae (1983-2016)*, Athens: Papazissi, 2016, pp. 917-932.

39 Hellenic Republic/Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Egypt-Greece-Cyprus Trilateral Summit Cairo Declaration," http://goo.gl/dmYxQc [accessed: 30.7.2016].

40 Frontex (ed.), *Annual Risk Analysis 2016*, Warsaw 2016, p. 17 (Table 1).

41 Kotoulas, I.E., "Macro-historical Causes of Modern Mass Migration," Civitas Gentium 7:2 (12/2019), pp. 113-123.

ship in the Aegean Sea in a coordinated effort to stem illegal trafficking and illegal migration in the Aegean Sea through the use of intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance operations.[42] NATO presence in the Aegean Sea, in the territorial waters of Greece and Turkey, was fulfilled in cooperation with Frontex, the European Union's border management agency. NATO ships are larger and better equipped in comparison to Frontex vessels. Turkey attempted to avert deployment of NATO ships in the region of the Dodecanese Islands claiming that they should be totally demilitarized.

On an operational level NATO presence in the Aegean Sea was limited and did not accomplish its full potential regarding the containment of migration flows; the initial plans to examine asylum applications on board of the ships, combined with a direct return of incoming migrants to Turkey and their countries of origin were not fulfilled. Thus, NATO missed the chance to contribute substantially towards a framework of controlling migration flows towards mainland Greece and the rest of the European Union.

Prospects for Enhancement of Greece's Position in NATO

In the contexts of repeated migration flows NATO could employ its fleet in cooperation with Egypt and Israel, in order to create a stable environment in the whole area of the Eastern Mediterranean thereby securing the fundamental interests of its member-states. Crete, an island strategically situated close to the European mainland and in vicinity with North Africa could serve as enhanced base in the port of Suda in western Crete or even an additional airfield for NATO aircraft operating in the Eastern Mediterranean. US Suda Base could be further upgraded in the context of the new multiple challenges arising in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East, North Africa and the Sahel region. Greece needs to upgrade its commitment to NATO with the possible acceptance of forces currently removed from their posts and missions in Germany and Norway. Greece could be an important hub for maritime operations of NATO and deployment of its marines, in the same way that Poland is actively proving to be a trustworthy forward land base of NATO forces in the Baltic Sea and the greater Eastern Europe strategic environment.

Conclusions

Greece as a NATO member has tried to balance between often competing geopolitical realities that emanate from its geographical location, its historical background and its geopolitical rivalries with other state actors in the region of the Balkan Peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean, mainly Turkey. Greece's entry into NATO in 1952 marked its inclusion in a powerful military alliance thus guaranteeing the country's northern borders from any revisionist agendas of the Communist Balkan states, mainly Bulgaria which had occupied Greek territory twice in the first half of the 20th century. It also erased a long period of uncertainties concerning Greece's international relations that had begun in 1923 after the gradual disintegration of the power system in the interwar period. The end of the Cold War in 1991 marked a gradual reorientation of Greece's foreign policy to a multilateral approach that aimed to balance between Greece's

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42 NATO, "Assistance for the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the Aegean Sea," http://goo.gl/3GCYAq [accessed: 30.7.2016].

entanglement in the Balkan region –where considerable tensions with Albania and FYROM emerged- and the diachronic rivalry with Turkey.

The new geopolitical environment in the early 21st century, characterized by the rise of Islamist terrorism and a new unstable Middle East, as well as Greece's acute economic crisis, initially perplexed Greece's position in supra-national entities, as the EU, but not in NATO. Still, some patterns are clearly visible: Greece has maintained to keep its place in the Euro zone and the European Union, while it has reinforced its ties with other states of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Egypt and Israel. Greece as a NATO member along with Egypt and Israel as external actors could form a network of cooperating states in the Eastern Mediterranean that could ensure stability and management of migration flows towards Europe.

In overall Greece's position is a delicate one but being a country with a considerable presence in the Mediterranean Sea Greece is connected from a geostrategic point of view to the sea powers of the Western world, i.e. Great Britain and the US. It is in this context that we should view a possible future realignment and repositioning of Greece in an increasingly fragile European Union, as a stable outpost of oceanic influence. ∎

STRESZCZENIE:

Członkostwo Grecji w NATO miało zagwarantować istnienie tego państwa w sytuacji rewizjonizmu bałkańskich państw komunistycznych w okresie zimnej wojny. Grecko-turecka rywalizacja w latach pięćdziesiątych i sześćdziesiątych, której apogeum była turecka inwazja na Cypr w 1974 roku, doprowadziła jednak do wycofania się Grecji ze struktur NATO (1974–1980). Po zakończeniu zimnej wojny Grecy prowadzili politykę zagraniczną w taki sposób, by zabezpieczyć swoje interesy na wielu płaszczyznach, zarówno na Bałkanach, jak i we wschodnim rejonie Morza Śródziemnego.

Niestabilna sytuacja na początku XXI wieku oraz kryzys ekonomiczny w Grecji skomplikowały pozycję tego państwa w NATO. Ale makrohistoryczne cechy tożsamości Grecji jako potęgi morskiej nadal stanowią potwierdzenie jej związku z rejonem Oceanu Atlantyckiego. Dają też nadzieję na przywrócenie pozycji Grecji w Europie, która strukturalnie coraz bardziej się zmienia i która równie dobrze może doświadczyć upadku Unii Europejskiej.

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KWARTALNIK BELLONA

The Place of the 1920 Campaign in the History of Wars

BrigGen Marian Kukiel

The book by Marshall Józef Piłsudski entitled *1920* ends with an ironical allusion to those many who stated that although we won the war, it was only because it was not an important war. Some half or a quarter war, some kind of childish brawl or fight for which a great theory of war contemptuously closes its door. What was the 1920 campaign: a war or a fight then? Marshall Józef Piłsudski answers this question jokingly: "Let it be a fight as no method or doctrine can be found." Therefore, although sarcastically put by the victorious Commander-in-Chief of the won 1920 campaign, every a thoughtful Polish officer must consider the question of the place of this campaign in the history of wars. One needs to realize the relation of this campaign to the previous wars, not only to understand better its course but also to find a basis for speculations; a possible future war with the same enemy at the same operational theatre will certainly not bring the same incidents; both opponents will be quantitatively and qualitatively different; it will, however, have some common features resulting from the inner consistency of things and events – Napoleonian *nature des choses*.

As a starting point, one can accept a certain contradiction proven by the Marshall between the course of this war and the 1914 world war on the Eastern front, a war of masses filling up the space and creating new uninterrupted lines of fortifications running for thousands of kilometers. Severe criticism with a sarcastic tone included in the work of Piłsudski showed fatal consequences of copying the tactical and operational procedures of the 1916 war to the 1920 campaign. This reasoning will definitely be a breakthrough in our understanding of war. From the legacy of the world war, apart from its first neglected phases, one is allowed to use only one: the art of combat, being aware that it needs to be adjusted to the particular conditions of our war (*cas particuliers*). However, all our army went to this war remembering only the final phases of the world war, denying all previous experiences apart from 1915-1918, which were habits rather than experience; denying eternal laws of war for which trenches became the graves.

(I ventured to write about it in Bellona in 1920[1]). I am glad today that I found deductions of my Commander-in-Chief conforming to my beliefs. I am not surprised to find out that our Commander-in-Chief is not discussing the question whether our 1920 war was a great war such as many wars before 1914. I am not surprised since for all our 1920 army, the only great war was the world war.

Yet, as there are people who believe that to such a war as our 1920 campaign a great theory of war contemptuously closes its door, I think of Willisen's work entitled *Theorie des grossen Krieges*, which is based on analyzing the previous Polish-Russian War of 1831. I wish to compare the greatness of both these wars, the one which was an inspiring source for the theory of world wars and the one not included in the notion of great war.

Let us look at the numbers of 1920 campaign. On the Russian side, the numbers of the Western Front (our Northeast Front) are 150,000–220,000 people of the real combat force. Our forces at the same theatre of warfare: 120,000–180,000. After adding the Southern Front, we will amount to 200,000–300,000 Russian and 200,000–220,000 Polish soldiers.

Let us confront these numbers with the 1831 war. On the Russian side, on the Polish theatre of war, including Lithuania, there were 120,000–150,000 people, which does not necessarily mean fighting men. On the Polish side, there were 60,000–100,000 people, which means army on the front (excluding factories, police forces, etc.). However, again it is not a military force, but the total number of people supporting army groups. It is therefore difficult to compare the numbers of the 1831 war and the 1920 war. We will not be far from the truth to risk the suggestion that in 1920 the Russians had two and a half times larger forces and the Polish three times larger forces than they had used in 1831. Even if we take into consideration not only the force number of soldiers, but also the territory, we will have on the front north of the Prypeć River itself the forces taking part in the Warsaw campaign twice as many in the Russian army and two and a half times larger in the Polish army, more than all the forces of Dybicz and Skrzynecki in their full expansion. The 1920 war was therefore a very big war compared to the previous Polish war even if we take the minimum calculations of the forces of Piłsudski and Tukhachevsky.

Let us move back from the 1831 war, the war of epigones of Napoleonian era, to the classic campaigns of the greatest master of the art of war. It will turn out that in 1796 Napoleon had less considerable military forces than ours in 1918; in 1800, he used similar forces to ours in 1919; in the campaigns of 1805, 1806 and 1807, the number of forces were similar to ours in 1920; in the campaigns of 1809 the forces of the Napoleon army equaled these used by us and the Soviets; in the 1812 campaign, the Great Army had greater forces, though not much greater, as on the large military front (extending from Wołyń to Tylża), it had almost 450,000 people, one third of whom were not capable of fighting. However, it is worth noticing that these forces were considered too massive, too heavy, as General Bonnal[2] accused Napoleon of surrendering himself to "the insanity of numbers," sacrificing the quality, efficiency and mobility of his army. In a lost French

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1   Bellona, Vol. I, 1921. By the way, the Soviets found my deductions correct, accusing them only of not being Marxist enough, which I humbly accept.

2   La manoeuvre de Vilna

campaign in 1814, Napoleon's forces were a lot less considerable than ours in 1920, while fighting against the army as large as the one of Tukhachevsky. In the warfare and battles of these campaigns, fought with small military forces – in 1796, 1805, 1806, 1814, the modern science on the great war was born. It inspired Jomini and Clausewitz, the strategic theories of old Moltke were based on them; the French returned to them in 1871 to learn the lesson, though too late; captain Gilbert proclaimed their renewal; LtCol Foch tried to learn the secrets of the rules of the art of war and the methods of directing masses during the war; General Bonnal analyzed them skeptically and critically, and Colin and Camon watched their procedures carefully.[3]

I have discussed the 1831 war. I omit further wars, 1849, 1854-5, 1859, the size of which was not smaller. The 1866 and 1870 military campaigns of Moltke did not introduce larger forces than those of Napoleon in 1812 and 1813; the numbers were smaller. The number of armed forces in the Russian-Japanese War were not exceeding ours and the Russian forces in 1920. Where are those 'great wars' then before the world war, facing which our 1918–1920 war would become merely 'a fight' or 'a brawl'? It is different from other wars – except the Napoleonian war in 1812 – because of the large territory which constituted the theatre of war; the territory where we managed to use less considerable forces than Napoleon's, but with stronger artillery, weaker cavalry, less maneuverable, yet with a greater ability to hold the ground.

However, here I enter a new domain: can we compare today's wars with the wars of Napoleon or of his epigones? Has not the development of weaponry, means of communication gone so far and transformed a war so much that the connection between the old and new times was broken completely? So much that there is nothing common between our warfare and the warfare of the Napoleonian and post-Napoleonian era, except for some general ideas, some spiritual bonds and similar state of mind of the commanders and soldiers. Recently, this question was addressed in "Revue Militaire Francais" (1924) by General Camon, the author of the great work on the Napoleonian war, under the title which shows a fighting character of the article: "Can studying Napoleonian wars be still useful?". In 1918 Marshall Foch published his both works[4] based on the analysis of the military campaigns of Napoleon and Moltke, juxtaposing Moltke's strategy and tactics with Napoleon's strategy and tactics. He remarked in the preface that the image of the war changed but its rules did not. Still, he wrote his preface in the full course of 'the great battle of France.'

Both Foch's works oppose Moltke's strategic procedures, dominating in all the armies before the world war and in the war itself, to immortal Napoleonian strategy. With this attitude, the post-war French military literature deals with the strategy of Moltke's epigones. General Camon against Moltke the Younger[5], General Buat against Ludendorff[6], General Dupont against Oberste Heeresteilung in 1914[7] (so again with old Moltke's

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3   Colin. W. *The Transformations of War*, published in Polish and Camon, *Systeme de guerre de Napoleon*, translated.

4   *Des principles de la guerre* (*The Principles of War*) and *De la conduite de la guerre: La manoeuvre pour la bataille.*

5   *The German War Plan* and *Breaking the German War Plan*, published in Polish.

6   *Ludendorff* and *Ludendorff et Hindenburg strateges*

7   *La haut commandement allemande 1914*

operational system), that spiritual fight with the Germans, prolonging the military fight, pervaded by the spirit of the Napoleonian strategy, creates somehow the further chapters of Foch's work on leading the war. It is hard to find a more vivid example of vitality of Napoleonian strategy today, than the plans of Napoleonian campaigns of 1805 and 1812 compared with Schlieffen's plans by Camon, coinciding with each other completely except for the names and geographical features. What a first-hand occurrence of deleting the separation between the Napoleonian past and the world war in the field of strategy! Let us come back to the work of Foch, the first one, already translated into our language and available to every our military man.

When giving the examples of Carnot and Bonaparte, he develops the principle of economy of force, another example arises of 1796 military campaign, which was already presented in Bellona in an excellent article of Major Zawadzki: Tannenberg.[8] As for Tannenberg, it is impossible not to mention the greatest master of war, who, having lost the Battle of Brienne-La Rothiere rushed against Blucher with Montmirail maneuver, and, having defeated him, came back to fight Schwarzenberg with Montereau maneuver. When Foch is developing his principles of operational freedom and strategic defense, many positive and negative examples of the world war and the Polish war appear, making us want to add new chapters to support the ideas of this great writer – from Zawadzki's book about the military campaign in East Prussia, from his articles about our defense system in 1920, and from the book of our Commander-in-Chief. Consequently, the analysis of Napoleonian wars may lead to exactly the same conclusions, show the same principles and more, even identical operational methods as the ones one may draw from the world war and the Polish war.

Let us look at the matter from a different perspective. Let us take a look at the analysis of concentration and advancing of the Samsonov's army described in Zawadzki's book. Or another analysis of the concentration of Ludendorff against Rennenkampf. We will find the 1870 German military procedure in the writings of Suvorov and Ludendorff; we will find in Zawadzki's analysis the Napoleonian maneuver in Landshut (1809). Let us take a look at the book's overall analysis of Żyliński's military operations – the Russian commander of the front: we will find the output of these operations explicit in Foch's *The Principles of War*; the same systematic mistakes of commanding the army and the same conclusions, the same triumphant example of Napoleon.

So let us ask what changed? Let us forget about the war of multimillion masses, filling up the space. Let us take the war waged in the open air, as the French call it; the war, which in their magnificent *Tactical Manual of Large Units* exists as a special case, while we must treat it as an ordinary case. This war, where a strategy of so-called *pleinair* is adopted, which was used in our 1920 campaign. Let us ask, what changed in comparison with Napoleonian wars? With the 1831 war? With Moltke's wars?

What definitely changed was the tactical conditions, resulting from the change of weaponry and formation of troops, furthermore the change of operating conditions resulting from the change of tactical relations and using new means of communication and commu-

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8   Zawadzki, "Two Examples of Operational Defense," *Bellona,* 1922 – 3.

nications equipment. Let us look at each of the cases. Let us consider how much they transformed the nature of things (*nature des choses*) in a war.

The changes in weaponry are reflected mostly in increasing firepower, and consequently increasing the range of military operations, enhanced by aviation. Automatic weapons boosted the defense force of the infantry, and its ability to guard and stand their ground. The special armament of the infantry supported by powerful artillery, tanks and combat gases restored devastating force of the attack. Long-distance artillery with the aerial surveillance and air force operations made the maneuvering on the battlefield more difficult; splitting infantry into smaller units, making smaller units independent, taking advantage of the night, artificial fog, smoke screen, using our own air force make moving fighting masses possible. The force of artillery increased the importance of the observation points; the ability of the army to stand the ground increased the value of the terrain; artillery and aviation work on compensating the advantages of the terrain.

The chances of great cavalry charges diminished but the means of using it as a weapon increased, allowing for coordination of the immense firepower with the maneuvering and attacking. So far, everything gained power when it comes to the weaponry; the distances and extensions also changed; as a principle, nothing changed the rules of the art of war. Of course, what changed was also the use of time and territory. Armies can operate on much larger territory, creating combat fronts with the strong army units at the back and the rearward corps of the army. A regiment with the support of artillery can cover a territory of warfare comparable to that covered by a division in 1870 or in Napoleonian times a division or corps. The ability to cover the territory increased at least four times compared to the Napoleonian war and the 1831 war. On the other hand, the very conditions of the fight lead to an instinctive tendency to stretch over the space. An immense use of ammunition in a modern battle makes even small armies dependent on railway transport thus being more vulnerable to danger of the attacks on the rear. Thus a new reason to protect oneself by splitting forces into smaller units; thus the danger of moving into cordon arrangement. The organization of the army, reducing the force of both division or corps cavalry compared to the army of 19th century, diminished military reconnaissance and means of providing security, consequently leading to such a partition of the armed forces that they may get dispersed.

All the above mentioned changes in the tactics are certainly reflected in the conditions of the military operations. Battles became harder, long-term and more complex, prolonged in time and space. Today a division can fight independently for the whole day against superior forces of the enemy along several kilometers of the battle front. In this way, the divisions which are in the distance of 20 kilometers away from each other, within a day march, are not isolated. A battle of such a separated army must last a couple of days; a battle of a group of armies – at least a few days. The battle of the army itself is not a unified whole; it consists of several fights waged next to each other in time and space, and subsequent fights connected by the leading ideas of their commanders. Operations cannot be separated from battles; maneuver and battle are interrelated more closely; with filling up the space (territory) with masses the battle outweighs the maneuver. In the world war, the battle absorbed the maneuver over time, making it completely the maneuver of the reserves (it was foreseen

by Colin in his great arguments on the 20th-century war); in the Polish war, the maneuver often replaced the battle. It could be argued that the relation of the battle to a maneuver in a modern war equals the relation of mass to space (territory). Forget the proportions.

The enemy maneuver is counteracted by the modern army with the use of large fragmentation, forcing the opponent to fight its way through. However, if the enemy forces were too overstretched, group concentration impossible, the maneuver, which once made its way through, acts as fiercely as in the past wars, paralyzing the overwhelming or equal enemy forces. It was shown by Budienny and Tukhachevsky in 1920, and they experienced it on themselves. In every crisis of the campaign – in mid-June in Ukraine, in mid-July in Lithuania, in mid-August by the Vistula River – the eternal principles of war came to the fore, against all the changes. The history teaches us, however, that the history has taught nobody – yet it is worth learning from it beforehand. Otherwise, we learn our lesson too late, and though it is a practical one, it is still not comprehensible to all, but it is hard for all. It is not suffice to seek its knowledge once, but one has to return to the source over and over again. Old Moltke once stated at Saint-Privat: "I learned once more that I am not strong enough at the battlefield." We learned that 'once more' too, as well as our enemies.

Summing up, changes in tactics and consequently in a military operation: maneuver and battle, stretched over in time and space, were merged. The present battle consists of several maneuvers and fights; it is actually an operation, led with a series of battles, more or less closely related. It was the case with Tannenberg, Marna, Lvov, Lodz, winter battle in Masuria, it was the case with Warsaw battle and Niemen battle. So, was it completely different from Austerlitz, Friedland, Wagram, Możajsk, Lipsk, Waterloo, Grochów, Ostrołęka, Sadowa, Saint-Privat and Sedan? Yes, these pitched battles looked different. Let us juxtapose other Napoleonian and post-Napoleonian military operations. Let us match the name of the place with the series of fights: Montenotte, Acqui, Dego, Millesimo, Ceva, Mondovi – the first victory of Napoleon. Let us join them under a common name of – as we often do: Etoges, Vauchamps, Champaubert, Montmirail, Chateau Thierry – the last victory of Napoleon. Both victories spread over time and space, both gained in the open air! As it comes to greater masses... Surely, the 1920 Battle of Warsaw (or rather military operation) actually consisted of two separate pitched battles – Radzymin and Nasielsk, and a decisive maneuver to the enemy rear changing instantly into an indirect chase; the battle was fought on the front stretching over 200 kilometers (from Włodawa to Sochocin). But Napoleon himself won a decisive military operation finished with two separate battles, on remote battlefields, Jena and Auerstadt; and Davout at Auerstadt had its own victory, as General Sikorski in Nasielsk. Another great victory of Napoleon, called Regensburg, stretched for over 80 kilometers, was waged with battles and clashes of Abensberg, Eggmuhl, Landshut, Regensburg. Similar to General Haller and Latinik in Warsaw, General Sikorski in Nasielsk, Davout had his own Battle of Eggmuhl, binding and ungrateful but bloody, which was assessed equally with Auerstadt, and adding to the title of the Prince of Auerstadt a new title: Prince of Eckmuhl.

The abovementioned parallel is also the answer to the trivial juxtaposition of the present methods of waging wars with the old ones: Napoleon with a 'perspective' in his hand is watching the battlefield from his horse, his eyes sweeping over it; today, a commander in his remote headquarters, surrounded by telephones, Hughes's telegraphs and radio sta-

tions, manages a huge mechanism of military operations and battles. What does this op-position prove? First of all, it proves that Napoleon was able to be present in a decisive place and moment, although with a horse only, while many present commanders (Hellmuth Moltke could serve as an example) could not do it having at their disposal cars and airframes if necessary; in consequence, they lost control over the events in a decisive place and time. We know that in the Warsaw operation our Commander-in-Chief solved the problem of commanding the army in a Napoleonian way, and their decision paid off. Coming back to the outlined juxtaposition, we can see that Napoleon led great military operations in large, wide-open spaces, struggling with poor means of communication. How unrivalled in mastery would his campaigns have been if his headquarters and corps had been connected using aviation and spark-gap transmitter, the only powerful means of communication of a great mobile war! And vice-versa, as Colin argues, a modern battle would be a classic Napoleonian battle, if Marshall Oyama was a spark-gap transmitter connected to his armies and divisions. The conclusion: the means of communication and managing the army changed greatly, but thanks to this technology, the difficulties of commanding were overcome, giving the modern commander a possibility of conducting the maneuver and battle as had never been known during the great wars of the past. The evolution of tactics did not weaken the principle of the economy of force; the development of weaponry and technology makes its realization easier. Railway and cars became a powerful tool of maneuvering. They allow for a fast territorial concentration of the dispersed army, which can be immediately used to act. They make a maneuver along the inner lines not only impressive as far as space (territory) and time are concerned (Tannenberg), but also make it a common strategy (transporting divisions in the world war and the Polish war from one front to another). Napoleonian strategy, which did not have such conditions to lead its maneuvers, was so much more impressive that it prevailed with the legs of soldiers. But also our warfare, which turned out to be mobile, used soldiers' legs more than railway, and finally hurt, bare soldiers' feet prevailed.

Therefore, a different use of time and space, more powerful weaponry, more powerful means of conducting military operations and commanding. The war of the future, unless it fills up the space with a mass, unless it leads armies as large as the Great Napoleonian Army to the fronts similar to ours, will not look different, it will in fact be the same great mobile warfare, and, according to the same 'nature of things,' will be subject to the same laws.

Let us move from differences to similarities. What are the similarities? It is the fact that in a modern mobile warfare the principles of the art of war, taken from the Napoleonian wars, are fully implemented: the economy of force, freedom of action, surprise, security, concentration of effort, engaging the enemy; but this could be proven by every warfare. The similarities are also based on the similarities of procedures of the Great Napoleonian War and today. We have just been discussing the Napoleonian maneuver along the interior lines, which was Hindenburg's victory; the same maneuver was victorious for General Sikorski in the Battle of Nasielsk, when with all his forces, he broke the armies XV and III, then turning against the army IV, returning from the West from the lower Vistula. There is, however, another operational procedure, Napoleon's favorite procedure; move onto the rear. What was the Commander-in-Chief's maneuver of the five divisions from the Wieprz River

if not the repetition of the Ulm maneuver? The territory was similar or smaller. The forces as powerful, not in number but in combat effectiveness, as the forces of the Great Army. The maneuver was targeted in the similar direction, attacking enemy routes, closing off the fords on the rivers, cutting the retreat routes. Was it not a new realization of the Jenaj maneuver? It was conducted with only half of our forces, while most of them were fighting in Warsaw and Nasielsk. Napoleon engaged Mack with one corps in the front, with six corps and cavalry outflanking enemy. Our Commander-in-Chief criticizes 'nonsense' of his decision; his original idea was Napoleonian maneuver onto the rear with the main mass. I dare to defend this decision of 6th August 1920 against the accusation of nonsense. 'Nonsense' ceased to be nonsense, since the enemy armies, whose rear the maneuver was aimed at, were actually engaged from the front, since the outflanking mass reached the back of the enemy, thus disabling them to turn back, being totally engaged in the Battles of Radzymin and Nasielsk. Still being a move onto the rear, it became a part of the classic Napoleonian battle: engaging the enemy from the front of the battle along the whole frontline, outflanking mass moves onto their side or rear, and when their tactical system is shattered, the offensive with the use of 'the breaking mass' or the last reserves settle the battle and turns into a chase. This is called 'Castiglione scheme,' which was not taken into consideration by anyone during the Battle of Warsaw, and which was executed by the 'nature of things,' modifying it in that special case so that the enemy, who did not have the reserves to confront our Commander-in-Chief against our general offensive – the 15th Infantry Division with tanks, was seeking the rescue by fleeing the threatened wing of the army, which soon after turned into a general retreat. And the second victorious battle in that campaign, the Battle of Niemen, was it not recreating 'the Castiglione type,' stretching it over the huge territory? These battles combine the types of maneuvers and Napoleonian battles.

What was our 1920 military campaign then? A bastard of the world war, a fight led by its epigones with the use of the scraps of its material, with the army barely put together, badly commanded, a war scattered over the time and space, won by chance, a soldier's zeal or a miracle? This is what some Poles stubbornly claim, ready to humiliate our Homeland as long as it humiliates our Commander-in-Chief. Or was it, despite all the defects of both fighting armed forces, emerging from the starting nebula, from the fumes of the world war, a type of the future great mobile warfare, the synthesis of the Napoleonian strategy and the tactics and technology inherited from the world war? This is, in my opinion, the place of our 1920 campaign in the history of wars. ∎

POLECAMY

ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO

**Unikatowa publikacja zawierająca relacje oraz analizy
uczestników i świadków wojny bolszewickiej Rosji z Polską,
w tym Bitwy Warszawskiej, wydane na łamach „Bellony"
w latach 1920–1933.**

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Index (alphabetical order) „Kwartalnik Bellona" January–December 2020

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Sztuka wojenna / Art of War

Praktyka i doświadczenia użycia sił zbrojnych / Practice and Experience in the Armed Forces Use

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Przykłady:
K. Ficoń, *Międzynarodowe standardy zarządzania ryzykiem*, „Kwartalnik Bellona” 2013 nr 3, s. 31–50.
Idem, *Ryzyko etapowe w zarządzaniu kryzysowym*, „Kwartalnik Bellona” 2015 nr 1, s. 11–30.
B. Balcerowicz, *Siły zbrojne w stanie pokoju, kryzysu, wojny*, Warszawa 2010, s. 12.
Ibidem, s. 16.
A. Polak, *Bibliografia teorii sztuki wojennej w latach 1945–1989*, Warszawa 2009, s. 119.
B. Balcerowicz, *Siły zbrojne…*, op.cit., s. 13.
Źródła do dziejów powstań śląskich, t. 1. *Październik 1918–styczeń 1920*, cz. I, H. Zieliński (oprac.), Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1963, s. 178.
E. de Amicis, *Serce. Książka dla chłopców*, tłum. M. Konopnicka, Warszawa [s.a.], s. 36.

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L. Sly, *Al-Qaeda force captures Fallujah amid rise in violence in Iraq*, „The Washington Post” [online], 3.01.2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/al-qaeda-force-captures-fallujah-amid-

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Balcerowicz B., *Siły zbrojne w stanie pokoju, kryzysu, wojny*, Warszawa 2010.

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