

Marshall Center Security Forum

Marshall Center Alumni Security Forum
24-26 August 2019; Ohrid, North Macedonia



**Marshall Center
Republic of N.
Macedonia**



**NATO
Defense College**



**NATO
Public Diplomacy
Division**



**"George C. Marshall"
European Center
for Security Studies**

**Hybrid security threats:
"A New Era of Uncertainty"**

© Associate professor D-r Metodi Hadji-Janev, Brigadier General

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Before we begin

- A case for starter...

Russian involvement in **Macedonia**

Associated Press



"Mattis Condemns Russian Influence-Peddling in Macedonia"

<https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2018/09/17/world/europe/ap-eu-united-states-macedonia.html>



"I don't have a prove of Russian meddling in our internal affairs"

<https://meta.mk/zaev-nemam-dokazi-za-rusko-vlijanie-vo-makedonija/>

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

- An argument
- Contemporary International Security environment is uncertain and unpredictable



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

Argument!

Modern understanding is that security among other depends on:

- Political system,
- **Economic development (social stability),**
- Cultural perspectives (religion, traditions, history, believes customs, traditions and personal perception of belonging),
- **Scientific development (technological advance),**
- Demography and
- **Environment and the influence from and on the environment**

Growing human dimension and focus on human rights protection

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

Instruments of national – political power

States and international organizations on the international arena pursuit and **protect their interests**

Diplomacy

Information

Military-Security

Economy

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

Changes after the Cold War – with high velocity

A Competitive World

States are engaged in a constant struggle for power

...Hence

the binary distinction between **peace** and **war** does not reflect this reality



NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

of the United States of America

DECEMBER 2017

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

Changes after the Cold War – with high velocity

A Competitive World

Existing legal construct more
or less dates - 1945



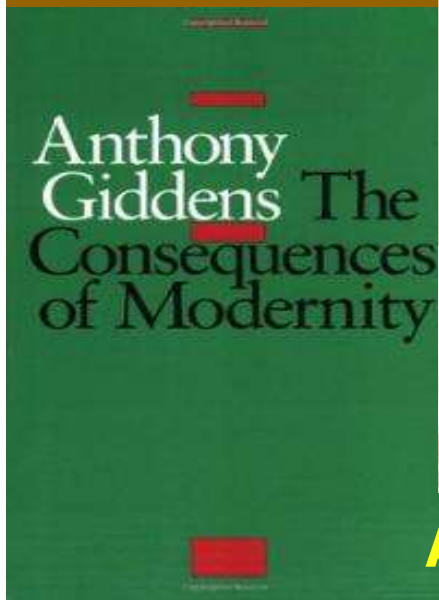
Affects how states and International
organizations execute their power and
sovereignty



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

Technology a game changer in the security reality
Are there any “**consequences of modernity**”?



Anthony Giddens

Anthony Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge University Press, 1999



...The more we **depend on internet** and modern technology the more **vulnerable we are...**

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts Changes in security threats

- ‘Hybrid warfare’, / ‘hybrid threats’ - a trendy buzzword - used to describe a panoply of seemingly different threats



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

There is no universally accepted definition

Hybrid wars are not new, but they are different



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Some facts

Usually associated with terrorist activities and some states (Russia and China) effort in international security matters



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

How did we get here and why ?



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Agenda

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats
2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?
3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?
4. Conclusion

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Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Agenda

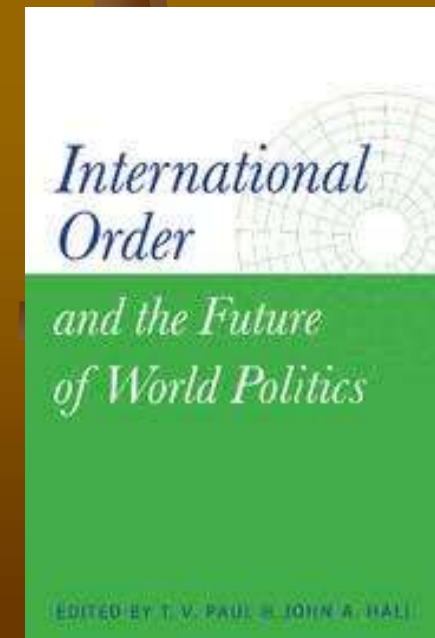
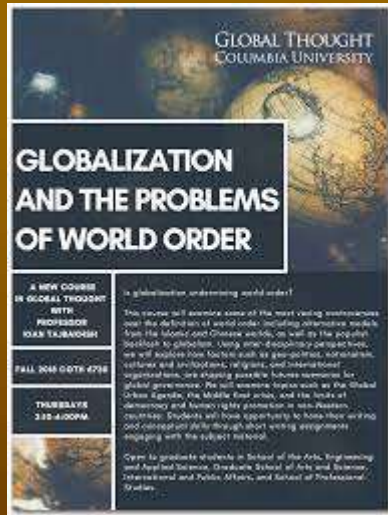
- 1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats**
- 2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?**
- 3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?**
- 4. Conclusion**

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Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

International world order stretched between **Westphalian** concept and **UN system** is in crisis – influence to values and perceptions



1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Liberal domination and Intensified globalization + technological development

A globe composed of various words related to globalization, such as 'GLOBALIZATION', 'MONEY', 'PRODUCT', 'ENVIRONMENT', 'HISTORY', 'GENERATION', 'MEDICAL', 'INFORMATION', 'WORLD', 'GROWTH', 'HUMAN', 'BANK', 'AREA', 'EARTH', 'BUSINESS', 'CULTURE', 'MEDICAL', 'CULTURE', 'AREA', 'EARTH', 'BUSINESS', 'CULTURE'. The globe is being held by several hands of different skin tones, symbolizing global unity and collaboration.

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

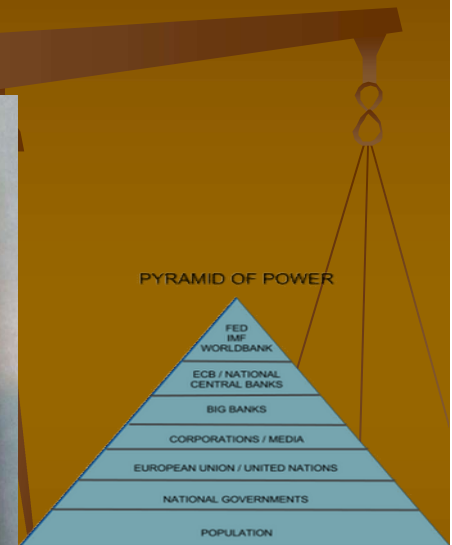
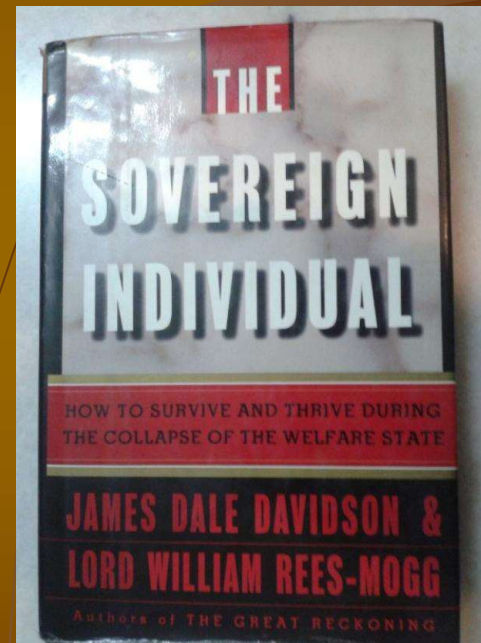
Redefinition of power -economic aspect-



Lord William Rees-Mog



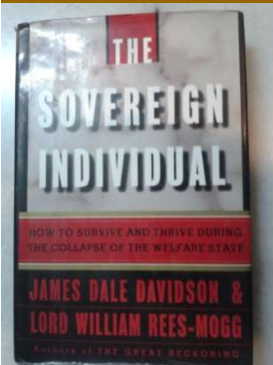
James Dale Davidson



James Dale Davidson, Lord William Rees-Mog, *The Sovereign Individual*, Touchstone, 1999

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats



Redefinition of power PYRAMID OF POWER



© James Dale Davidson, Lord William Rees-Mogg,
The Sovereign Individual, Touchstone, 1999

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
-diplomatic aspect-

POLITICAL-DIPLOMACY

*Preventive
diplomacy*

*Conflict
management*

*Conflict
Resolution*

*Transition
from conflict
to peace*

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
-diplomatic aspect-

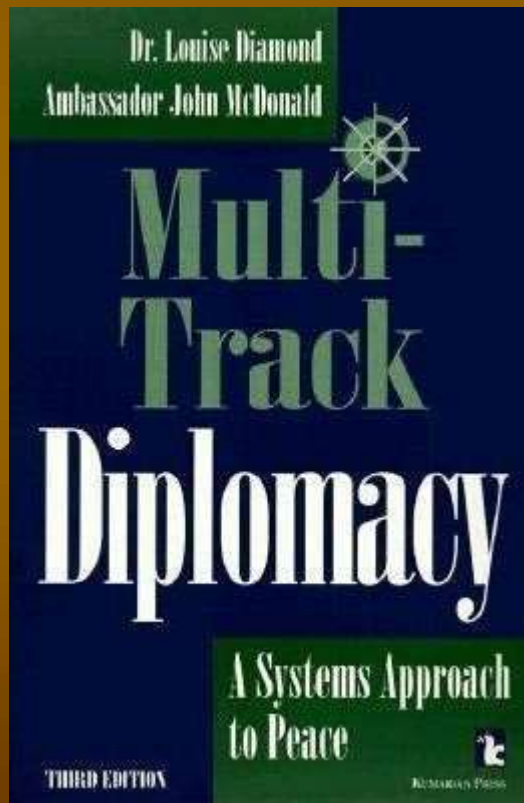


Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
-diplomatic aspect-

TRACK II DIPLOMACY – MULTI-TRACK



Track II diplomacy or "**backchannel diplomacy**" is the practice of "non-governmental, **informal** and **unofficial contacts and activities** between private citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called 'non-state actors'"

Diamond, L., & McDonald, J. W. (1996). *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
-diplomatic aspect-

TRACK II DIPLOMACY – MULTI-TRACK

- Peace creation through diplomacy,
- Conflict resolution,
- Economic approach to peace,
- Personal involvement,
- Education,
- Advising,
- Religion,
- Financing
- Donation foundation
- Information

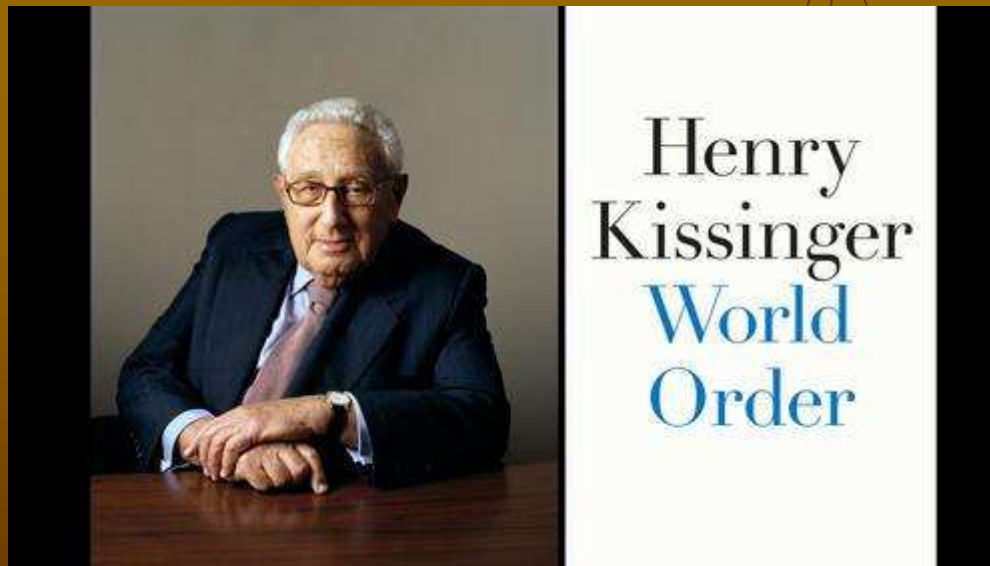
Diamond, L., & McDonald, J. W. (1996). *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
-security considerations-

Henry Kissinger's last book echoes many of these views



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
-Security consideration-

- Seyom Brown: two dimensional re-conceptualization of security

1. ...broadening changes, i.e., (**nonmilitary security threats**) ...

2. ...deepening direction, i.e., consideration of the security of **individuals and groups**



Seyom Brown, “World Interests and Changing Dimensions of Security”, in Michael Klare and Yogesh Chandrani (eds), *World Security: Challenges for a New Century*, 1994, New York: St. Martin’s, p. 1-17

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Process of Globalization after the Cold War



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power

-Information consideration-

- Thanks to **globalization** and **technological development** many non-state actors (groups and individuals), but also some states - have gained strategic power



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power

-Information consideration-

(ICT)-interconnectivity and interdependence

**Networks of services and infrastructures that move
people, goods, energy, money, and information at
higher volume and greater velocities**



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
-Information consideration-

Thanks to technology
the **free flow of capital, people, goods, energy, money,
and information**, (all of which depend on these
systems)
have begun to **equal free market, and foreign investments**



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
DIME – SIDE EFFECTS

Development of **modern systems** in virtual security vacuum (after the collapse of communism) has made them **soft targets**.

Why ???



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
DIME – SIDE EFFECTS

Why ???

“...The architects of these networks and infrastructures were mainly concerned with **profit**. In fact, the cost reduction and efficiency was their highest priority.

At the same time the **growing dependence on these networks** had not been matched by parallel **focus on their security...**

Dean Ing, “*Soft Targets*”, Tor, 1996,



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
DIME – SIDE EFFECTS

To succeed in their goal enemies always attack the weakest points of perceived enemies-2 weak points so far

The first is modern civilian systems (i.e. sophisticated networks of services and infrastructure that **move people, goods, energy, money, and information** at higher volume and greater velocities).



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
DIME – SIDE EFFECTS

The only way to succeed in this is by attacking the weakest points of perceived enemies-2 weak points so far

The second weak point is liberal values (pursuit for stability, peace, human rights and prosperity *per se*)



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate

Redefinition of power

DIME – SIDE EFFECTS

Hierarchical structures are losing the competition from the **horizontal** network type organizations

...many positive aspects, but

...when it comes to **security realm** the same changes have many **negative effects** and raise serious **concerns...**

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
DIME – SIDE EFFECTS

As a result, modern threats are hybrid
composed of:

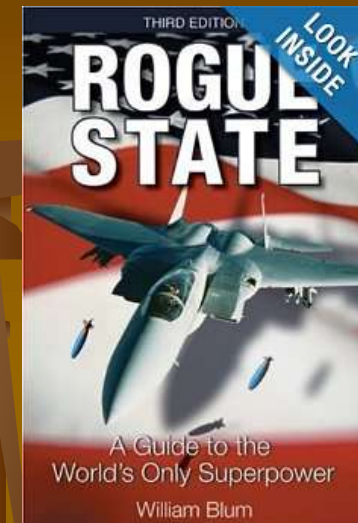
Some states

terrorists

criminals

insurgents

religious
extremists



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
DIME – SIDE EFFECTS

The challenge from this kind of threats is that only **a few security concepts** could partially be applied to counter them

Objects of international law not a **subject**

terrorists

criminals

insurgents

religious
extremists



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power Strategic considerations

Modern adversaries make use of

- conventional/unconventional,
- regular/irregular,
- overt/covert means,



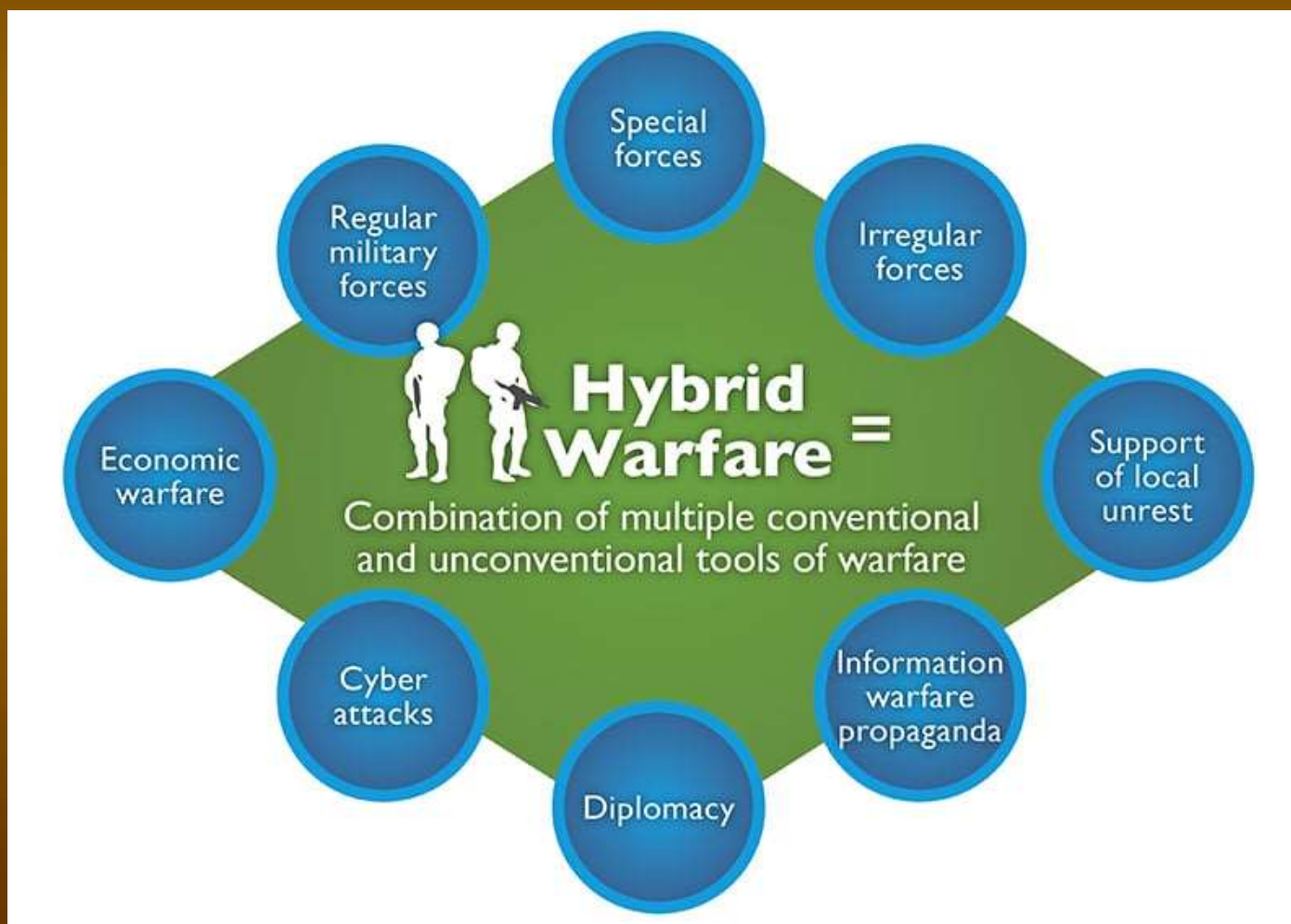
Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power

Strategic considerations

they are not restricted to conventional means.



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
Strategic considerations

They

- **use all instruments of power DIME**
- **use modern technology as a vectors to achieve strategic ends**
- **corrupt democratic projects and values**
- **exploit democratic weaknesses,**
- **are flexible and adaptive functioning in decentralized manner**
- **exploit all the dimensions of war to combat the Western superiority in conventional warfare.**

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

DIME - Considerations
Strategic considerations

LEGAL

Information - technologies

Ius contra bellum | *Ius ad bellum* | *Ius in bello* | *Ius post bellum*

POLITICAL

*Preventive
diplomacy*

*Conflict
management*

*Conflict
Resolution*

*Transition
from conflict*

Hybrid threats-a challenge to the strategic design

OPERATIONAL

Shape

Deter/Seize the Initiative/Dominate/Stability/En.cv.Aut.

*Maneuver/surve
illance/exercises*

*Maneuver/surv
eillance/movem
ent to contact*

*MCO/offence
/defense/IW
/COIN*

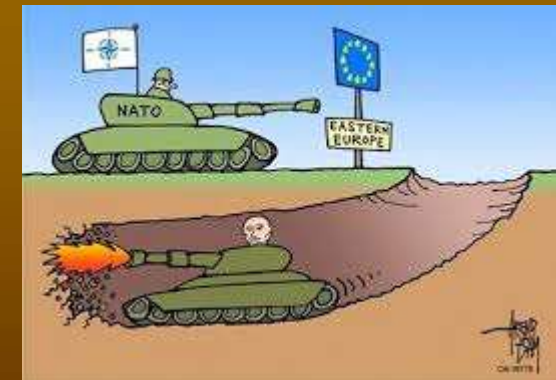
*SASO/IW/
PSO/COIN/(
MCO)*

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Russia's hybrid play...

- ‘War is eternal’
- Time is relative
- Principles are relative
- War is fought by the state and not (just) the military of a state
- ‘You fight your way, I fight mine’
- Technology is cool
- Corporate state
- Victory does not require the capture or occupation of territory... ‘you have a territory, you have a problem... you have the king, you have the territory’.



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

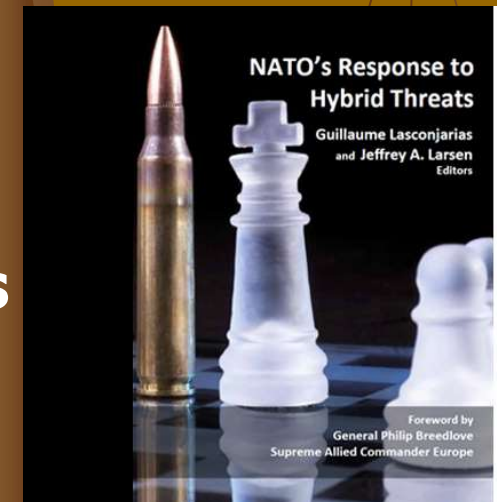
1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
Strategic considerations

NATO – understood the threat

hybrid was already used by NATO in 2010,
at a time

“those posed by **adversaries**, with the
ability **to simultaneously employ**
conventional and **non- conventional** means
adaptively in pursuit of their **objectives**”



S. Bachmann, “Hybrid Threats, Cyber Warfare and NATO’s Comprehensive Approach for Countering 21st Century Threats”, Amicus Curiae, no. 88, 2011, p. 14

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
Strategic considerations

NATO – understood the threat

Secretary General Stoltenberg asserted that

**“hybrid is the dark
reflection of our
comprehensive approach”**



J. Stoltenberg as quoted in NATO White Paper, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
Strategic considerations

NATO – understood the threat



Since 2015 - NATO is “preparing for,
detering and **defending** against”
2015, Report of the NATO SG

J. Stoltenberg, The Secretary General's Annual Report 2015, NATO,
Brussels, 2016, p. 10.

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
Strategic considerations

EU – understood the threat



Caution in framing the term
“war” rather use the term “threat”

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats

Redefinition of power
Strategic considerations

EU – understood the threat

Council of the EU,
“[h]ybrid threats are a combination of military and non-military means. The **objective** is to destabilize opponents, create confusion, mask the real situation on the ground and hamper decision-making”

Council of the EU, Hybrid Threats, YouTube, 18 April 2016.



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

Agenda

1. Conceptualizing the debate: understanding the hybrid threats
2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?
3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?
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Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?

No united views “Pro” and “Cons”



Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?



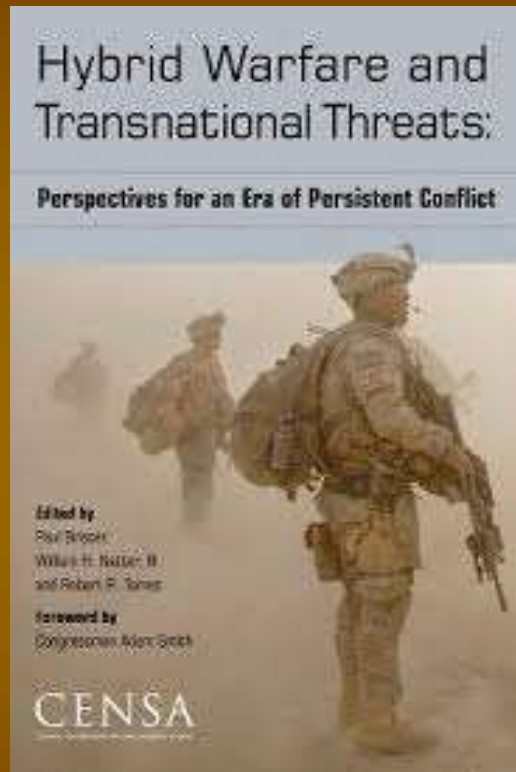
Robert G. Walker

The term “**hybrid warfare**” is attributed to retired US naval officer Robert G. Walker, who in 1998 defined it as “lying in the interstices between special and conventional warfare.”

Walker, Robert G. (1998), Spec Fi: The U.S. Marine Corps and Special Operations, Unpublished Master Thesis (Monterrey, Naval Post-Graduate School)

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?



The term '**hybrid warfare**' appeared also in 2005 and was subsequently used to describe the strategy used by the **Hezbollah** in the 2006 Lebanon War

See EUISS, “What We Talk about, When We Talk about ‘Hybrid Threats’”, EUISS Research Paper, Paris, 2015

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?

Con's

Hybrid war – does it even exist?



Dr. Damien Van Puyvelde, University of Glasgow

In practice, any threat can be hybrid as long as it is not limited to a single form and dimension of warfare.

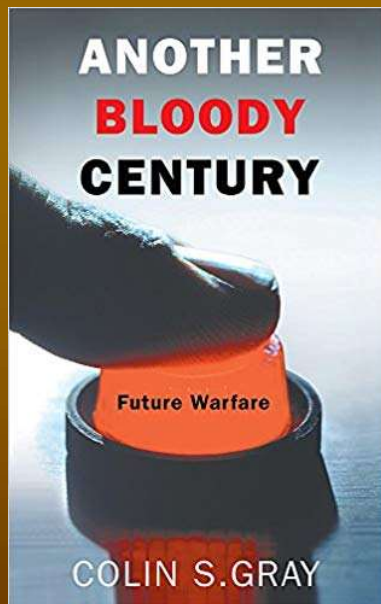
Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?

Con's

Usually citing authors such as Colin Gray

convincingly argue...



“future, and by extension modern, warfare is essentially more of the same”

Another Bloody Century: Future Warfare, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?

Pros



Hybrid wars are not new, but they are different

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?

Pros

The U.S. Army Chief of Staff defined a hybrid threat in 2008 as



General George W. Casey, Jr., 36th Chief of Staff of the United States Army

an adversary that incorporates "diverse and dynamic combinations of conventional, irregular, terrorist and criminal capabilities"

Fleming, Brian P. (2011-05-19). "Hybrid threat concept: contemporary war, military planning and the advent of unrestricted operational art" (pdf). United States Army Command and General Staff College

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?

Pros

NATO



- Hybrid methods of warfare, such as propaganda, deception, sabotage and other non-military tactics have long been used to destabilize adversaries.
- What **is new** about attacks seen in recent years is their **speed, scale and intensity**, facilitated by **rapid technological change** and global **interconnectivity**.

NATO's response to hybrid threats, Last updated: 08 Aug. 2019 15:10
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_156338.htm

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

2. Hybrid warfare is it really New?

Pros

According to the 2017-inaugurated European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats,



"[h]ybrid threats are methods and activities that are targeted towards **vulnerabilities** of the opponent" where the "**range of methods and activities is wide**"

"HYBRID THREATS - Hybrid CoE". Hybrid CoE. Retrieved 2018-01-31

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Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

General Believe is that

Although **hybrid threats** share the same strategic characteristics, the diversity of ways in which individual hybrid threats match multiple instruments of power against the specific weaknesses of the society targeted can result in **each individual hybrid threat** campaign having a **unique signature**.

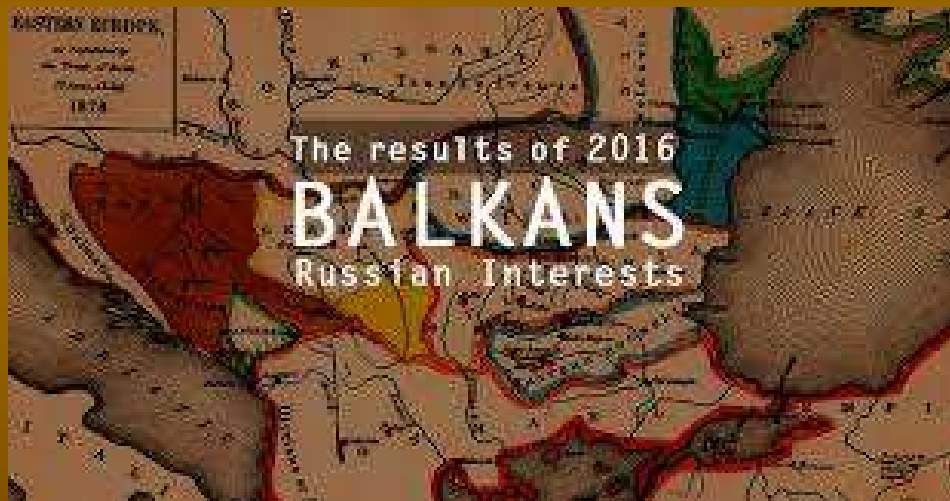


- **Russian hybrid strategies**

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

General Believe is that



Russian **cultural links** have made the sub region a ripe target for

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

According to Dusan Stojanovic,



Russia has been seeking, to establish a base **in Serbia** that could be used for **covert operations** across the Balkans under the guise of a “Humanitarian Center”

Dusan Stojanovic, “Inside Russian ‘Spy Base’ in the Balkans,” Associated Press, October 6, 2016.

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3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

Andrew Higgins claimed



Russia was widely alleged to have orchestrated the attempted **coup** against a pro-NATO government in **Montenegro** in October 2016

Andrew Higgins, “Finger Pointed at Russians in Alleged Coup Plot in Montenegro, New York Times, November 26, 2016

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

Christopher S. Chivvis testified



Russia has also stoked separatist tensions, backing the controversial leader of the semiautonomous **Republika Srpska**, Milorad Dodik, and supporting Serb separatism in northern **Kosovo**.

Christopher S. Chivvis, Understanding Russian “Hybrid Warfare” And What Can Be Done About it, Testimony presented before the House Armed Services Committee on March 22, 2017

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

According to Croatian based media



In 2016, **Croatia**, was also wracked by scandal when it was revealed that a former deputy prime minister had received campaign funding from **Russian sources**

_____**Telegraf, KARAMARKO RUSKIM NOVCEM FINANIRAO HDZ: Novi skandal bivšeg šefa hrvatske stranke, 12. jul 2016, retrieved: <http://www.telegraf.rs/vesti/2247410-karamarko-ruskim-novcem-finansirao-hdz-novi-skandal-bivseg-sefa-hrvatske-stranke>**

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3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

Russian Money Suspected Behind Fracking Protests



In 2012, the **Bulgarian** government cancelled a license for Chevron to explore its shale gas reserves under pressure from **Russian-backed protestors.**

Christopher S. Chivvis, Understanding Russian “Hybrid Warfare” And What Can Be Done About it, Testimony presented before the House Armed Services Committee on March 22, 2017

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

Russian Money Suspected Behind Fracking Protests



Vlasa Mircia, the mayor of Pungesti,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/01/world/russian-money-suspected-behind-fracking-protests.html>

Russia, allegedly worked against shale gas in **Romania** — to maintain dependence on imported **Russian gas**,

Gazprom vs Chevron

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

Russian involvement in Greece



Greece has ordered the expulsion of two **Russian** diplomats and barred the entry of two others for allegedly undermining national security, local media report.

_____(11 July 2018), BBC, Greece 'orders expulsion of two Russian diplomats',
retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44792714>

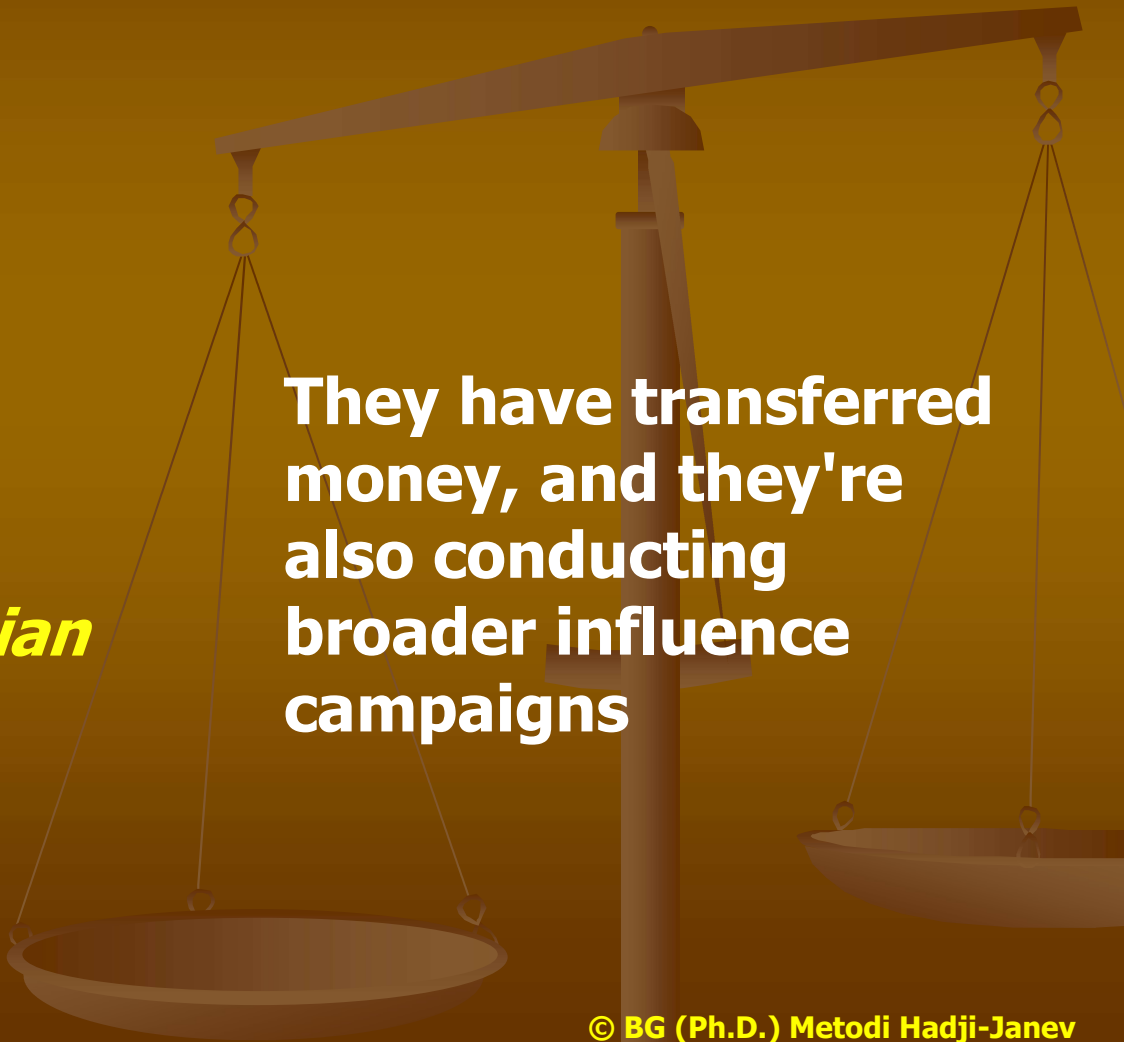
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3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?



"Mattis Condemns **Russian** Influence-Peddling in **Macedonia**"

<https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2018/09/17/world/europe/ap-eu-united-states-macedonia.html>



They have transferred money, and they're also conducting broader influence campaigns

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

3. South East Europe under the hybrid threat how real is the threat?

Conventional approach won't work against hybrid based threats

Risk assessment methodology is different

Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

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Hybrid security threats: “A New Era of Uncertainty”

4. Conclusion

- Existing struggle for power among states undermines legal thresholds under which they practice their sovereignty
 - Hybrid threats are not new – what is new is the volume, velocity and interconnectivity of these threats
 - New security threats come from non-state and state actors who employ hybrid methods to achieve strategic ends
 - The international security environment is uncertain and unpredictable
- 

Marshall Center Security Forum

Marshall Center Alumni Security Forum
24-26 August 2019; Ohrid, North Macedonia

Q & A



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**"George C. Marshall"
European Center
for Security Studies**

**Hybrid security threats:
"A New Era of Uncertainty"**

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