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Editorial

South Caucasus, PME and Intelligence Services' Transformation in Focus

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Geneva Centre for Security Policy, https://www.gcsp.ch

This present issue of *Connections. The Quarterly Journal* looks into a number of issues: professional military education and its role in deepening defense capabilities with a special focus on the South Caucasus, the defense cooperation of the South Caucasus nations with both Russia and NATO which, according to some commentators, may result in a new form of a 'Great Game' rivalry between the cooperation partners, the specific 'military school culture' of the Dr. Franjo Tudjman Defense Academy of Croatia, and the transformation experiences and lessons (to be) drawn from them in the intelligence and state-security services and communities of the Czech and the Slovak Republics and Latvia. The latter three are a first installment of a larger collection of articles dedicated to intelligence and state security services transformation after the end of the Cold War.

None of the important time-critical processes described and analyzed in the articles presented here could have been realized without expert advice provided by NATO initiatives and the cooperation with NATO member and partner countries. Thus, the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) played and continues to play a crucial role in Professional Military Education (PME) and interoperability in the Southern Caucasus.

Democratic values and professionalism, transparency, and respect for the citizen, human rights, and civic freedoms also played a decisive role in the re-orientation and transformation of the state security and intelligence services after the Cold War. Czech, Slovak, and Latvian colleagues have provided fascinating insights in hitherto under-documented transition and transformation experiences in their home countries and the role models of transparency and professionalism played. Once the Berlin Wall had fallen and the Soviet regime collapsed, democratization processes were initiated in all areas of social and political life, which also demanded the transformation of the state security services, based on new and adapted legislation, and a functioning parliamentary

and executive oversight and transparency system which still needed to be installed and instructed.

Whereas the transformation process in the Czech and Slovak Republics went mostly peacefully and in an evolutionary manner in spite of the reversal of 'culture' they implied, events in Latvia which had lost its statehood *de facto* (if not *de iure*) in the years of Soviet occupation can hardly be described in the language of 'transformation.' The politicized security services in Latvia had worked for an occupational force, ensuring unconditional submission of the population to the regime. They needed to be demolished and rebuilt to function properly in the service of a democratic society.

Future issues of *Connections* will provide more insights into the transition and transformation experience of state security and intelligence services in new democracies.

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Research Article

The South Caucasus: Stage for a 'New Great Game' between NATO and Russia?

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Abstract: The South Caucasus is one of the most important geostrategic regions between Europe and Asia, a playground for many regional and global actors with enduring interests. These interests have been clashing through the centuries. Each actor endeavors to impose its rules and tries to capitalize on the geostrategic benefits of the region. This article analyzes the main aspects, challenges, and prospects of cooperation between the countries in the South Caucasus and Russia and NATO. The authors describe the competition for power and influence in the region, the "Old Great Game," the regional state of affairs, and possible effects of the Russian factor on the South Caucasus-NATO cooperation. They illustrate Russia's security interests in the South Caucasus vis-à-vis NATO's enlargement policy, outline the reasons for the Alliance's reluctance to engage in the region actively, and current and future prospects of South Caucasus-NATO cooperation. NATO's presence is said to counterbalance the Russian military presence in the region, but how is this managed without antagonizing the incumbent government in Moscow and what is its contribution to resolving the so-called "frozen conflicts" in order to maintain the security and prosperity of the South Caucasus? The combination of competition and confrontation has been designated as the "New Great Game," with clear similarities and differences vis-à-vis the "Old Great Game." The authors question whether a "New Great Game" currently exists and apply comparative analysis, synthesis, inductive, and deductive methods to come up with conclusive answers.

Keywords: NATO, Russia, security, cooperation, frozen conflict, great power competition.

Introduction

Though the South Caucasus occupies a small area on the world map, the scale of the interest in the region is much bigger than its geographical size. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 fundamentally altered the geopolitical dynamics of the South Caucasus as each of the successor states sought to define their own national interests and policy priorities.[1] Another effect of the collapse of the Soviet Union was that it permitted other powers to vie for influence in the former Soviet republics, which they were previously unable to do owing to the presence of strong hegemonic power of the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union.[2] In terms of its geopolitical and strategic importance the region has always been at the forefront of global powers' foreign policy. The hegemonic powers have been using it throughout history in order to exert their influence on neighboring areas. While the South Caucasus was previously considered to be on the periphery of the international agenda, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the subsequent formation of newly independent states, it became much more important both to its neighbors and influential non-regional actors.[3] Today the South Caucasus is a diverse geopolitical region, which occupies a strategic point in transporting Caspian oil and gas.

However, the region is challenged with unresolved conflicts and socio-political and economic problems brought by the collapse of the Soviet Union.[4] The protracted conflicts in the region have long been a source of tension for both Georgia and Azerbaijan. Though NATO does not take a direct part in resolving conflicts on the territory of a country outside the Alliance, the crises in the South Caucasus are largely influenced by the relationship between NATO and Russia.

This article seeks to engage in the discussion, through literature review and expert interviews, whether a "New Great Game" currently can be said to exist or not. In order to set the theoretical and conceptual scene, the first step is to understand what is meant by competition for power and influence. This includes a brief definition of what the "Old Great Game" involved as a benchmark for the current situation. This article outlines the perspectives and engagement of Russia and NATO – the primary foreign powers contesting for influence, the complexity of the current state of the interplay of the three countries that constitute the South Caucasus and the primary external actors of Russia and NATO, before

1   Sergey Markedonov, "Russian Policy Toward the South Caucasus: Security, Unity, and Diversity," in *The New Geopolitics of the South Caucasus: Prospects for Regional Cooperation and Conflict Resolution*, ed. Shireen T. Hunter (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), 127-153.

2   Sarah O'Hara, "Great Game or Grubby Game? The Struggle for Control of the Caspian", *Geopolitics* 9, no. 1 (2004): 138-160.

3   Sergey Markedonov, "NATO Looks to the Caucasus," *National Interest*, May 17, 2012, https://nationalinterest.org/commentary/nato-looks-the-caucasus-6933.

4   Joshua Bartlett and Nino Samvelidze**,** Turkey and the South Caucasus: Prospects and Challenges for Cooperation," February 23, 2016, http://oval.az/turkey-and-the-south-caucasus-prospects-and-challenges-for-cooperation/.

finally moving to the discussion whether a "New Great Game" actually exists. If it does, that also begs the question, what are the similarities and differences with the "Old Great Game"? We used the comparative analysis method to come up with more plausible outcomes for the region's better future. Comparative analysis, synthesis, inductive and deductive methods have been used to come up with conclusive answers.

Competition for Power and Influence in Regions and the "Old Great Game"

Various theoretical approaches allow us to study international relations and make sense of events, trends, and processes. Although such established theoretical lenses as realism, constructivism, Marxism, feminism, and others exist,[5] neo-liberalism has been chosen as the means to make sense of this case study. Weighing pros and cons, considerations such as the specifics of the case, i.e., the study of the influence of international institutions on international security politics and relations, provides the tools with which to delve into the roles played by NATO versus Russia in the South Caucasus where the global political hegemony of liberal democracy prevails. Liberalism tends to expand its zone of influence, which, in the context of this article, is likely to bring it into competition or conflict as Russia views the region as a zone of its interests and influence.

As a theoretical approach to international relations, neo-liberalism draws upon the concepts of rationality and contracting, focusing attention on the central role played by institutions and organizations in the sphere of international politics. These organizations constantly weigh political interests and act as a balance between rule-based interaction and the unconstrained exercise of political power. One of the original criticisms of neoliberalism was by neo-realists claiming that they underestimated the role of domestic politics in international politics and cooperation. This has since come to be accepted by the neo-liberal camp. Attention focuses upon the issue of influence within international institutionalized settings of rules versus power. Neo-liberals approach institutions from a contractual perspective where they are used as 'solutions' to a given collective-action problem. Therefore, logically an institution begins the process by identifying and highlighting a strategic issue that needs to be addressed[6] and communicates it. How does the competition for power and influence in regions manifest itself?

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5   Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 392; Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 572.

6   Eric Shiraev and Vladislav Zubok, *International Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 87-88; Lisa L. Martin, "Neoliberalism," in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 110-126.

One often-cited historical example, which is at times used as a yardstick for contemporary events and processes, is the Great Game. Scott notes that "the 'Great Game' was initially coined in the 19th century to describe the geopolitical rivalry between the Russian and British Empires."[7] Both the British and Russian Empires thought of their actions and intentions in the old Great Game as being 'defensive' in nature. Britain sought to contain the Russian territorial advance, and Russia viewed the British threat as being equally real in nature. It was a complex game of intrigues and moves that sought to deny the opposing side the ability to gain new territories and influence. Queen Victoria was said to have remarked, "it is a question of Russian or British supremacy in the world."[8] Can these sets of goals and circumstances of the 19th century be an accurate analogy for what is currently happening?

However, some see the contemporary analogies of the Great Game as being overused and, in some instances, even misleading. The original 19th-century Great Game concerned classic imperialism and territorial annexation, whereas there is a significant difference in the New Great Game practice, which has become 'shorthand' for competition in influence, profit, power, and hegemony.[9] To answer the question of whether a New Great Game exists or not, it is necessary to examine the specifics of the South Caucasus before moving on to the actions and motivations driving Russia and NATO.

Russia's Security Interests in the South Caucasus vis-à-vis NATO's Enlargement Policy

From the 18th century until the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia was the dominant power in the region. This region constituted Russia's and later the Soviet Union's southern border and was considered part of its "strategic backyard" or "zone of privileged interest" as the then President Dmitry Medvedev referred to it. In terms of politics, economics, and security, it is simply not feasible to separate the links and effects between Russia (especially the Northern Caucasus) and the South Caucasus.[10] The disputes over the Soviet-era autonomous entities led to the wars in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia, bringing economic instability and security problems to the South Caucasus. These ongoing conflicts weakened the South Caucasus states and provided an opening for the regional and global powers to restart their competition for influence over the region. Starting from 1998, the formation of regional alliances

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[7] David Scott, "The Great Power 'Great Game' between India and China: 'The Logic of Geography'," *Geopolitics* 13, no. 1 (2008): 1-26.

[8] David Fromkin, "The Great Game in Asia," *Foreign Affairs* 58, no. 4 (1980): 936-951, quote on p. 950.

[9] Edwards Matthew, "The New Great Game and the New Great Gamers: Disciples of Kipling and MacKinder," *Central Asian Survey* 22, no. 1 (2003): 83-102.

[10] Tracey German, *Regional Cooperation in the South Caucasus: Good Neighbours or Distant Relatives?* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 107.

among Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan brought Iran into closer cooperation with Armenia and Russia.[11] In the mid-2000s, the term "spheres of privileged interests" was used with the intention to signify a move away from 'influence' as it was much more specific and identifiable. In addition, policy moved away from an ideologically guided course to one that used pervasive pragmatism.[12] Russia currently faces a number of different foreign actors and organizations seeking to expand their influence in the region, such as the US, Turkey, Iran, NATO, and the European Union. With a growing rift between Russia on the one hand and the US and the EU on the other in regard to Ukraine and Syria and an escalating conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh that might draw in regional powers, the South Caucasus may well become the third spot for employing the strategy of encircling Russia.[13]

To provide a comprehensive analysis of future challenges to NATO enlargement, it is also necessary to examine Russia's role in its so-called "near abroad" to counter the NATO expansion.

Russia has been concentrating on expanding strategic ties with its CIS neighbors, which she needs in order to re-emerge as a great power. "The South Caucasus is hence a region of critical national interest to Russia, which cannot simply shirk engagement there."[14] Among the factors that enable (potentially and actually) Russia to be a more effective regional actor are historical ties, institutional and demographic advantages, and the fact that the country physically borders the South Caucasus.[15] In the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse in late 1991, several institutions were gradually established and sought in some ways to substitute the former mega-entity. Institutions such as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Eurasian Union, and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) were based on the premise of the existence of a common history and common interests. However, not all of the newly independent states welcomed membership due to the perception of these institutions being Russian-led and under her influence and that Rus-

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[11] Orhan Gafarli, Arevik Anapiosyan, Khatuna Chapichadze, and Mehmet Fatih Öztarsu, "The Role of Global and Regional Actors in the South Caucasus," *Journal of Conflict Transformation*, June 2016, accessed April 16, 2019, http://caucasusedition.net/the-role-of-global-and-regional-actors-in-the-south-caucasus/.

[12] Dmitri Trenin, "Russia's Spheres of Interest, Not Influence," *The Washington Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (2009): 3-22.

[13] Gafarli et al., "The Role of Global and Regional Actors in the South Caucasus."

[14] Elkhan Nuriyev, "Facing Difficult Choices: The South Caucasus Between Russia and the European Union," *Digest RIAC*, https://bit.ly/2SrnxJk, 20 January 2015, accessed January 15, 2019.

[15] Mitat Celikpala, "Escalating Rivalries and Diverging Interests: Prospects for Stability and Security in the Black Sea Region," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 10, no. 3 (2010): 287-302, quote on p. 296.

sia was seen as the former colonial power.[16] Some authors, e.g., Abushov,[17] argue that Russia's policies toward the South Caucasus constitute neo-imperialism. This occurs when independence is granted to another country, but it is still dominated through control of markets for goods and raw materials. The underlying logic is that Russia had ruled this geographic space for some 200 years and is not ready to free it from its influence. Moscow has a military-strategic, economic (especially in the energy field), as well as domestic and political leverage over the region. All three countries remain closely connected to the Russian economy through critical infrastructure, trade, investment, and remittances from permanent diaspora populations and migrant workers.[18] So, Russia views the South Caucasus as its sphere of interest and an integral part of Russia's southern buffer zone. This makes the region an arena for Russian competition with the West and, to some extent, with the other two regional powers, Iran and Turkey. The Russian Military Doctrine of 2014 outlines the most serious military risks and threats facing Russia. Issues of particular relevance to developments in the South Caucasus are NATO enlargement in areas bordering Russia, the placement of NATO infrastructure in regions bordering Russia, and the establishment of regimes in states bordering Russia whose policies threaten Russian interests.[19] However, as already stated, Russia is not alone in vying for influence in the South Caucasus.

Another entity seeking influence is NATO, an institutional vehicle for the US-led West to attract former Eastern Bloc and Soviet entities under the banner of Euro-Atlantic integration and the promise to bring them from Russia's geopolitical orbit. Russia viewed NATO's advance as an unwanted intrusion into 'her' space and took the approach of trying to prove that those countries are 'unsuitable' and 'unreliable' partners.[20] As the Russian researcher Vladimir Degoyev stated: "The West should realize that Russia has a vital interest in the South Caucasus. Russia and the West's goals in the region are the same. But there is a paradox that if NATO is Russia's neighbor in the South Caucasus, there will never be peace in this region. Therefore, some Russian political circles try to prevent the South Caucasus–NATO cooperation through various means. Russia has been exerting itself in order to incorporate all South Caucasus countries into both the CSTO and EEU due to its geostrategic location and natural resources. It wants to recreate the erstwhile world order in which Moscow again plays a major role,

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[16] Mikhail A. Molchanov, *Eurasian Regionalisms and Russian Foreign Policy (*Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 23-47.

[17] Kavus Abushov, "Policing the Near Abroad: Russian Foreign Policy in the South Caucasus," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 2 (2009): 187-212.

[18] Khayal Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation* (Riga: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2019), 57.

[19] Gafarli et al., "The Role of Global and Regional Actors in the South Caucasus."

[20] Anastassia Obydenkova and Alexander Libman, eds. *Autocratic and Democratic External Influences in Post-Soviet Eurasia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

and its strategy is to cultivate a fear of Russia (as it has been Russia's historical culture) to force submission from their rivals." [21]

NATO enlargement, its dividends, stakes, and repercussions have always occupied the heart of Western politics. Different candidates have been considered for membership; several have been admitted. The question of "Should Russia join NATO?" has also been the subject of discussion from time to time in the last decade of the 20th century. Nevertheless, there was a feeling in Moscow that NATO's door, opened at times for others, was closed to Russia forever. Russia's NATO membership was not a serious option, while Moscow considered the Alliance a threat. As German Defense Minister Volker Rühe mentioned: "Russia cannot be integrated, neither into the European Union nor into NATO. If Russia were to become a member of the Alliance, it would blow NATO apart. It would be like the United Nations of Europe – It wouldn't work." Gardner claims that NATO does not want to involve Russia in the Euro-Atlantic space of cooperation as a full-fledged partner; on the other hand, it will not survive in its traditional shape. According to Russia, two factors are essential in the relations with NATO. First, the Alliance is still a challenge to Russia's security interests. Secondly, Moscow reckons that NATO's expansion to Russian borders negatively impacts the manifestation of Russia's "Big Brother" role.[22] One author goes as far as to state: "it could be argued that NATO's very presence in the South Caucasus and its relationship with the three states led indirectly to the conflict in 2008 between Georgia and Russia and therefore has undermined efforts to initiate regional cooperation, by further dividing an already divided region." [23]

We have to note that the period between Putin's second and third terms as a president was relatively calm in Russia's relations with the West. Combined with the reset with Russia beginning in 2009 by the administration of US President Barack Obama, other imperatives (the war in Afghanistan, Iran's nuclear program, the crisis in Libya) took precedence over NATO enlargement. At the same time, newly launched debates inside Russia about domestic political and economic modernization held out the prospect of Russia returning to the path of democratization and a more cooperative relationship with the West. In addition, NATO lacked the necessary consensus to push for Georgia's membership in the Alliance in the aftermath of the 2008 August war. In February 2010, Russia's new Military Doctrine identified NATO's attempt to extend its military infrastructure eastward to Russia's borders and add new members as key national security concerns, and Medvedev restated his opposition to the endless expansion of NATO.[24] Alexei Bogaturov, Deputy Director of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of International Security Problems, emphasized: "Russia does not want to return to the policy of confrontation with the West, but it also cannot concur

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[21] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, pp. 57-58.

[22] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, p. 14.

[23] German, *Regional Cooperation in the South Caucasus*, p. 152.

[24] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, p. 42.

with the systematic attempts of the US-NATO tandem to break through to a situation of absolute power supremacy over Russia."[25] Putin's third term began with a clear juxtaposition of Russia vs. the West as a conflict driven by different values systems. Two decades after signing on to the vision of Europe whole, free, and at peace with itself and its neighbors, Russia finally abandoned it. This break also manifested itself in Russian foreign policy, particularly in relations with the former Soviet states. Building on earlier Russian pronouncements about a sphere of influence and interests, and the danger posed by the West's geopolitical expansion, Putin elevated Eurasian integration, gathering the former Soviet states around Russia to the top of his foreign policy agenda for his third term. In his address on March 18, 2014, in which President Putin justified the annexation of Crimea, he underlined the humiliation Russia had suffered due to a series of hostile actions and broken promises by the West, including the eastward expansion of NATO.[26]

In fact, the more NATO expands closer to the Russian "sphere of influence," the more Russian military provocations intensify. According to Lohschelder, Russia grew increasingly concerned with NATO's eastward expansion and made it very clear that Georgia's inclusion in the Alliance would be considered an intolerable disturbance to the region's strategic stability. The proof of this statement is that Russia has already demonstrated that Georgia is in her sphere of influence and thus has a capacity to heat the frozen conflicts if she feels that the areas under her patronage are under threat. Paradoxically, NATO's reluctance to closely engage with NATO aspiring countries also detracts from regional security and contributes to Russia's assertiveness. Tedo Japaridze, chairman of the foreign relations committee of Georgia's parliament, said that if Georgia is kept waiting outside NATO, Russia will exploit the situation, and that would do little for the security and stability of the region. Another bone of contention is to "what direction NATO enlargement will push Russia?" It may be pointed out that Russia demonstrates little prospect of regaining her conventional force structure due to the change in her political system and fragile economy. However, Russia could still threaten NATO's significant interests. Kremlin's direction depends on both NATO's strategy as well as the course of the country's politics. Russia sees no need for US nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe and is concerned about NATO enlargement in her sphere of influence, namely in Georgia and Ukraine. Moscow believes that if these countries become NATO members, ballistic missiles would one day be deployed there, and that is why Russia will not hesitate to take adequate measures.[27]

It is also important to elaborate on Russia's individual approach towards each South Caucasus country. Armenia is a member of both the CSTO and EEU, which makes it utterly dependent on Russia. Beyond the political implications, Russia

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[25] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*.

[26] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, p. 43.

[27] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, pp. 45-46.

has been maintaining and periodically reinforcing its 102nd military base in Armenia since 1992. The base is considered an essential asset for power projection in Moscow's hands and a precondition for its political and military dominance in the region. This has left Armenia in a difficult position and its profound vulnerability in relation to Russia affects the resilience of other nations in the region. Furthermore, the creation of Russian-Armenian joint forces reinforces Russia's military prowess in the region, leaving Yerevan little room for maneuver. Moreover, Russia holds significant influence in Armenia's defense and security sphere, which has, on several occasions, prompted impulsive decisions from Yerevan that contradict the officially declared agenda.

However, Moscow seems to have lost Georgia once and for all after the 2008 August war. Even if this is not the case, it will require an enormous effort over several generations to repair the damage. Moreover, after Russia's aggression, Georgia left the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the last post-Soviet structure with which it was associated. By driving Georgia from the CIS, Russia lost legitimacy and influence over Georgia, which was exacerbated by the suspension of diplomatic ties.

Azerbaijan is also averse to being a member of Moscow-led organizations. Nevertheless, if Azerbaijan's membership is realized in Moscow-led organizations, Russia would achieve all its goals regarding the South Caucasus. Incorporating Azerbaijan, it can obtain a common border with Iran and deny Western access to Central Asia, which is detrimental to NATO's further engagement in both regions. If the West concedes the South Caucasus to Russia, its role as an energy corridor and commercial bridge between Europe and Asia will provide further leverage for Moscow to influence the EU and keep a tight grip on the broader Black Sea region, which includes several NATO members.[28]

The National Security Strategy that Putin signed into law on December 31, 2015, identified the United States and its allies as the principal threat to Russia, as the West seeks to hang on to its dominant position in the world. NATO enlargement continues apace, with the Alliance aspiring to a global mission. According to the new document, NATO undermines international security, international law, and arms-control treaties; acquires new military capabilities; and deploys its military infrastructure ever closer to the territory of the Russian Federation, threatening its security.[29] In the post-soviet space, Georgia has been one of the most obvious examples that the West is experiencing confrontation with Russia.

In the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020 and the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, Russia declared the right to apply military force when necessary within the borders of regional states in order to ensure its own security. According to some experts, this indicates that Russia remains the source of military-geostrategic threats to the post-soviet space, par-

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[28] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, pp. 58-59.
[29] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, pp. 46-47.

ticularly the Caspian-Black Sea basin and the South Caucasus. Moreover, according to the analysis of Russia's military doctrines of 2010 and 2014, Moscow's future strategy does not seem to include close cooperation with NATO. Thus, in the 2010 Doctrine, globalizing NATO is the number one external danger for Russia's security. Unlike the 2010 document, in the doctrine of 2014, the cooperation with NATO is not seen as a factor for stability, while the nature of the threats mentioned is the same. In this document, NATO was simply referred to as "a potential partner" for dialogue between equals. Although no specific country names are mentioned, the strategy of Russia's traditional influence zone is the core of the military doctrine of 2014. Therefore, since Armenia toes the Russian government's line and Azerbaijan's neutrality does not pose any security threat to Russia, the only country in which Moscow struggles to burnish its image is Georgia. Considering the failure of hard power policy aimed at dissuading Georgia from its pro-Western orientation, Russian authorities have begun to utilize so-called soft power in relations with Tbilisi. Understanding that arguing on foreign policy and security issues is senseless, as Georgia is not going to trade off its territorial integrity or change its political stance in regard to NATO and the European Union, Russian diplomacy is trying to pursue a policy of a dialogue based on the principle to "agree to mutually disagree" (when your partner acts within a certain framework). According to the proponents of this idea, Russia should adopt a new Georgia policy, one that would temper Moscow's passion for regime change in Tbilisi and instead employ direct outreach to the Georgian people. As examples of such straight-to-the-people approaches, Russian political analysts have cited President Barack Obama's video message congratulating Iranians on the holiday of Nowruz and his administration's easing of restrictions on travel and money transfers to Cuba. This new policy's goal would be to prevent the further alienation of Georgian political elites from Russia and help pro-Russian (or at least, Russia-neutral) forces come to power during the next electoral cycle. Some pro-Kremlin analysts claim this sort of policy is better and more advantageous than a defensive posture.[30] How do experts see Russia's motivations and actions?

On January 25, 2018, an e-mail reply was received by one of the authors from the Director of Programs at the Russian International Affairs Council, Dr. Ivan Timofeev. He answered that there seem to be four foreign policy priorities for the Russian Federation in the South Caucasus: 1) Avoiding NATO membership of Georgia; 2) Strengthening status quo on Abkhazia and South Ossetia while making them more effective in terms of state management; 3) Developing the alliance with Armenia without spoiling relations with Baku; 4) Avoiding extensive influence of external players.

In another e-mail interview between the author and Sergey Markedonov, an expert on the Caucasus from the Department of Regional and Foreign Policy Studies at the Russian State Humanitarian University, it was assessed that "Rus-

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[30] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, pp. 57-60.

sia has three major priorities in the South Caucasus: 1) support of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as a counterweight to Georgia's NATO and EU aspirations; 2) balancing between Armenia and Azerbaijan and engagement in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict resolution; 3) ensuring its interests in the former Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia as a prerequisite for peaceful domestic development in the Russian North Caucasus." Furthermore, Markedonov noted in the e-mail:

> Moscow follows a policy of "selective revisionism." While it has recognized the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the Kremlin has chosen not to support the aspirations of the unrecognized "Nagorno-Karabakh Republic." Strengthening its position as a regional leader, Russia actively cooperates with the West within the framework of the OSCE Minsk group. Unlike Georgia, the positions of Moscow and Washington on this issue have seen much more common ground and Moscow has managed to minimize the challenges to its regional dominance. Plans for further NATO expansion in the region remain frozen and Russia has only strengthened its role as a power broker in the Nagorno-Karabakh process. Moscow has also managed to provide the trans-border and anti-terrorist cooperation deterring Jihadist forces within Azerbaijan (and even Georgia, although in the latter case contacts are rather minimal).[31]

Both interviews make the Russian position in terms of its interests and priorities very clear. It includes keeping the influence of competing for external sources in the South Caucasus to a minimum, especially concerning potential NATO expansion. This is seen very clearly within a framework of geopolitical competition for influence in the region, but one where Russia currently possesses an advantage over its perceived rival, NATO.

The enlargement process can make NATO more robust, increasing its deterrence against possible external attack. Therefore, the membership of potential candidates would be highly beneficial. Incorporating new countries in the ranks of NATO would significantly boost their military capabilities. However, this approach might spark a conflict with Russia. It should be taken into account that Russia's strategic, economic, and ideological capacities to influence the security in the South Caucasus are immensely stronger than those of any other player.[32]

NATO and the South Caucasus: Current and Future Prospects

Since 1994, all three countries in the South Caucasus have been members of NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program. The stated reasoning and logic for engagement in the region are that it is intended "to support international efforts to promote confidence-building measures to foster a better environment for conflict resolution, primarily by helping the states of the South Caucasus to establish institutions that are better able to deal with the varied security challenges each country faces."[33] NATO attaches increased importance to the region. The

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[31] Email interview, 19 January 2018.

[32] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, pp. 51-52.

[33] German, *Regional Cooperation in the South Caucasus*, pp. 152-153.

Alliance itself is not content with the escalation of tensions in the South Caucasus. All three countries are in Europe's Eastern Partnership, and the security in its neighborhood is in NATO's interest. However, due to a number of reasons, there has been less effort from NATO to contribute to the security situation in the South Caucasus actively.

Furthermore, NATO is not coherent in its policy towards South Caucasus. First and foremost, the Alliance is seemingly careful not to infuriate Russia. The Russian-Georgian war and the Ukraine crisis have made the West more reluctant and expansion into the South Caucasus is not expected to be on NATO's agenda in the foreseeable future. However, we can assume that NATO can counterbalance Russia and facilitate the overall integration of the region into NATO institutions through its partnership programs and mechanisms. While discussing the prospects of cooperation between the South Caucasus countries and NATO, regional factors have to be kept in mind. At the 2008 Bucharest summit, Russian President Vladimir Putin regarded the existence of a powerful military alliance in its "near abroad" as a direct threat to Russia's national security and national interests.

Notwithstanding this political rhetoric, President Bush strongly supported Ukraine and Georgia becoming NATO MAP members, while the United Kingdom, France, and Germany opposed this idea.[34] The British judgment is that, although there was full support for both Ukraine and Georgia, the question of when they joined should remain in the balance. Germany and France said they believed that since neither Ukraine nor Georgia was stable enough to enter the program, then a membership plan would be an unnecessary offense to Russia.[35] Germany is still skeptical, fearing that Georgian accession will drag the Atlantic Alliance into a confrontation with Russia. Thus, even if it is temporary, Russia has managed to prevent NATO's enlargement towards the post-soviet borders since 2008 and for the foreseeable future because Russian military intervention remains a credible threat to all post-soviet countries in its proximity.

NATO may be the *sine qua non* for security in the South Caucasus. However, this does not mean that the South Caucasus countries have to be full members. The most promising and perhaps single means of redressing the "security deficit" in the South Caucasus is through the gradual extension of NATO programs into the region. Regional states, including Armenia, are now gradually realizing that their relations with NATO are, in fact, concerned with how to select, develop, and incorporate NATO programs that will, together and increasingly over time, transform the regional security picture overall.[36]

While new global risks emerge, the security domain expands towards non-traditional security issues, which require a fast adaptation of traditional institu-

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[34] Steven Erlanger and Steven Lee Myers, "NATO Allies Oppose Bush on Georgia and Ukraine," *The New York Times*, https://nyti.ms/1TGdayY, April 3, 2008.

[35] Erlanger and Myers, "NATO Allies Oppose Bush on Georgia and Ukraine."

[36] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

tions, enlarging their responsibilities, tasks, and sometimes also the tools at their disposal. Energy security is prominent among those issues. Nowadays, energy has been more politicized, becoming an effective weapon for coercion and creating irreconcilable differences between energy owners and consumers. Since NATO admits that energy security is quickly becoming a growing concern for European security and will be one of the most important future challenges for Allies, the significance of the South Caucasus increases visibly. As a result of the political friction in the energy relationship between the EU and Russia in spring 2006 and later between Russia and Ukraine in January 2009, member states called for NATO involvement in energy security.[37] But the lack of a consensus among members did not allow NATO's wider participation in energy security. Other institutions, such as the EU, have a key role to play and are more suited to resolving the major problems of investment and efficiency. But NATO could make a positive contribution to its members' energy security and, indeed, globally. Moreover, a lack of clarity about NATO's role and the reasons behind it, particularly in terms of its geographical role, could complicate NATO's relations with partner countries and other third parties (Russia in this case). The importance of ensuring energy security once again was underscored and endorsed by Allies in November 2010.

Paragraph 13 of NATO's Strategic Concept recognized the increased dependence of states on "vital communication, transport and transit routes on which energy security, international trade and prosperity depends."[38] Others have assessed that the primary importance of Georgia and Azerbaijan to NATO is to secure the southern Caucasus nexus from Russian influence, secure energy supplies to Europe and limit interactions between Iran and Russia. However, "the Caucasus is not only a major flashpoint of frozen conflicts, but also presents itself as a limit for NATO's expansion on Russia's southern tier."[39] The varied security interests and threat perceptions also complicate the region for NATO, where Georgia views Russia as a threat, Azerbaijan does not, and Armenia is a traditional ally. The main obstacles to a pivotal role for NATO in energy security within the Caspian region are:

- A lack of means and tools at NATO's disposal, which impedes the implementation of the intentions expressed in NATO's Strategic Concept;

- Russia's reluctance to engage in a joint effort with NATO. Any action that the Alliance would implement, especially involving the military, could

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[37] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

[38] Opening speech by H.E. Daniel Cristian Ciobanu, Ambassador of Romania to Azerbaijan to the International workshop on ensuring energy security in the Caspian basin and NATO's role in protecting critical energy infrastructure, Baku, November 22, 2012.

[39] Paul Antonopoulos, Renato Velez, and Drew Cottle, "NATO's Push into the Caucasus: Geopolitical Flashpoints and Limits for Expansion," *Defence and Security Analysis* 33, no. 4 (2017): 366-379.

trigger the Russian reaction to counterbalance the Euro-Atlantic presence in such a vital region to protect its national interest;

- Discord within NATO for a greater NATO commitment to energy security;
- Weak cooperation on energy security with Caspian partners.[40]

However, the ever-increasing need for diversification of the energy sources and the cooperation in energy transit issues makes the West attach too high importance to the South Caucasus region (Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey corridor) as a reliable transit route avoiding Russian and Iranian territories. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum natural gas pipeline represent a step forward in this cooperation, especially combined with the upcoming TANAP and TAP projects. The further development of the Caspian region will have a considerable impact on the world's strategic balance and a key question of receiving access to Central Asian resources. South Caucasus' role in ensuring the energy security of Europe is also welcomed by the US, and the White House strongly supports the Azerbaijan-initiated Southern Gas Corridor project, which will carry the "Shah Deniz II" gas to European consumers. State Secretary Kerry stated that "this project was a very important step with respect to Europe's long-term strategic interests and frankly, to try to diversify the sourcing of energy, which is important."[41] As a result of this policy, the existing tools and efforts for new initiatives towards the diversification of energy supply will improve Europe's energy security and the security of the Alliance as a whole. NATO's role here is to add value to EU energy security and pave the way towards the energy security of the Alliance.

Considering the strategic nature of the region, NATO should keep a close eye on developments in the South Caucasus, both politically and economically. It has been noted that NATO provides a means and a mechanism for the West to attempt to integrate the region into its sphere by transferring the principles (values and norms) of democratic governance and the rule of law[42] to bring the South Caucasus in line with those of liberal democracy. The general approach attempts to create and maintain 'like-minded' states to balance Russia's common historical experiences and interests' policy. In addition, Russia has shown that it uses frozen conflicts and energy as tools to push NATO away from its borders and weaken its cohesion. If we consider all non-NATO countries on Russia's European periphery, we would see that only Finland, Sweden, and Belarus do not have any

[40] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

[41] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

[42] Pierre Jolicoeur and Frederic Labarre, "NATO's engagement in the South Caucasus: Looking for Energy Security or Expanding Norms and Values?" in *Reassessing Security in the South Caucasus: Regional Conflicts and Transformation*, ed. Annie Jafalian (Farnham: Ashgate 2011), 163-167.

conflicts in their territories. The first two are neutral countries, and the latter is a CSTO member. We deduce that the membership for all aspiring countries has become far-fetched, even wishful thinking for the foreseeable future. However, that does not necessarily mean that NATO should stay on the sidelines on the issue of the conflicts if their continued presence is an important issue for the overall European security architecture.[43]

As the key to NATO, the United States, in its 25 years of involvement in the region, evaluates its position in the South Caucasus as consisting of 'important' rather than 'vital' interests. They have been involved in some positive changes in the area but have also faced significant challenges and obstacles. "However, some US-supported initiatives proved too ambitious because they underestimated the challenges facing the South Caucasus states and lacked adequate resources."[44] In addition, US policy needs to contend with Russia's dominant position there and her opposition to US engagement in the region. Each of the three countries in the South Caucasus is undergoing gradual change over time, with periodic moments of conflict and cooperation, which are influenced externally. This has led some commentators to remark on a New Great Game taking place in the region. This perception is reinforced by some recent hawkish op-eds that have appeared in influential newspapers in the United States, such as Stephen Blank's (senior fellow at American Foreign Policy Council) opinion that appeared in Washington DC's newspaper *The Hill*. Blank criticizes what he terms as "mistaken lobbying" of US foreign policy in the Caucasus that he assumes benefits Russian policy and interests there by the lack of challenge to Russian hegemony. He ultimately calls for the US to "beat the Russians at their own game."[45] Hard rhetorics such as Blank's are likely to increase tensions in the region between the US/NATO and Russia as it seemingly confirms to the Russians the subversive intent in the region. But this does not answer whether the perception of the policy elites of NATO/US and Russia of their interests and security are at an equal level of urgency and importance.

Experts were also interviewed by e-mail by the authors to understand the political and policy aspects of the geopolitical/geo-economic situation in the South Caucasus and the wider region and how events may influence pragmatic thinking and assessments. The first e-mail interview was with the head of research at the European Geopolitical Forum, a formerly with NATO, George Niculescu. His detailed reply was received on February 1, 2018.

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[43] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

[44] Eugene Rumer, Richard Sokolosky, and Paul Stronski, *US Policy Toward the South Caucasus: Take Three*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 31, 2017, accessed 12 January 2019, https://bit.ly/2rbWK9A.

[45] Stephen Blank, "US in the Caucasus: Beat the Russians at their Own Game," *The Hill*, January 28, 2018, https://thehill.com/opinion/international/370980-us-in-the-caucasus-beat-the-russians-at-their-own-game, accessed 30 August 2019.

NATO-Russia competition in the South Caucasus is only secondary to the main thrust of the current confrontation between Russia and the West. On the one hand, from a Western perspective, the South Caucasus is currently much less important than it was in the past (just compare the NATO summit joint statements in Istanbul, 2004, and Warsaw, 2016). On the other hand, strategically speaking, if you look at the last 200 years of history of invasions against Russia (Napoleon, Hitler), and, respectively, against Eastern Europe (Stalin), the South Caucasus region has only been a marginal war-front, in contrast to the Baltic states, Belarus, Poland, Ukraine, and Romania being the frontline. This is still visible today in the way NATO has construed its strategic response against Russia's perceived aggressiveness in Ukraine.

NATO's interests in the South Caucasus are rather limited and mainly linked to NATO's self-restrained regional role, which is mostly limited to soft security cooperation, e.g., defense and security sector reforms. The following factors drive these interests:

1. NATO refocuses on deterrence and defense of the territory of its Eastern members against a resurgent Russia;

2. a decrease of the strategic priority of the region in the wake of unwinding the ISAF operation in Afghanistan;

3. a limited European interest for maintaining the security of energy flows (oil and gas) from Azerbaijan to Europe, via Turkey, due to decreasing fossil fuels demand on European markets, and alternative energy projects (including the Russia-led Turkish Stream and Nord Stream 2 projects).

NATO's interest in the South Caucasus region has been further reduced by the tacit Russian-Turkish partnership of convenience, which is basically motivated by both parties' focus on different fronts: Russia's engagement in the geopolitical confrontation with the West over Ukraine and its military involvement in the Syrian war, while Turkey has been absorbed by the fluid evolutions in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Iraq.

However, the geopolitical competition between Russia and the West over Ukraine may have a negative impact on the South Caucasus in the future: either it may turn the current *de facto* situation into a new *de jure* geopolitical reality (via a "new deal on European security"), or it may push the whole region into the swirl of instability around Ukraine. Three factors seem decisive for this analysis:

1. Russian progress in ensuring geopolitical control of Ukraine's foreign and security policy may tend to support the first option. Otherwise, faced with a stronger pushback in Ukraine, Moscow might have to expand its confrontation with the West in the South Caucasus.

2. Turkish tacit acceptance of Russian incursions in Ukraine may also favor the legalization of the status quo in the South Caucasus, while Ankara's brazen reaction, via NATO or directly, may dramatically raise the risk of instability in the South Caucasus.

3. EU's growing distance from US confrontational policies against Russia is also favoring the first option. This may be driven by the EU's perceived military weakness (strengthened by Brexit, and the preoccupation with Mediterranean security threats and risks), its stronger economic inter-ests (buying energy and exporting manufactured products) in Russia, its expected expansion of trade and investments with China within the con-text of the Belt and Road infrastructure projects, and unreliable and con-troversial US policies (which have also sapped the very credibility of US leadership in NATO).

In summary, the South Caucasus might be a good starting point for a talk on a "new deal on European security" due to:

1. limited NATO/US interest for the region;
2. increasing Western European members' (France, Germany, Italy, and Spain) interest to find a decent modus vivendi with Russia;
3. Turkey's partnership of convenience with Russia;
4. Russia's own interest to break the Western sanctions against its incur-sions in Ukraine and restore its trade and investment relations with the EU (bilaterally and via the Eurasian Economic Union).

Some important observations include the remark that what is happening in the South Caucasus is part of the larger geopolitical and geo-economic picture. Although the South Caucasus is pictured as somewhat of a secondary concern, this can change depending on events and circumstances of the strategic view on competition and conflict between Russia and NATO. As such, the situation is po-tentially very volatile in the region as what transpires there is not necessarily originating in the South Caucasus. Others see the situation differently. The sec-ond person interviewed by e-mail was Magnus Geir Eyjolfsson, a Public Diplo-macy and Civil Society Expert with the NATO Liaison Office in Georgia. An e-mail reply was received from him on February 2, 2018.

There is certainly not a "new great game" going on in the South Caucasus from NATO's perspective. For the Alliance, it is all about securing and preserving peace in its neighborhood. NATO's policy towards the South Caucasus is en-shrined in the Partnership Programs that have been in place since the mid-1990s. However, a distinction has to be made between the partnership with Georgia on the one hand and the partnerships with Armenia and Azerbaijan on the other.

NATO deems the South Caucasus to be strategically important to the Alliance for many different reasons. The region borders the territory of a NATO member state while it also offers useful alternative transit options for transporting sup-plies to and from the NATO-led force in Afghanistan.

The Allies and their partners in the South Caucasus face the same security challenges, such as terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruc-tion. Energy security is another important security issue of shared concern. The

South Caucasus sits on key oil and gas transit routes and has significant oil and gas reserves of its own.

One serious concern is the protracted conflicts in the region. While NATO does not seek a direct role in resolving these conflicts, the Alliance supports the efforts of other international organizations, which have specific mandates for their mediation roles. The peaceful resolution of the conflict is a core value of NATO and is at the heart of the commitments that NATO's partners in the South Caucasus undertook when they joined the Partnership for Peace.

Beyond cooperating on security and defense-related capacity building and reform, NATO and its partners in the South Caucasus work together in other areas such as border security, cybersecurity, and disaster preparedness and response. They enhance Euro-Atlantic and international security, peace and stability, promote regional security and cooperation, and promote democratic values and reforms. In essence, when the neighbors enjoy peace and stability, NATO countries are enjoying more safety. In addition, partnerships enhance support for NATO-led operations and, in some cases, prepare interested eligible nations for NATO memberships.

One of the partnerships' core elements is that the respective partner country determines the level of cooperation—the pace, scope, intensity, and focus. NATO fully respects the sovereignty of its partner states and therefore does not impose any elements to the cooperation on the partner countries.

Opponents of NATO enlargement, who have consistently argued that it needlessly provokes Russia, costs too much, dilutes Alliance unity and distracts NATO from its original mission, will argue that it is not too late to halt the process now, or at least that it should be suspended. After a myriad of pledges by the Alliance leaders, both individually and through the Alliance, NATO's door still remains open. A decision to stop the process would badly damage NATO's credibility and undermine its reputation throughout the aspiring regions. Understandably, today many allies remain ambivalent about future enlargement. The current aspirants face serious challenges. Despite the commitment at the 2008 NATO Bucharest summit that Georgia will become a member, many allied capitals harbor deep suspicions about whether this statement is credible. However, it should be noted that during the debates on NATO enlargement in the 1990s, policymakers in allied capitals, including Washington, scoffed at the idea of the Baltic States joining the Alliance, arguing that such a step was too provocative and destabilizing. They were wrong. The security, stability, and predictability of embedding the Baltic states within NATO are what has allowed for the normalization of the relations between these former Soviet republics and Russia. At that time, each of these nations also had Russian troops stationed on their territory. Today, Estonia has a border treaty with Russia, Latvia is cooperating with Russia on facilitating transit to Afghanistan, and Vladimir Putin has welcomed Lithuania's leaders in Moscow. Thus, after North Macedonia is admitted to NATO, the allies will take

stock of some other countries for those the membership is currently a pipe dream.[46]

Some of Niculescu's observations have also been raised, such as the influence of processes and events external to the region and the geopolitical and geo-economic aspects of NATO's engagement in the region. Yet, the quality of the partnership described involves a mutual relationship where NATO transfers knowledge and values to the respective countries of the South Caucasus. There is a strong denial of any sort of a New Great Game taking place, which has some negative connotations embedded in 19th-century history. The remark of possible future membership of the South Caucasus countries is likely to reinforce some perceptions of a geopolitical 'game' taking place in the region that works against Russian goals and interests. Eyjolfsson does describe the great diversity in terms of the relationship and the levels of engagement between NATO and the three countries, which have quite different national interests and goals.

A "New Great Game" in the South Caucasus?

According to its strategic concepts, NATO's vested interest in the South Caucasus is to maintain security through cooperation and secure its access to Caspian energy resources. After Bulgaria and Romania joined NATO in 2004 and then the European Union in 2007, the South Caucasus began to be considered as a new frontier for NATO and the whole structure of European security.[47] Apart from this, for NATO and its members, the role of the South Caucasus is extremely high in terms of Eurasian security as well. According to Tamaz Papuashvili, the South Caucasus is the center of economic interest and an important transportation corridor. Other factors also have fueled interest in the region. Foremost among them are its natural resources (the Caspian basin) and proximity to three major and ambitious Eurasian states: Russia, Turkey, and Iran. The region plays a crucial role as a transport and energy corridor. Today Europe relies heavily on Russian oil and natural gas. However, the EU is set to prevent Russia from wielding energy as a coercive tool, and the Caspian basin has the utmost importance in this policy.[48] Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey corridor is a critical strategic link between Europe and Central Asia, challenging Russia's current stranglehold on energy resources. This corridor includes the production and transportation of hydrocarbons.

The paths of the three South Caucasus republics have been different in terms of their geopolitical orientations, with Armenia being a CSTO member, utterly dependent on Russia and having the least engaged relations among the South Caucasian states with NATO, Azerbaijan pursuing an independent policy regard-

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[46] Iskandarov, *The South Caucasus-NATO Cooperation*, pp. 52-53.

[47] Markedonov, "NATO looks to the Caucasus."

[48] Eric S. Thompson, *Turkish Influence in the South Caucasus and Levant: The Consequences for NATO and the EU* (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2013), 37. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2JC3KWB.

ing global powers, and Georgia demonstrating a pro-NATO position. The lack of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan due to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, lack of NATO presence, and Russia's increased assertiveness in the region are central elements of understanding ongoing policy in the region. What we comprehend from this policy is that the South Caucasus is a complex playground between Russia and NATO. Though NATO has a limited role, Russia is very much engaged in the region, as recent and ongoing conflicts illustrate, and has retained substantial leverage and influence for a long time. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has been set to dominate the post-soviet countries and declared this strategy a priority of its foreign policy. Russia's presence in the region is apparently felt, including its military participation in Armenia and Georgia's breakaway entities.

Nevertheless, the way common interests might be translated into joint opportunities depends not only on Russia's policy towards the South Caucasus but also on how Russia-NATO relations evolve. That is why national security interests and foreign policy goals of these states have to be part of the bargaining process, despite their position regarding Russia and NATO.[49] Some commentators remark that the future of the South Caucasus depends upon its ability to overcome the geopolitical rivalry of the foreign actors with influence in the region and to establish a functional working relationship with those key actors.[50]

However, a functional working relationship between the competing powers seems at current a remote opportunity for a number of reasons. NATO and the US have been working to reduce Russia's physical presence and influence in the region through such lofty ideals as human rights, the rule of law, and democracy. There is a significant dissonance observed in how allies and opponents are characterized on these points. The situation has led to accusations by Russia of double standards and that the US is implacably hostile to Russian interests. One institutional mechanism that was given as an example is the GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova) format, characterized by Lieven as US-sponsored anti-Russian pact.[51] Van der Pijl[52] adds that GUAM was established to integrate Azerbaijan and Georgia's security structures into the Euro-Atlantic security structures by encouraging the countries to leave CSTO. The crucial point in formulating NATO's future engagement in the region is that membership in NATO is not an issue. NATO's wide variety of programs serve to transform the regional security picture overall – with or without membership. PfP is an invalu-

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49 Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

50 Martin Kremer, "European Partnership and the South Caucasus: Framework Condition for a Grand Bargain in 2025?" in *Future Scenarios for the South Caucasus*, Caucasus Analytical Digest No. 19 (13 August 2010): 15-17.

51 Anatol Lieven, "The (Not So) Great Game," *The National Interest* 58 (Winter 1999/2000): 69-80.

52 Kees van der Pijl, "Global and Local Rivalries in NATO's push towards the Caucasus," *Spectrum: Journal of Global Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 33-52.

able tool in building political and military bridges between NATO members and partner nations.[53] PfP proved to be a very successful mechanism in promoting and developing defense cooperation and military interoperability between NATO and the South Caucasus countries through its activities.

Nevertheless, the extent and depth of cooperation with Azerbaijan and Georgia are of a different order than that with Armenia. The furthest extent of the penetration of the influence of Western institutions was assessed as being in Georgia, up to the point of the 2008 war when Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili attempted to retake South Ossetia by military force, which prompted Russia's strong and decisive reaction aimed at putting that geopolitical trend in check.[54] Georgia had unanimously articulated that it was pursuing NATO membership since 2003, when Saakashvili came to power, until August 2008 when the war broke out. As a corollary to that war, Georgia has become more prudent in its relations with Russia. A long period of time has elapsed since that event; yet, Georgia is not as close to NATO membership as it was ten years ago, before the August war, despite a strong presence in NATO operations and solid credentials in meeting the Alliance's military and political standards. In fact, Russia demonstrated its continued presence in the region through its military actions in Georgia. At the same time, NATO demonstrated to all the South Caucasus countries that it was not willing to fight Russia for the sake of Georgia's territorial integrity, no matter how eager it was to join NATO.

This signal was immediately and accurately read by a careful Azerbaijan, which thereafter strengthened the multi-vector nature of its foreign policy amidst the region's geopolitical rivalries and joined the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 2011.[55] By joining NAM, Azerbaijan declared that it is not seeking membership of either NATO or CSTO at the moment. However, the Republic of Azerbaijan, with its growing international prestige, attaches great importance to the development of its relations with NATO. Today, the international experts highly appreciate the steps taken by Azerbaijan in ensuring regional and global security, safeguarding its interests on reciprocal bases.[56] Azerbaijan is deemed NATO's most reliable partner in the region, though it has no direct intention to join the Alliance. "Azerbaijan is one of the most important, active, and long-term partners of NATO. We are actively developing a political dialogue with Baku," stated the Assistant Secretary General of NATO Sorin Ducaru, speaking at the conference marking the 20th anniversary of the program "Partnership for Peace" on

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[53] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

[54] Van der Pijl, "Global and Local Rivalries in NATO's push towards the Caucasus."

[55] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

[56] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

April 11, 2014.[57] As NATO's reliable partner, Azerbaijan's cooperation with the Alliance extends to many areas, including fighting against terrorism, regional security, and contribution to international security, particularly Azerbaijan's support to NATO operations. In this regard, Azerbaijan aspires to achieve military standards and get closer to NATO's military institutions. NATO's political priorities and security interests chime with Azerbaijan's national interests. Further improvement of multilateral relations is the main guarantor of peace and security in the region.

The arguments of the South Caucasus-NATO relations can be grouped as follows:

- It increases the confidence in the security of the South Caucasus region;
- It ensures the security of oil and gas production and transportation;
- The most important problems in the region, the so-called "frozen conflicts," might be solved by peaceful means;
- Armed Forces become interoperable with NATO Forces.

If the South Caucasus-NATO cooperation acts as a guarantor of the region's security, then the nature of all possible dangers should be analyzed. So, what dangers are there in the region? The very fact that Western policy in the region backs their energy goals means that it already clashes with Russia's national interests. Obviously, in the current socio-political situation, the possible dangers most probably stem from countries whit economic and political interests contradicting those of NATO. Thus, to understand the nature of threats, one needs to determine the areas of conflicting interests. The Caspian oil and gas fields are the first and foremost reason. In this domain, NATO's interests clash seriously with Russian interests, and the latter has been using the "frozen conflicts" for decades in order to keep the region and its oil and gas infrastructure under threat. In fact, these conflicts, interspersed with numerous asymmetrical threats in the region, present a challenging environment on NATO's Eastern flank. Russia is playing a dual game in the South Caucasus, both stabilizing and destabilizing the region at the same time.

On the one hand, there is Russia, the conflict-mediator who brokers ceasefires and seeks to resolve the South Caucasian conflicts via its mandate of co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group. On the other hand, there is Russia that is seen by some as a provoker. After mutual provocations leading up to the 2008 war with Georgia, Russia recognized two of Georgia's breakaway regions as independent states and is still militarily present in these territories.[58] A certain amount of leverage is used by Russia in maintaining frozen conflicts and "controlled instability," such as the continued presence of Russian security forces in

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[57] Khayal Iskandarov, "The Road of Integration of Azerbaijan into NATO (1994-2014)", *The Caucasus and the World* 19 (2015): 85-90.

[58] Nasirov, Iskandarov, and Sadiyev, "The South Caucasus: A Playground between NATO and Russia?"

the region, serving geo-energy interests, and retaining the geopolitical status quo.[59] Nuriyev notes that "Moscow clearly continues to influence the South Caucasus nations in various, subtle ways so as to orchestrate a conflict scenario settlement that will not only serve Russian strategic interests but also, in the end, gratify Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Such a regional perspective best illustrates Russia's broad interests, of which Putin's Eurasian Union is but one important part."[60]

Russia's policy and actions in the South Caucasus aim to prevent or limit other foreign actors' influence in the region when it is viewed as contrary to her security and economic interests.[61] Today Russia accuses NATO of destabilizing the Caucasus region with the joint exercises in Georgia but has itself stationed permanent military bases in Armenia, as well as in the separatist regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Emboldened by Russian support, Armenia still keeps Nagorno-Karabakh under its influence. However, the West does not have an effective political or military tool to balance Russia's military in Armenia. The unbalanced and overwhelming Russian military presence in Armenia creates a threat to planned Western oil and gas infrastructures and pipelines.[62] Yet, Russia has been using its role as a mediator for advancing its own interests rather than for actual conflict resolution. As long as the three South Caucasus states are divided, Russia can influence them. It is not a secret that South Caucasus conflicts serve Russia as political leverage over Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. In a nutshell, Russia has been applying a divide and rule policy through protracted conflicts. Indeed, the current status quo is clearly beneficial to Russia's interests, preserving an economic and military sphere of influence while preventing any of the South Caucasian states from looking towards NATO.

There have been different academic arguments both for and against the proposition that there is currently a New Great Game underway in the South Caucasus. We will first summarize the changes in the environment that potentially could support the thesis of a New Great Game. Trenin states that Russia's North and South Caucasus policy centered upon suppressing the insurgency in Chechnya, which was considered as being largely fulfilled by 2004.[63] All other issues were treated as being of secondary or tertiary importance. There was a shift in goals after Chechnya was largely pacified, which centered on resisting the spread of Western and US influence in the Commonwealth of Independent States. "From this perspective, Armenia featured as Russia's regional bulwark

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[59] Abushov, "Policing the Near Abroad: Russian Foreign Policy in the South Caucasus."

[60] Nuriyev, "Facing Difficult Choices: The South Caucasus Between Russia and the European Union."

[61] Markedonov, "Russian Policy Toward the South Caucasus: Security, Unity, and Diversity."

[62] Mahir Khalifazadeh, "The South Caucasus: Obama's Russia 'Reset' and Putin's Doctrine," *CESRAN International*, https://bit.ly/2TjADNi, July 27, 2014.

[63] Dmitri Trenin, "Russia in the Caucasus: Reversing the Tide," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 15, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 2009): 143-155.

and security base; Georgia, a pro-US implantation within Russia's sphere; and Azerbaijan, a nominally neutral battleground in Russian-US competition."[64] This situation sets the scene for continued competition for influence in the region based especially on energy issues and geopolitical spheres. The Old Great Game involved the attempt to limit the territorial expansion and influence of one Empire, which was seen as a direct threat to another Empire.

As early as 1994-1995, some scholars suggested that a New Great Game had begun. This New Great Game's logic was brought about by the collapse of the Soviet Union, resulting in a security and influence vacuum, which meant that a lot of 'new' territory was opened up to possible external actors. However, there was some caution in applying an absolute blanket use of the analogy to the whole picture as there were regional variations and differences appearing in the CIS. One of the differences noted is that in the original Great Game, little attention was paid to the local elites, beyond using them as figureheads and proxies in the rivalry. The New Great Game continues to try and manipulate the local elites; however, the local populations have a much more pronounced sense of self-identity (even if it is not a coherent national one).[65] Other differences and nuances were also observed:

- The original Great Game involved not only armies but also European adventurers, seeking to penetrate and control previously unexplored territory.

- The process was driven not only by aspirations for territorial expansion and military advantage but a strong desire to open up new trade and markets. Therefore, it included not only a diplomatic maneuver but also commercial penetration. In the New Great Game, aid is disguised as an investment and is a means to have a say in regional affairs, where trade is a lever of economic reward or coercion.

- The Old Great Game involved two rival powers with a parallel but non-contiguous border expanding towards each other over what was considered as being no-man's land. The New Great Game involves Russia seeking to maintain influence against Western powers in order to retain a buffer zone.[66]

These observations reveal some distinct subtleties that exist between the Old and New Great Games and how the power rivalry was conceived and waged. Cuthbertson does make the additional observation that concerns the variation of how the New Great Game is managed. "If Moscow's policies in the Baltic States reveal Russian behaviour at its most subtle, Russian power is at its most naked and abusive in the Transcaucasus. Here Russia plays the new Great Game

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[64] Trenin, "Russia in the Caucasus: Reversing the Tide."

[65] Ian Cuthbertson, "The New Great Game," *World Policy Journal* 11, no. 4 (Winter 1994/ 1995): 31-43.

[66] Cuthbertson, "The New Great Game."

with all the panache, flair, and ruthlessness that it displayed in acquiring its empire in the 19ᵗʰ century."[67] Other scholars have made observations that in part coincide with Cuthbertson. There are a number of constraints and restraints on the states of the South Caucasus, both historical and contemporary, which limit their freedom of action. Anderson notes that the region has become a classic buffer zone, with some parallels to the original Great Game, where powerful states have delimited the region for their own purposes. "Thus, as a buffer zone, there is an ever-present danger of fragmentation and either collaboration with or more likely subservience to a regional or outside power."[68] Some other scholars and commentators see the analogy as being overblown.

Anatol Lieven downplays the Great Game analogy because "the importance of the Caspian region to American foreign policy is grossly exaggerated."[69] It was only the demise of the Soviet Union that permitted the occasion to become engaged in the region. A number of factors in the mid-1990s influenced a change in the US approach, such as the oil and gas reserves in the region, deterioration in relations between the US and Russia, growing instability in Russia, and strengthening the ties between the US and Turkey. The result of these factors "was an ambitious strategy of attempting to 'roll back' Russian influence in the region and to replace it with a new, more benign American hegemony."[70] Other scholars have also noted that the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 opened the possibility for the US and Western Europe to gain access to energy reserves, which had been forecasted as enormous.[71] What Lieven saw was not a clash of armies and diplomats to divide and occupy territory for economic and military advantage, but rather an attempt to 'conquer' countries by imparting norms and values to make them more like the US gain geopolitical and geo-economic advantage through influence.

Unlike the US/EU approach of trying to change the region's values and norms, which is potentially a threat to the political and economic elites of the region, Russia applies a regime stability approach. The result is that the more the West attempts to 'democratize' the region, the more likely the regimes in the region will pivot to powers such as Russia and China driven by the instinct of regime survival.[72] "In this Great Power rivalry, Russia has at present tactically outmaneuvered NATO in the Caucasus and made it virtually untenable for the alliance to maintain a permanent presence in the region, despite strong efforts by the US

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[67] Cuthbertson, "The New Great Game," p. 35.

[68] Ewan Anderson, "NATO Expansion and Implications for Southern Tier Stability," in *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the* Caucasus *and Central Asia*, ed. Garry K. Bertsch, Cassady B. Craft, Scott A. Jones and Michael D. Beck (New York: Routledge, 2000), 130.

[69] Lieven, "The (Not So) Great Game."

[70] Lieven, "The (Not So) Great Game."

[71] O'Hara, "Great Game or Grubby Game? The Struggle for Control of the Caspian."

[72] Petar Kurecic, "The New Great Game: Rivalry of Geostrategies and Geoeconomics in Central Asia," *Hrvatski Geografski Glasnik* 72, no. 1 (2010): 21-48.

and Turkey."[73] Markedonov notes that the rising tensions between the US-led West and Russia globally are mirrored in the South Caucasus, where there is the risk of more disagreements, and even the possibility of a conflict cannot be completely ruled out.[74]

Conclusion

There is a significant difference in the apparent value of policy and influence by Russia and NATO, whereas the South Caucasus is regarded as critical for Russia's interests and security. The five-day war in Georgia in 2008 and the annexation of Crimea in 2014 showed that Russia has returned to the arena with a sense of purpose and proved its assertiveness through its actions. Neither Georgia nor Ukraine was the issue in these wars. These two countries served as the playground for a bigger geopolitical game that has been going on between Russia and the West since the collapse of the Soviet Union. NATO did not come to Georgia's defense in 2008 when war broke out and would be unlikely to do so today. Russia will pull out all the stops in order to exert its influence in its "Near Abroad" and reassert itself as a dominant power like elsewhere in the post-Soviet space. With its proximity to Russia, the South Caucasus occupies the first place in this "near abroad." The only way for South Caucasus countries (Georgia and Azerbaijan) to eradicate their problems regarding frozen conflicts is to strike the right balance between NATO and Russia, because the latter does not give up its political ambitions in the region. But the cooperation with NATO has the utmost importance for all three countries. And since Armenia is a CSTO member, Georgia and Azerbaijan could follow suit by considering the models of Sweden and Finland to enhance further cooperation with NATO.

The Alliance may facilitate and expand Azerbaijani-Georgian military cooperation to enforce peace and stability in the South Caucasus in the foreseeable future through active partnership relations without demanding a request for membership. Since every move that any South Caucasus country makes towards NATO membership might prompt a negative reaction from Russia, NATO will be reluctant to respond to every Russian action, as it did during the 2008 Georgian-Russian war. Thus, close practical cooperation with NATO without aiming at membership will improve both Azerbaijan's and Georgia's defense capabilities. This kind of strategy will reduce the ongoing tension between Russia and the West and may partially balance Russia's military presence in Armenia, as well as in Georgia's breakaway regions. Europe is vulnerable to energy coercion, and Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey cooperation offers it the best option to withstand this coercion. Maintaining security in the region is in the interest of energy-importing, transit, and energy-exporting countries, which need to ensure the secu-

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[73] Antonopoulos, Velez, and Cottle, "NATO's Push into the Caucasus: Geopolitical Flashpoints and Limits for Expansion," p. 376.

[74] Sergey Markedonov, "Russian Policy Toward the South Caucasus: Security, Unity, and Diversity," 148.

rity of their industry and pipeline infrastructure. That is why the South Caucasus region has to be considered a buffer zone between NATO and Russia until the "frozen conflicts" are settled, and all energy projects are implemented. Choosing only one side can only bring to Georgia and Azerbaijan headache and exacerbate the existing crises in their territories.

In the bigger strategic picture and to address the research question that was posed at the beginning of this article, can one claim that a New Great Game really occurs? The answer is not a simple yes or no, but a more nuanced picture that lands somewhere in-between these extremes. Competition for power and influence in the South Caucasus by foreign powers is clearly observable, and especially between the actors focused upon in this article, namely Russia and NATO. The other side's actions are perceived as equally provocative by both NATO and Russia, even if respective processes and events occur beyond the region of the South Caucasus and in need of some sort of firm policy response. However, in the current New Great Game, which is a contested term and phenomenon, there are some significant differences forming the very basis of the great power conflict and competition. The Old Great Game concerned two great powers clashing over "unclaimed" land as they progressively moved closer towards each other. At its roots, the New Great Game transpired due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, which opened up an area that has been in Russia's orbit for some 200 years to the influence of other foreign actors. The Old Great Game very much involved the direct occupation and colonization of territory. Whereas the New Great Game concerns the pursuit of influence of countries through the use of institutions – NATO, GUAM, EU versus CIS, CSTO, and Eurasian Union. This clash of institutions of the opposing sides also reveals a clash of values and approaches. Euro-Atlantic organizations emphasize the transfer of values and norms that are meant to transform the host country into an entity that is more 'like-minded' in the liberal democracy spectrum. Those organizations associated with Russia tend to be less demanding on the need for transformation, tending instead to support the status quo. As to the most striking similarity, at its very heart of intent, the New Great Game is like the Old Great Game, involving a deliberate attempt to try to exclude the geopolitical and geo-economic success or even the presence of competing actors from a specific geographical region.

Disclaimer

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Research Article

NATO's Role in Improving Professional Military Education with a Focus on the South Caucasus Countries

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Abstract: The presented article underlines the priority of education and considers the role of Professional Military Education (PME) in enhancing defense capabilities and preparing the military leaders who are able to make strategic decisions and solve complex problems. It emphasizes a PME as a cornerstone of the military build-up. The authors examine the main characteristics of PME and underscore its importance for increasing the interoperability between the NATO allies and the South Caucasus nations. Taking the broad meaning of interoperability into account, the authors attempted to bring to the fore the critical need for increasing the intellectual interoperability with outside expertise. Further, the authors point out the importance of the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) as a new system for improving PME and building better-integrated forces in the South Caucasus. At the same time, this article identifies factors that will lead towards the enhancement of the relations amongst the South Caucasus nations themselves. The goal is to consider how the South Caucasus countries can more effectively address the challenges in PME and to formulate suggestions and recommendations. Comparative analysis, synthesis, inductive, and deductive methods have been used to produce conclusive outcomes and recommendations for the countries in the region.

Keywords: Professional Military Education, NATO, DEEP, South Caucasus, cooperation, interoperability.

Introduction

The world is currently undergoing a much more complicated security environment than it was decades ago. Today's environment is inherently complex, with an increased number of key stakeholders as well as an exponential increase in the connections between these players. With the growth in technology and information exchange, NATO's operational areas are increasingly complex and potentially chaotic.[1] Thus, as an epicenter of global security, NATO needs to become attuned to the challenges that its member and partner nations encounter.[2]

Education and training are two of the main domains of cooperation between NATO and partner nations. They are what is motivating NATO to shift its attention away from weapons systems to joint, multinational and, interagency education and training of people who can more broadly develop and employ the doctrines, strategies, and policies that integrate all the instruments of power—political, military, economic and informational—to produce leaders better equipped to deal with a range of issues that define the twenty-first-century security environment: "smart power."[3] It may sound strange, but these initiatives provide NATO with a very important, albeit different role in today's global security landscape.[4]

The nations in the South Caucasus region have been struggling to reach Western standards in every possible field since they gained their independence from USSR. Their armed forces were founded in the period of chaos resulting from the collapse of the Soviet Union when all three countries were suffering from wars. Therefore, defense education occupies one of the first places among these fields, especially regarding the geopolitical landscape of the region. There are different tools and means that can be used to realize this desire to improve their PME. NATO has supported the South Caucasus countries together with other post-Soviet states in reforming their respective security sectors in line with western standards and bringing them closer to the Alliance. It presents the best tools to keep up with the developed or at least developing countries. Of these, the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) is one of these productive tools to

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[1] Imre Porkoláb and Ben Zweibelson, "Designing a NATO that Thinks Differently for 21st Century Complex Challenges," *Applied Social Sciences* DR 1 (2018): 196-212, https://bit.ly/2kJb0pP.

[2] Elman Nasirov and Khayal Iskandarov, "The Prospects of Azerbaijan to Enhance Military Interoperability with NATO," *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 16, no. 4 (2017): 91-101.

[3] James Keagle and Tiffany Petros, "Building Partner Capacity through Education: NATO Engagement with the Partnership for Peace," *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 10, no. 1 (2010): 46-63.

[4] Aaron Willschick, "In Too 'DEEP.' NATO as an Institutional Educator," NATO Association of Canada, February 22, 2013, https://natoassociation.ca/in-too-deep-nato-as-an-institutional-educator/.

facilitate their integration into Western structures. The goal of this article is to examine how the South Caucasus countries can more effectively address the challenges in PME and to formulate suggestions and recommendations. Comparative analysis, synthesis, inductive, and deductive methods have been used in the study to produce conclusive outcomes and recommendations for the countries in the region.

Professional Military Education: Challenges and Perspectives

One of the principles that transcend the borders to achieve effective cooperation is changing people and the way they think. First and foremost, it demands investment in education, in changing the way people think. Most importantly, this entails the introduction of new curricula, different faculty and student bodies, and new teaching methodologies based on active learning in order to expand the next generation of leaders' peripheral vision. It is equally important to conduct this transformation in an academic setting in order to adapt to the new security environment. This kind of approach will enrich academic discussion while encouraging the critical thinking that is so essential to addressing today's challenges and highlights the importance of PME.[5] PME covers a wide range of activities. In one sense, it refers to a plethora of training, continuing education, and other activities designed to provide development to members of the military at various points in their career and to prepare them for the next level of responsibilities.[6] Thus, the PME strategy is about the balance between training, professional education, and experience. These three factors combine to produce a "theory-practice nexus" that results in the ability to defeat an enemy. If an Army is to be truly adaptable, it needs to maintain a coherent and balanced investment in these factors. While the present balance is acceptable, the changing character of war demands a sustained investment in PME across the Army in order to evolve an increased intellectual edge.[7] PME itself is not a new phenomenon. For instance, Lorenzo Ruiz attributes the victory of the Prussian Army over the French Army of Napoleon III (at the Battle of Sedan in September 1870) to their institutionalization of three army educational reforms during the 1800s: tiered education, broad curriculum, and historical study. These reforms provided the Prussian leadership with the tools they needed for success on the battlefield and

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[5]   Keagle and Petros, "Building Partner Capacity through Education."

[6]   Rakesh Sharma, "Professional Military Education and Producing Thought Leaders for the Army," *Indian Defence Review*, July 17, 2017, www.indiandefencereview.com/professional-military-education-and-producing-thought-leaders-for-the-army/.

[7]   Tom McDermott, "Evolving an Intellectual Edge, Professional Military Education for the Australian Army," February 13, 2019, https://cove.army.gov.au/article/evolving-intellectual-edge-professional-military-education-australian-army.

remain essential components of today's military education systems.[8] However, over the past generation of international military professional developments in innovation and decision-making, the previously popular mechanistic methods have been challenged by new ways of thinking.[9] In order to operate more effectively today, military decision-makers need abilities that are related to productive, cognitive, and interactive skills, associated with critical thinking, creativity, problem-solving and interpersonal communication. This means that officers must be taught not what to think but how to think.[10] Today's military leaders need to be highly adaptable and capable of addressing complex and ambiguous problems. They have to be able to appreciate the complexities of the contemporary operational environment. This development has sparked a variety of lively debates from time to time, which ushered in several publications recommending changes to the PME system. These recommendations varied from drastic curriculum changes to the use of "decision-forcing cases" that promote unconstrained thinking and innovation. The publications raised many valid points, though they failed to address how operational commanders can contribute significantly to the education and training of select officers. Operational commanders from across the joint force should leverage the resources and opportunities provided by PME institutions and proactively invest their time and energy in effectively grooming the next generation of critical thinkers.[11] Professional Military Education (PME) has always been a critical component in the development of military leaders. It is based upon two key principles: training for certainty so that military personnel gain and master the skills needed for known tasks, and educating for uncertainty so that they have the broad base of knowledge and critical thinking skills needed to handle unanticipated and unpredictable situations.[12]

In order to provide professional development opportunities, professional military education needs a high-quality, effective learning environment. The desired educational outcomes can only be achieved through using teaching methods and instructional activities which promote students' critical thinking.[13]

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[8] Lorenzo Ruiz, "The Roots of Modern Military Education," *RealClear Defense*, July 17, 2018, available at https://bit.ly/2lVbTMc.

[9] Porkoláb and Zweibelson, "Designing a NATO that Thinks Differently for 21st Century Complex Challenges."

[10] Ugis Romanovs, "Professional Military Education. Appreciating Challenges of the Learning Environment," *Security and Defence Quarterly* 4, no. 5 (2016):58-66, https://doi.org/10.5604/23008741.1191939.

[11] Thang Tran, Michael Oliveira, Josh Sider, and Leo Blanken, "Ignorance and Professional Military Education: The Case for Operational Engagement," *War on the Rocks*, November 7, 2018, https://bit.ly/2yTxx7i.

[12] P.K. Mallick, *Professional Military Education – An Indian Experience* (New Delhi: Krish Printers, 2017), available at https://bit.ly/2mbQn64.

[13] Romanovs, "Professional Military Education. Appreciating Challenges of the Learning Environment."

There are several approaches leading to the improvement of PME. Among other things, David Morgan-Owen[14] argues for a greater role of civilian academics, giving the audience more freedom in the choice of subjects and methods. Paula Thornhill[15] and Celestino Perez[16] respectively, propose reforms that would push PME institutions in a different direction, replacing much academic work with additional opportunities to practice particular military skills. Tammy Schultz and Richard Andres suggest employing mixtures of academic and military elements similar to those currently seen in American war colleges. Bruce Gudmundsson offers "Socratic application," "the Xenophon option," or "reflective professional practice," which guarantees the preparation of officers who are immediately capable of producing first-class staff work and who, at the same time, are fully prepared for the cognitive challenges of a world rich in rapid, repeated, and radical revolutions.[17]

In short, PME is vital to the military's future and, potentially, to the nation as well. This, in its turn, requires future leaders to be able to learn and adapt at all levels. The aim of PME is not to make every leader a professor but instead to make individuals more creative and less risk-averse and to be able to practice the skills of critical thought. Future wars will require leaders who are infinitely adaptable, who use doctrine as a guide and never a rule, and who are able to come up with their own solutions, able to repurpose weapons or technology and invent new ways of doing things quickly. Only those capable of critically analyzing the situation will be able to do this. Furthermore, PME should reach everyone, because we do not know who will be in a critical position at the time when it matters. If it is someone who cannot analyze the situation, think their way through problems, or has a shallow depth of knowledge to draw upon, then the mission could fail and lives could be lost. As David Petraeus stated: "The most important tool that any soldier carries is not his weapon, but his mind." PME sharpens minds and is more likely to result in battlefield success.[18]

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[14] David Morgan-Owen, "Approaching a Fork in the Road: Professional Education and Military Learning," *War on the Rocks*, July 25, 2018, https://warontherocks.com/2018/07/approaching-a-fork-in-the-road-professional-education-and-military-learning/.

[15] Paula Thornhill, "To Produce Strategists, Focus on Staffing Senior Leaders," *War on the Rocks*, July 20, 2018, https://warontherocks.com/2018/07/to-produce-strategists-focus-on-staffing-senior-leaders/.

[16] Celestino Perez, "What Military Education Forgets: Strategy is Performance," *War on the Rocks*, September 7, 2018, https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/what-military-education-forgets-strategy-is-performance/.

[17] Bruce Gudmundsson, "A Fourth Way in Professional Military Education," *War on the Rocks*, October 2, 2018, https://warontherocks.com/2018/10/a-fourth-way-in-professional-military-education/.

[18] Freddie, "Does Professional Military Education Matter?" *Wavell Room*, May 16, 2019, https://wavellroom.com/2019/05/16/does-pme-matter/.

At the end of 2015, the King's CMEO put together its first-ever PME Working Group at the Joint Services Command and Staff College (Shrivenham, UK). The event was attended by 35 military education practitioners from nations including Canada, Egypt, Georgia, Japan, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Qatar, Singapore, and the UK. As part of the workshop, evaluation forms were handed out to attendees asking them to provide their insight on the future strategic goals for PME. Due to the mix of internationals who were present at the working group, attendees were asked to place seven "strategic challenges" into categories of importance (Table 1.1).

Table 1. Evaluation form (distribution of responses in percentage points).

1	2	3	4	5	Strategic challenges
50	17	17	17	0	Democratizing education, i.e., better professional development for all officers, not just the top 20 %
17	17	33	33	0	Phasing out the "three-tier" education system, into a continuous "through-life" learning process
50	50	0	0	0	Developing strategic thinking competencies for senior officers and future leaders
25	75	0	0	0	Developing strategic awareness competencies for junior officers (to deal with unconventional warfare, including the perils of real-time media coverage)
0	0	60	20	20	Advancing the effectiveness of alumni networks for knowledge sharing and defense diplomacy
0	33	50	17	0	Increasing cross-cultural capabilities for officers (for peacekeeping, diplomacy, coalition operations, etc.)
40	60	0	0	0	Enhancing coalition and partner capacity to enable joint strategic planning and joint-by-proxy operations

The categories used were: 1. Top priority; 2. Very important; 3. Important (but not urgent); 4. Useful (but not important); and 5. Counter-productive. According to the results, 50 % of attendees chose "Democratizing education" and "Developing strategic thinking competencies for senior officers and future leaders" as a top priority. Interestingly, 40 % of attendees pointed to enhancing coalition and partner capacity as a "top priority" in order to enable joint strategic planning and joint-by-proxy operations (for 60 % of attendees, it was "very important"). The bottom line is, even though there are variations between the PME requirements of different nations, for educators across the world, there exists an increasing emphasis on improving strategic competencies at all levels of officer education, a joint approach between forces, blended learning techniques,

and professional development for the 80 % of officers who fall outside of the traditional advanced command and staff course system.[19]

NATO's Role in Improving PME in the South Caucasus Countries

In order to ensure an effective educational process, the focus should be on the implementation and development of effective management mechanisms, reasonable distribution of resources, constant development of intellectual resources, refinement of military educational programs, improvement of educational assets, and implementation and development of modern methods and technologies of learning and evaluation. It will be essential to pay special attention to the continuous succession of scientific attitudes to the development of educational programs in the military educational institutions, which involves analysis, planning (design), development, performance, and evaluation.[20] The challenge is how to achieve this. A single nation on its own cannot achieve it all. There is a need for practical support, which can be provided through different resources, and NATO would seem to have the best means available. Education is a key agent of transformation and NATO is using it to support institutional reform in the South Caucasus countries. According to international standards, in the process of continuously updating training, education, and evaluation methods, it is essential to consider the experiences of appropriate military educational programs and institutions in NATO and its partner states. International collaboration, focused on the support of current capabilities, can definitely improve the quality of education in the military educational institutions. This leads to the compatibility of armed forces with NATO and its success in joint operations.[21]

The Alliance's education and training programs, which initially focused on increasing interoperability between NATO and partner forces, have been expanded. Currently they provide also a means by which Allies and partners can collaborate on how to build, develop and reform educational institutions in the security, defense, and military domains.[22] As Ronald Schmied, the evaluation director of Austrian Joint Forces Command, mentioned: "For Austria, it is im-

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[19] Duraid Jalili, "Future Strategic Priorities, for Professional Military, Education: A Practitioner Perspective," *Defence-in-Depth*, April 18, 2016, https://defenceindepth.co/2016/04/18/future-strategic-priorities-for-professional-military-education-a-practitioner-perspective/.

[20] Ministry of Defense of Georgia, "Vision of the Training and Military Education Command," n.d., https://mod.gov.ge/en/page/57/vision-of-the-training-and-military-education-command.

[21] Ministry of Defense of Georgia, "Vision of the Training and Military Education Command."

[22] Joshua Kucera, "Uzbekistan Asks NATO for Military Education Help," *Eurasianet*, February 5, 2013, https://eurasianet.org/uzbekistan-asks-nato-for-military-education-help.

portant to be in line with international standards due to the fact Austria has a huge contribution to missions not only for NATO but also for the European Union and the United Nations. NATO provides a tool to check those standards."[23]

The principal feature of NATO education and training Partnership Tools is that it provides the perfect opportunity for the South Caucasus countries to specialize in a particular area of expertise. Specialization further enhances other factors, which can be beneficial for regional cooperation. These include [24]:

- knowledge exchange, enabled by the exchange of students and instructors;
- bigger training audiences through the deployment of Mobile Training Teams and the exchange of instructors;
- strengthened personal links among the personnel in the region;
- discussion platforms provided by organizing different networking events and meetings.

NATO education and training has greatly expanded from what it once was. Historically, NATO education was focused on ensuring military forces from member countries could work together effectively in missions and operations. Today, NATO education and training functions have drastically expanded to the point that now the Alliance has a network of training schools and institutions, conducts regular exercises, and runs training missions as far away as Afghanistan and Africa.[25] NATO shares its expertise with the South Caucasus countries in order to assist them with defense education and training reform through a set of mechanisms. By joining different NATO initiatives, these countries can open up the opportunity to exchange insights and experience in areas of common interest, gain access to the advice and support of NATO experts, as well as engaging in various NATO events and activities. Partnership education and training mechanisms are predominantly designed as bilateral tools – focused on enhancing cooperation and interoperability between the Alliance and the partner.[26] Through this aspect of cooperation, officers and troops of the South Caucasus region can become familiar with NATO standards, language and procedures and get to know Allied

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[23] "Austria: NATO Picks off Europe's Remaining Neutrals," June 5, 2013, https://rickrozoff.wordpress.com/2013/06/05/austria-nato-picks-off-europes-remaining-neutrals/.

[24] Marija Ignjatijevic, *How Can NATO Contribute to Regional Cooperation in the Field of Training and Education?* (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, 2019), https://bezbednost.org/en/publication/how-can-nato-contribute-to-regional-cooperation-in-the-field-of-training-and-education/.

[25] Willschick, "In Too 'DEEP.' NATO as an Institutional Educator."

[26] Ignjatijevic, *How Can NATO Contribute to Regional Cooperation*.

and partner officers in preparation for future cooperation in theatre.[27] A major component of NATO teaching is the broad range of courses and seminars offered on both strategic and operational issues. Although the courses differ, they tend to focus on the knowledge and skills required by those who will occupy senior or specialized positions within the structure of the Alliance, or who hold NATO related posts in their home countries.[28]

The South Caucasus countries have made, and continue to make, significant contributions to the Alliance's operations and missions. A number of tools have been developed to assist them in enhancing their own defense capacities and defense institutions, ensuring that their forces are able to provide for their own security, are capable of participating in NATO-led operations, and are interoperable with Alliance forces.[29]

Changing how people think, how they approach problems and analyze (evaluate) courses of action, and how they implement their assignments will pose considerable challenges to all armed forces for the foreseeable future. The South Caucasus countries, like other Partnership for Peace partners, also recognize the need for education and training to address a wide range of security challenges. Therefore, they have raised education and training transformation to one of the highest priorities in their agreed NATO IPAPs.[30] However, PME in these countries lags behind that in the Western armies. Education and training transformation is a high-priority mission that will need to be sustained for decades in order to contribute to more rational decisions, better leadership, and, ultimately, a long-lasting peace in the region.[31] These countries are fully aware of this, and, for now, NATO offers a window of opportunity. At the same time, the NATO DEEP ADL Portal is available, and it creates a compendium of expertise in the use and implementation of new technologies in defense education and training[32] that is of importance when considering developments within the security environment.[33]

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[27] NATO, "The Secretary General's Annual Report 2015," January 7, 2016, available at www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2016_01/20160128_SG_AnnualReport_2015_en.pdf.

[28] Willschick, "In Too 'DEEP.' NATO as an Institutional Educator."

[29] NATO, "The Secretary General's Annual Report 2015."

[30] Keagle and Petros, "Building Partner Capacity through Education."

[31] Keagle and Petros, "Building Partner Capacity through Education."

[32] Piotr Gawliczek, "Innovative ICT Solutions and/within/for Changing Security Environment. Case Study – NATO DEEP ADL Portal and Social Media," *Journal of Scientific Papers. Social Development Security* 9, no. 4 (2019): 111-119, https://doi.org/10.33445/sds.2019.9.4.8.

[33] Piotr Gawliczek, "Security Environment Perceived from Innovative Information/ Communications Technology and Social Media Perspective. Towards System Solutions," in *Security and Russian Threats*, ed. Mirosław Banasik, Piotr Gawliczek, and Agnieszka Rogozińska (Kielce, Poland: Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce, 2019), pp. 251-264.

Conclusions

The primary challenge for the South Caucasus is definitely security and stability. However, there is a conflict of interests among the external actors regarding the region and amongst the South Caucasus countries themselves. Georgia is convinced that NATO's involvement is important, whereas Armenia, as a member of CSTO, excludes it. Azerbaijan is more prudent, trying to strike the right balance between various external actors. However, all three of them are concerned with the region's stability, and all countries are eager to improve their military capabilities.

Professional military education is a cornerstone of military enhancement. Therefore, these three nations should have a PME program that enables them to have the right contingent with the right education. Considering that all three nations lag behind developed countries in their defense education, there are some possible tools open to all of them to improve their capability. NATO is a dynamic organization, trying to keep abreast of modern requirements. For now, NATO provides the best tools for improving defense education. Therefore, all three countries in the South Caucasus have reasons for cooperating with NATO, even though they do not, necessarily, implement NATO-initiated programs with the same intensity.

Disclaimer

The views expressed are solely those of the authors and do not represent official views of the PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, participating organizations, or the Consortium's editors.

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Research Article

The Culture of Military School: The Example of the Dr. Franjo Tudjman Croatian Defense Academy

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Croatian Military Academy "Dr. Franjo Tudjman," https://vojni.unizg.hr/en

Abstract: Culture is defined in various ways. It often depends on an individual's experiences, the associated era, and societal norms and values. The various definitions indicate that culture is a contextually dependent concept. It is something by which the identity of a person, group, community, minority, organization, or nation can be recognized. Schools, as special educational institutions, have their own specific cultures. Each school's culture may be defined as its way of life and work, the influence of tradition, and the behavior of those attending which includes the teachers and all of its employees. Military organizations, which are some of the oldest and most prominent institutions, are specific working environments with a distinctive culture. Joining the armed forces involves giving up part of one's private life in order to become a soldier, a noncommissioned officer (NCO) or an officer. When a person enters a military school system, significant life changes occur, with the acceptance of different forms of personal, social, and professional activities. This article analyzes the Dr. Franjo Tuđman Croatian Defense Academy education system to identify the distinctive characteristics of a military school culture.

Keywords: culture, taxonomy, hierarchical form, military organization, school life, subculture, university study programs.

Introduction

If we observe soldiers, we notice that they behave according to rules. They know how to use their personal weapons, how to protect themselves, disguise themselves, receive orders from their superiors, perform the tasks assigned to them, and report on their performance. Most of these requirements stem from a gen-

eral understanding of the organizational culture and the mission, including the social standards and relationships related to serving in the military and obeying orders.

Every organization relies and depends on its traditions and its environment. The longer the tradition, the more obvious and recognizable the culture is, and it is easier to define the values it promotes. Many factors, such as history, religion, ethnic identity, language, and nationality, create a culture. It develops in response to various pressures and influences; it is learned through socialization and is not inherited.[1,2] Briefly, it promotes values and provides a lens through which its members can see and understand the world.

Culture, in military organizations, has a specific character and it differs from other cultures in terms of its philosophy, approach, and requirements. As a fundamental part of the education of future members through their curriculum outcomes, requirements, methods, content, and education levels, military schools must produce cadre that are capable, prepared and willing to fulfill their commanding officers' tasks. Here the special character of military schools differs from other schools that nurture the development of shared constructive action, critical thought, elimination or acceptance of imposed authority, questioning, and all the other special characteristics stemming from a student-centered philosophy. Of course, it cannot be said that military schools seek to avoid the development of these behaviors and thought, and they certainly do work to integrate them, but with a distinctive respect for the clear structure and the specific nature of the military ethos.

The development and reconciliation of these differences is the goal of all employees of military schools. As well as accepting the explicit requirements of their work, they must also, by their own example and implicit pedagogy, promote the fundamental values of the organization and thereby have a positive effect on the development of the school's unique culture. Therefore, it is extremely important to recognize, study, research, and improve the culture of military schools and their hidden, formal, and informal curriculum.

The Definition of 'Culture'

Culture (Lat: *cultura,* pres. verb. *colere;* to process, take care of, guard, nurture) is a human attribute. According to one definition, culture comprises the customs, ideas, beliefs, etc., of a specific society or social group. Tylor[3] defines culture as:

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[1] Mary L. Connerley and Paul B. Pedersen, *Leadership in a Diverse and Multicultural Environment: Developing Awareness, Knowledge, and Skills* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005).

[2] Larry A. Samovar, Richard E. Porter, Edwin R. McDaniel, and Carolyn Sexton Roy, *Communication Between Cultures*, 9th ed. (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2017).

[3] Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) is a founder of modern anthropology and one of the first scientists to use the term culture in the universal and human sense.

"(…) that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society."[4] Culture is defined in various ways, depending on an individual's perspective, the historical era, and the nature of one's society. The different definitions show that culture is difficult to explain, but according to the most general definition, it is what people have made of themselves and the world, something by which we are able to recognize the identity of a person, group, community, minority, nation or people; however, one culture can exist independently of other cultures. To comprehend and understand any culture, four essential components must be considered: political system, economy, social institutions (banks, school system, educational level, security forces, labor unions, all the way to football clubs), and culture.[5]

Cultural encounters occur daily, despite occasional differences in non-verbal communication (expressions of anger, contempt, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, etc.). Learning about other cultures helps to reduce the inappropriate use of these expressions. In such communication, every culture presents, verifies, confirms, and develops itself. "Therefore, culture represents the framework of its identity, the framework of a person's identity, whereby various symbolic elements from language to social customs serve as markers of the special character, that is, the boundaries of group membership."[6] Culture is always expressed when it encounters another culture or something different, and it is present and visible in almost all aspects of society, for instance, youth culture, leadership culture, pop culture, religious culture, ethnic culture, health culture, etc.

Hofstede defines culture synthetically, stating: "(…) the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another."[7] Culture, in the wider sense, is also not easy to define, because it is affected by the principles, beliefs, and values that determine perception, attitudes, expectation, interactive communication, and forms of behavior. Eagleton states that culture implies a dialectical relationship between the artificial and the natural, actually everything that a person does in relation to the world and what the world does in relation to a person.[8] Man lives in nature and with nature, and from the very outset tries to shape it according to his needs, that is, to create some form of culture. Cifrić points out that culture appeared as

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[4] Edward Burnett Tylor, Primitive Culture Researches into the development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom, 4th ed., vol. I (London: John Murray, 1920), p. 1.

[5] Casey Haskins, "A Practical Approach to Cultural Insight," *Military Review* 40, no.5 (September-October 2010): 79-87, quote on pp. 81-82.

[6] Stjepan Jagić and Marko Vučetić, "Globalization Processes and Culture," *Acta Iadertina* 9, no. 1 (2013): 15-24, – in Croatian, quote on p. 20.

[7] Geert Hofstede, "Identifying Organizational Subcultures: An Empirical Approach," *Journal of Management Studies* 35, no. 1 (1998): 1-12, quote on p. 2.

[8] Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publisher, 2000).

a product. It is produced and 'lived' according to its response to society's physical and spiritual needs. It may be said that culture is everything that man has produced and that it is in fact, somewhat different from nature.[9] It links the tasks, standards, and values, which society has agreed on and accepted, into a whole. Biloslavo and co-authors attempted to explain culture using an example.[10] If one compares culture to a tree, the roots are the basic habits which people have acquired and which are passed on from generation to generation, the trunk are values and assets, and comprise adopted forms of behavior, and the visible forms are the external parts of the tree. One of the most acceptable and simplest definitions of culture states that it is "(…) the collection of shared convictions, values and presumptions of a specific group of people, who learn from one another and teach others that their convictions, values, and attitudes are correct."[11] Therefore, culture is the sum of human activity that is taught and passed on from generation to generation and which develops over the course of time.

Each person reflects and expresses his or her own culture. Culture directly affects the quality of a person's life and people influence culture development through their work. Unfortunately, the environment, but also each one's personal equation, may have a negative effect on society if that person does not want to adjust to the environment in which they live, or the culture and society which surrounds them, whereby they seek to influence the freedom of others or the legal order. Then, undesirable forms of behavior by individuals occurs, seen in intolerance and bigoted attitudes towards those who do not fit into their personal view of a community's cultural identity. Society is a complex network in which different interest groups exist, with their own specific cultures, and they all promote their own lifestyle and work ethic in accordance with their own philosophies.

Wunderle developed a three-level cultural taxonomy: cultural influences, cultural variations, and cultural manifestations (Figure 1).[12] According to him, to increase cultural awareness, it is necessary to understand all three components:

- Cultural influences are major social or institutional factors (heritage, religion, traditions, and language) that bind people together. Of import-

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9 Ivan Cifrić, "Life Within the Limits of Culture," *Časopis za Filozofiju* 6, no. 12 (2009): 69-83, quote on p. 70.

10 Roberto Biloslavo, J. Kovač, M. Markič, and A. Ježovnik, *Strateški management in management spreminjanja [Strategic Management and Change Management]* (Koper, Slovenia: Fakulteta za management, 2006).

11 Mai Moua, *Culturally Intelligent Leadership, Leading Through Intercultural Interactions* (New York: Business Expert Press, 2010), quote on p. 15.

12 William D. Wunderle, *Through the Lens of Cultural Awareness: A Primer for US Armed Forces Deploying to Arab and Middle Eastern Countries* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2006), pp. 12-13.

ance is a culture's heritage or history which can be critical in defining the culture's ethnic and national identity.

- Cultural variations are styles of behavior, values, and ways of thinking that are common to a culture. They consist of the language, social rules, customs, structures, and institutions of a given culture. Values are principles that members of a culture use to evaluate alternatives or consequences in decision making. Ways of thinking or cognition refer to preference-based strategies and processes used in decision making, perception, and knowledge representation of a given culture.

- Cultural manifestations are the concrete displays of a culture's thought and behavior, related to negotiation styles, willingness to compromise, and embracing of risk.

Wunderle also believes that the cultural taxonomy helps the American (and any other) military, involved in global peace-keeping operations, to understand the key features of the various cultures that are encountered. With an understanding of cultural taxonomy, members who are conducting an operation can cope more easily in situations on the ground, and thereby also increase the effectiveness of their work.

Military organizations are a cultural group. Members of military organizations live in line with their values. The structure of their daily activities aligns with military life. Early rising, physical exercise, shared meals, line-up (formations), strict respect for the prescribed working hours, regular reporting etc., all develop and
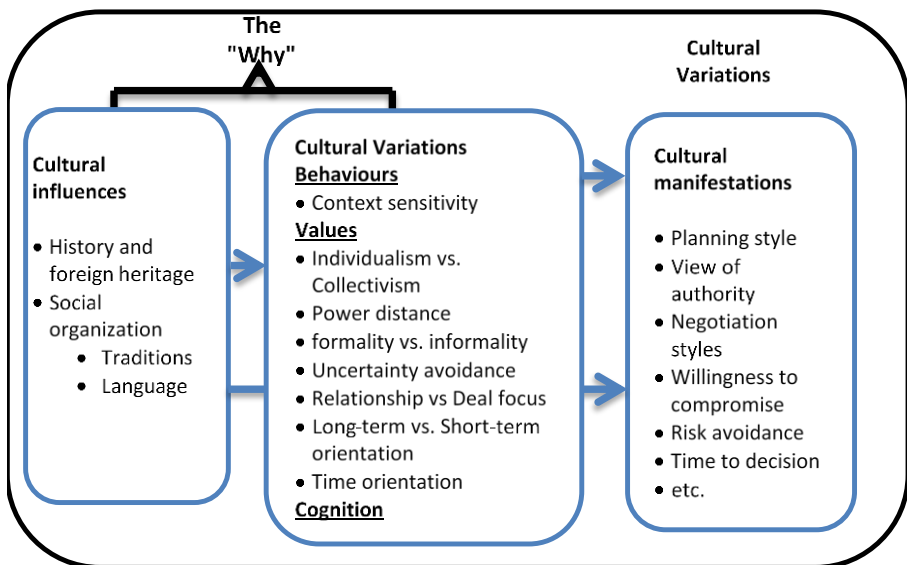

Figure 1: Taxonomy of Culture (Source: Wunderle, 2006).

strengthen the influence of military culture on the formation of the soldier's attitudes and daily lives. In the army, a unit's commander has a major influence on cultural development. The commander's contribution to the creation of a positive climate reflects his personal behavior, through which he demonstrates the unit's competence and fundamental values, convictions, and presumptions. Therefore, if the commanding officer does not demonstrate the values of the armed forces of the state, members who are dedicated to that culture will not accept the commander as a legitimate authority,[13] especially if his actions contradict the cultural values, convictions, and laws that they have already adopted.

The Culture of a Military Organization

The United States armed forces handbook describes culture as:

- "(...) a web of meaning shared by members of a particular society or group within society;
- A system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviors, and artifacts that members of a society use to cope with their world and with one another;
- Learned, through a process called enculturation;
- Shared by members of society; there is no "culture of one";
- Patterned, meaning that people in a society live and think in ways forming definite, repeating patterns;
- Changeable, through social interactions between people and groups;
- Arbitrary, meaning that Soldiers and Marines should make no assumptions regarding what society considers right and wrong, good and bad.
- Internalized, in the sense that it is habitual, taken for granted, and perceived as 'natural' by people within the society."[14]

Put simply, the act of enlisting in the armed forces implies the subordination of one's private life to the military lifestyle. A great deal of time and effort is necessary to become a soldier, non-commissioned officer, or officer. The army is a very successful organization that creates soldiers suitable for the state's demanding and specific needs. From the very beginning, individuals become part of a culture in which individualism is suppressed, the performance of tasks and missions has priority over personal problems and desires, and sacrifice for higher goals is part of everyday life. The most important aspect for maintaining continuity in a culture (including the military) is tradition, where selected features of learned behavior and action are passed on from earlier generations. When a civilian changes jobs and goes to a different workplace, a complete lifestyle change

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[13] Yet, they are expected to obey in accordance with par. 70 of the Law of Defense. See "Defense Law," *Official Gazette*, nos. 73/13, 75/15, 27/16 (2013).

[14] *Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24*, Marine Corps Warfighting Publication (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2006), pp. 3-6, 3-7.

is not necessary. Depending on the job, the military perspective differs from the civilian in that membership in the army is deemed to be a privilege, and the function of the hierarchical structure is not questioned. Active army personnel must behave in such a way that they do not threaten the credibility and trust of the public; they must perform their duties conscientiously and responsibly, meticulously carrying out all the tasks they are given, and respect the legislation and other norms defining their responsibilities and obligations.

Military organizations are some of the oldest and, traditionally, most prominent organizations of the state. They have a specific work environment that also has precise organizational and work procedures and requirements. Most military personnel work in military facilities[15] with restricted access and, within which, a feeling of belonging to the military organization is stressed. In contrast to civilians, active military personnel and cadets wear official uniforms, whereby they emphasize their membership of a specific culture. Military organizations require a great deal from their personnel: 24-hour availability, specific work shifts, a strict schedule of daily activities, mandatory reporting to superiors, unconditional respect for deadlines, demanding physical fitness requirements, strictly regulated conduct, prohibition of public appearances, frequent relocation, prohibition of organization of unions etc. For soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and officers, military knowledge and skills are not sufficient; they must be linked together with values such as courage, loyalty, obedience, subordination to the units, and the possession of high moral principles.

Members of the armed forces are aware that their work may be potentially dangerous. All active military personnel is armed and trained to handle weapons and to use protective equipment. During military training, they learn about and master military customs, conduct, values, and ethics, including obeying and following orders, and how to function within the military chain of command, which is crucial for their success. Hofstede points out that those values have positive and negative sides: good-bad, dirty-clean, ugly-beautiful, unnatural-natural, and that differences occur as people think about what the world should be in relation to what they want for themselves.[16] The relationship towards what they want for themselves in military organizations is secondary since the entire culture of the organization is founded on respect for common values and subordination of oneself to the needs of the organization and the homeland.

If necessary, the army may, legitimately, use force to execute the tasks it is given. Violent measures are dangerous; therefore, the individual's subordination to the group is required. This entails the readiness to sacrifice oneself for others and, in extreme cases, to give one's life. Lergo points out that the culture of mil-

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[15] Military facilities are barracks, warehouses, training grounds, camps, and shooting ranges. See "Ordinance on Service in the Armed forces of the Republic of Croatia," *Official Gazette*, no. 91/09 (2009).

[16] Geert Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations, Software of the Mind, Intercultural Cooperation and its Importance for Survival* (London: Harper Collins, 1994).

itary organizations influences what may happen but may also cause the escalation of future events.[17] Armed forces have a central role in the execution of military operations due to their range of abilities, planning implementation, information processing, operational work, the possibility of maneuver, and the concentration of military power. Consequently, military culture has a crucial effect on the execution of the tasks set. In a military organization, the central elements and cultural values are passed on from generation to generation (e.g., courage, tactical skills, emotional and physical resilience, loyalty to the organization, and decisiveness in realizing the mission received).

Hatch recognized five forms of diversification of subcultures in a large organizational culture – unitary, integrated, slightly, significantly, and disorganized, which is clearly shown in Figure 2.[18] In the Defense Act, the Republic of Croatia's Armed forces is divided into three branches: the Croatian land army, the Croatian navy, and the Croatian air force and air defense force.[19] The culture of the Armed forces of the Republic of Croatia is a composite of the culture of the three military branches. Within the Armed forces of the Republic of Croatia, there are different types of combatant units (infantry, aviation and navy) and combat support forces (artillery, anti-aircraft defense, engineers, communications, nu-

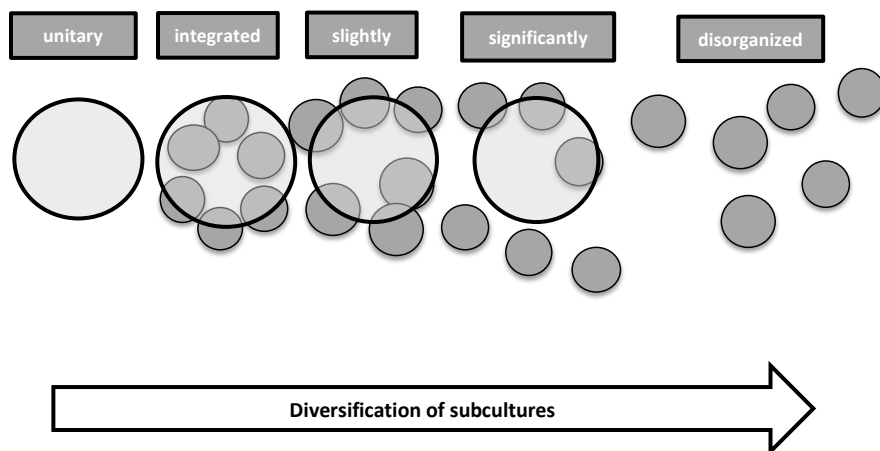**Figure 2: Forms of diversification of subcultures** (Source: Hatch, 1997).

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[17] Jeffrey W. Legro, "Military Culture and Inadvertent Escalation in World War II," *International Security* 8, no. 4 (Spring 1994): 108-142.

[18] Mary Jo Hatch, *Organization Theory: Modern, Symbolic, and Postmodern Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[19] "Defense Law," *Official Gazette* (2013).

clear, biological and chemical defense, surveillance and reconnaissance, military police, and military intelligence). The Armed forces of the Republic of Croatia in fact have an integrated form of subculture connections.

If the culture is integrated, the subculture improves its dominant value. The subculture of the branches and services are aligned with the military culture and support and improve it. Figure 3 shows that the military culture consists of the subculture of the branch, and the subculture of the specific services.
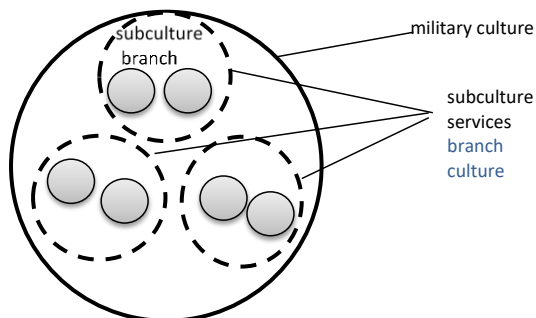

Figure 3: The Subculture Connections in the Military Culture of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia.

All organizations are different, including the military. People are unique because of their distinctive characteristics, but organizational culture provides unity and identity to every organization. Just as no two people in the world are identical, it is also impossible to talk about two identical organizations. Every organization is a living organism: unique, special, and changeable—in a word—alive. Organizations appear, grow, become old, and disappear – they have a life span. An organization's culture dictates how it will react to various challenges. Siegl says that the military culture also consistently shapes how the military views the environment and adapts to meet current and future challenges.[20] The environment in which military organizations find themselves today is rapidly changing under the influence of globalization, state membership in various associations (military and civilian), and the constant demands for reducing human resources and increasing striking power. As a result, military organizations must change. One of the most important factors in a military organization is the hierarchy and the hierarchical form of management. The peak of the hierarchical pyramid consists of high-ranking officers and generals. The basic system of management of a military organization as a whole is command and supervision. Members of the armed forces wear recognizable military uniforms. Their uni-

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[20] Michael B. Siegl, "Military Culture and Transformation," *Joint Force Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2008): 103-106, p. 103.

forms reflect a soldier's rank, the member's surname, their specialty, the military school they attended, and their medals. Sparrow further states that military culture usually emphasizes and strengthens discipline, loyalty, and solidarity, which means that it is possible to require additional engagement from each individual in carrying out a given task.[21] Military culture is passed on from generation to generation and develops as something that is respected and generates pride in service members.

According to Murray, "Military culture may be the most important factor, not only in military effectiveness but also in the processes involved in military innovation, which is essential to preparing military organizations for the next war."[22] He believes that military culture represents the ethos and professional attributes, both in terms of experience and intellectual study, that contribute to a common core understanding of the nature of war within military organizations. The army's existence depends upon the implementation of military operations. It simplifies its operations through standard operating procedures and routines to ensure stability and reduce uncertainty. Rodik-Klarić observed that in professional literature in Croatia, the term "military culture" hardly appears.[23] The concept of military culture is equivalent to the organizational culture of the armed forces. Kier links the definition of organizational culture with military culture:

> ... organizational culture is the set of basic presumptions and values that shape shared understanding, and the forms or practices whereby these meanings are expressed, affirmed, and communicated to the members of an organization. Military culture is the attitudes and values that are germane to the military relationships with its external environment, and those values that affect the internal function of the organization.[24]

Hull says that military culture has special features within its organizational culture.[25] Society's organizational and cultural perspective is valuable for its focus on the forms of knowledge and practices of an organization itself. This includes the army, which has its own historical development and structure of its methods of work, routine, expectations, and fundamental presumptions. An organizational culture also has visible and invisible signs. The visible signs are status symbols (ranks), ceremonies (line-up, inspections), stories, slogans ("Knowledge

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[21] Robert Sparrow, "Drones, Courage, and Military Culture," *Routledge Handbook of Military Ethics*, ed. George Lucas (Oxford, UK: Routledge, 2015), 380-393.

[22] Williamson Murray, "Does Military Culture Matter?" *Orbis* 43, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 27-42, quote on p. 27.

[23] Petra Rodik-Klarić, "On Heuristic Value of the Concept of Military Culture," *Polemos* 10, no. 2 (2008): 31-48.

[24] Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and Military Doctrine: France Between the Wars," *International Security* 19, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 65-93, quote on pp. 69-70.

[25] Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005).

is Power"), behavior, language, and the style of clothing of employees (uniform). The invisible signs include shared values, beliefs, presumptions, attitudes, and feelings. These signs of the organizational culture form a multi-dimensional concept that presumes various aspects of behavioral lifestyles, which affect the connections and bilateral influence of the various dimensions within the organization. Military culture comprises the values, customs, traditions, and philosophies based on a common recognizable character. Military organizations are specialized for dangerous situations and the use of weapons. Callahan pointed out clearly in his research: "Military culture identifies teamwork in achieving success in battle: discipline, obedience, and loyalty to the hierarchical chain of command as an important military virtue."[26]

Military culture is formed by the national culture and factors such as the geopolitical position and historical experience that influenced the national army. Honor, integrity, courage, and strength are central to military culture and have a major influence on every aspect of its cultural identity. Military culture is the foundation on which other factors are built, which generates permanent growth. What differentiates organizations from one another are their broad and unique features. Military organizations are run on a strictly hierarchical basis, in line with their own internal organization and culture. In order to function and for their employees to execute given tasks, the organizations are structured on the basis of the principles of centralization and authority, rely on the integrity, morality, and patriotism of their members, and require behavior based on anti-individualistic and anti-market ideologies. Pielmus asserts that the most important principles and key elements that affect military organizations are based on (1) the rational and formal structure of the organization; (2) strict centralization and united command; (3) conformism and discipline; (4) strong social supervision; (5) maintenance and survival of traditional values and practice specific for an officer's career; and (6) integration potential.[27]

Military culture is unique in its fundamental values, organizational structure, and terminology. Each individual's military cultural identity enhances the bonds between the members and aligns with the organization's rules, policies, and procedures. From the beginning of their education, military personnel accepts the principles on which the military organization and its culture rest. Military education is also clearly defined for each member of the organization, including teachers and students. Their duties and responsibilities are clearly established along with their attitudes towards authority. The military organization acts according

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[26] Philip D. Callahan, "The Code of the Warrior, The Kinder, Gentler Military and Marksmanship: Changing a Culture," USAWC Strategy Research Project (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2002), p. 3.

[27] Crisitina Pielmus, "Between Two Cultures: From the Military Culture to University Culture. Conclusions on the Organisation for Police Officers' Initial Training," *Revista Academiei Fortelor Terestre* 4, no. 72 (2013): 374-382.

to the rules, decisions, and orders, which legislation officially prescribes to regulate its life and work.

Types of Military Schools in the Croatian Defense Academy

According to the Strategic Defense Review, the Croatian Defense Academy will be transformed into an institution of higher education aligned with the regulations governing higher education and scientific work in the Republic of Croatia, and in line with the processes of the Bologna Declaration and the efforts of NATO for application of the highest academic standards in the field of military education.[28] The Long-term Development Plan of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia[29] states that the Croatian Defense Academy will provide the requisite education to meet the armed forces' needs and conduct scientific research. The organizational units will be divided into: Command, Deanery, the Petar Zrinski Military School Centre, the Janko Bobetko Centre for Defense and Strategic Studies, the Katarina Zrinska Centre for Foreign Languages, and the Croatian Army Hall. The Petar Zrinski Military School Centre will include Viceroy Josip Jelačić War College, the Blago Zadro Inter-branch Military Staff College, and the Andrija Matijaš Pauk Officers' School (Cadet Battalion, Basic Officer Education Company, and the Advanced Officer Education Company) and the Damir Tomljanović Gavran Non-commissioned Officer School.

Presently, the University of Zagreb and the Dr. Franjo Tuđman Croatian Defense Academy participate jointly in the undergraduate university study program of Military Leadership and Management, Military Engineering, and Aeronautics. The University of Split and the Dr. Franjo Tuđman Croatian Defence Academy cooperate in the Military maritime graduate university study program

A brief description of the tasks and basic characteristics of each of the schools that comprise the Military School Centre follows.

Damir Tomljanović Gavran Non-commissioned Officer School

The mission of the Non-commissioned Officer (NCO) School is to educate NCOs to meet the requirements of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia. Its curriculum covers four levels: a course to develop basic leadership skills, NCO training, advanced NCO training, and high NCO training. In September 2015, it was named after Damir Tomljanović Gavran, the Homeland War hero.

Andrija Matijaš Pauk Officer School

The Officer School provides first and second level education for officers in the armed forces. In September 2015, it was named after the Homeland War hero, Andrija Matijaš Pauk. The first level of education is basic officer training for candidates who have completed military and civilian education for their initial duties as officers, and lower command and staff duties within the branches of the

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[28] "Strategic Defense Review," *Official Gazette,* no. 101/13 (2013).

[29] "Long-term Plan for the Development of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia for the period from 2015 to 2024," *Official Gazette*, no. 151/14 (2014).

armed forces. The ten-month course is conducted at the Croatian Defense Academy and in units of the armed forces. Upon successful completion, students are awarded their first rank as officers (lieutenant).

The second level is advanced officer training. It lasts six months and is also conducted at the Croatian Defense Academy and in the armed forces' units. The course trains officers in the ranks of junior lieutenant and lieutenant. The second level of officer training is also the last level of branch education.

Apart from officer education, there is also a cadet battalion within the Officer School. Its task is to participate in the preparation and implementation of the military training of cadets during the academic year of undergraduate military study courses. As part of the training, three military camps are organized to teach the necessary knowledge and skills which are important for attending the basic officer training.

Blago Zadro Inter-branch Military Staff College

The Blago Zadro Inter-branch Military Staff College is the third level of education for officers in the armed forces. It lasts ten months and provides the knowledge and skills needed to plan, command, and manage wartime and peacetime operations in national and multinational commands, military staff, and battlefield operations. Officers acquire knowledge important for understanding the inter-relational elements of national powers and their effect on military activities in peace and war. They are trained to master the basic elements of joint warfare, the application of the principles of allied forces and the theoretical basis of joint warfare, for the discharge of all types of duties in joint tactical units in different brigades, execution of the functional duties of a staff officer in branch commands and staff, and preparation and implementation of peace-keeping operations. Apart from members of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia, foreign officers also attend the Inter-branch Military Staff College.

Viceroy Josip Jelačić War College

The War College is the fourth and highest level of education for officers in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia. It lasts for ten months. Its mission is to train officers for the strategic level of command and higher staff duties. It covers four areas: security, defense management, national military strategy, and warfare skills. To meet the requirements for promotion to the rank of Brigadier General/ Commodore, an officer must complete this course. After completing a war college education, officers are appointed to the highest duties in the field of national security and defense. Students are high-ranking officers in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia, employees of bodies of state administration of the Republic of Croatia, and members of foreign armed forces. The faculty include professors, scientists, military and civilian officials from this country and abroad. Presidents of the Republic, the Parliament, and the Government, as well as other high-ranking officials, provide lectures to the War College.

Military Engineering Undergraduate and Graduate University Program

The Military Engineering undergraduate and graduate university study program is an interdisciplinary program. It includes various fields of protection, rescue, and assistance to civilians and institutions in crisis situations, as well as natural and/or man-made disasters. Military engineers acquire competencies in accordance with international and NATO standards and range from modernization, maintenance and overhaul of combat systems, weapons, fire suppression systems and equipment, vessels, and aircraft. The Military Engineering study program enables students to acquire competencies in Croatian and in a foreign language.[30]

Military Leadership and Management Undergraduate and Graduate University Study Program

The Military Leadership and Management undergraduate and graduate university study program is an interdisciplinary program. It is the first study program of this kind initiated in the Republic of Croatia, making it unique on the labor market in the public sector, especially in the fields of defense and the armed forces, protection and rescue of people and assets, civil and institutions' assistance in various situations such as crisis and disasters. The Military Leadership and Management study program develops competencies which are in accordance with international and NATO standards.[31]

Aeronautics Study Program

The aeronautics study program began at the Faculty of Transport and Traffic Sciences in the University of Zagreb in 1992. It provides continuity in higher education for military officers such as future Croatian Air Force pilots. This program is important to the Air Force in retaining highly educated personnel.[32]

Military Maritime Study Program

The military maritime study program is a five-year integrated undergraduate and graduate university study program designed to educate future officers of the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia. The program is designed to provide students with the theoretical and practical knowledge of the professional and scientific principles and procedures relevant to the maritime structure and maritime skills necessary for ship management: navigation, maneuver, maintenance, cargo management and other procedures of regulated international conventions (STCW) and other international and national

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[30] University of Zagreb, Graduate Study Program in Military Engineering and Military Leadership and Management (Zagreb: University of Zagreb, 2018).

[31] University of Zagreb, *ECTS Information Package for Academic Year 2016/2017 Course Catalogue – Undergraduate Study* (Zagreb: University of Zagreb, 2016).

[32] "Become a Military Pilot" (Zagreb: Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, 2017).

standards. In addition, the general competencies that cadets complete in the Naval Navigation program are the same as those of all naval colleges.[33]

Culture, Climate, and Relations in Military Schools

All schools, including military schools, have their own culture, formed by their students, teaching staff, the subjects taught, the types of teaching methods used, the environment, the atmosphere, and all other aspects that affect their value system, beliefs, and feeling of belonging. Kozina points out that only military schools provide the military education necessary for acquiring the competences related to the life and work of officers and non-commissioned officers.[34] The aspects of acceptance and an encouraging environment presume that the school is a place where prior behaviors are modified and supported, and where completely new forms of behavior are introduced. Every individual in the military education system should have no feeling of rejection, isolation, or inferiority. In other words, the organizations of the school and its climate will have the greatest effect on the students, and also on the teachers who work there. Bruner stressed the role of a school's culture in the creation of a community of teachers and subjects that mutually help one another "(...) through participation, pro-actively, jointly, cooperatively, and dedicated to the construction of significance instead of merely dryly receiving it."[35]

   Each school's culture may be deemed to be the way of life and work in it, the influence of tradition on its success, and the behavior of students and teachers. The culture of a school, apart from the curriculum, subjects, teaching methods, and technical equipment, also includes all the participants (teachers, students, administration) with their attitudes, understanding, values, and beliefs. A military school is expected to provide military education through acquisition of the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and responsibilities necessary to meet the challenges of a modern, complex world.

   A school's culture affects the way classes are run and the work of the teachers themselves. The overall impression a school leaves, whether positive or negative, affects its cultural potential. The culture of a school is created from a blend of the convictions, customs, and attitudes of all its members and its operating environment. The feeling of belonging is intensified when the student is outside the school. An individual identifies with their school as their own organization, which makes them stronger, because they are not representing themselves, but the organization. For example, at West Point (the American Military Academy

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[33] University of Split, *Integrated Undergraduate and Graduate University Study Directions: Military Nautical and Military Marine Engineering* (Split, HR: University of Split, 2018).

[34] Andrija Kozina, "Professional Military Education: Challenges Facing the Croatian Armed Forces," *Strategos* 2, no. 1 (2018): 119-136.

[35] Jerome Bruner, *The Culture of Education* (Zagreb: Educa, 2000), quote on p. 93.

for the Army), these military values are clearly defined and inculcated by all the cadets:

- "*Loyalty*. Bear true faith and allegiance to the U.S. Constitution, the Army, your unit, and other Soldiers.
- *Duty*. Fulfil your obligations. Doing your duty means more than carrying out your assigned tasks. Duty means being able to accomplish tasks as part of a team.
- *Respect*. Treat people as they should be treated. In the Soldier's Code, we pledge to "treat others with dignity and respect while expecting others to do the same."
- *Selfless Service*. Put the welfare of the nation, the Army and your subordinates before your own. Selfless service is larger than just one person. In serving your country, you are doing your duty loyally without thought of recognition or gain.
- *Honor*. Live up to Army values. Honor is a matter of carrying out, acting, and living the values of respect, duty, loyalty, selfless service, integrity and personal courage in everything you do.
- *Integrity*. Do what's right, legally and morally. Integrity is a quality you develop by adhering to moral principles.
- *Personal Courage*. Face fear, danger or adversity (physical or moral)." [36]

These military values are general and apply to all soldiers. Respect for them makes it possible to undertake all duties and missions given in line with the current regulations and legislation. In military schools, teamwork and mutual trust are also developed. The teaching outcomes (organization of life and work in an operation, drawing up orders, etc.) must be completed in a limited time, which requires well-coordinated teamwork. This develops mutual trust between team members. In a real wartime situation, individuals never undertake the given tasks alone, but they are carried out together, whether as part of a group, a squad, a platoon, a company, a battalion or a brigade.

A school's culture is greatly affected by the students' courses and their year of education. If the cultural values of a school emphasize autonomy, the teachers must change their established teaching practices and learn new teaching skills. Johnson and co-authors point out that teachers who believe that students' success depends, to a large extent, on the work of the teacher, will themselves not demand cooperation from others. In contrast, teachers who believe that the students' success depends on the work of the entire school are more prepared to seek intensive cooperation from all participants.[37] Deal and Kennedy clearly rec-

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[36] "The United States Military Academy Strategic Plan, 2015-2021," *USMA Strategic Initiatives* (West Point, NY: United States Military Academy, 2015), p. 8.

[37] David W. Johnson, Roger T. Johnson, and Edythe Johnson Holubec, *Circles of Learning. Cooperation in the Classroom*, 6th ed. (Interaction Book Company, 2009).

ognized two key reasons why a strong school culture improves learning: "First is internal (where teachers and students don't know or understand what is expected of them or/and how their actions are related to school development)."[38] For precisely this reason, school culture ensures internal cohesion and understanding, which makes it easier for teachers to teach and students to learn.

The second reason is external: society judges a school by its perception as well as its results. Internal squabbling, mixed signals, unfavorable stories, and the lack of tangible evidence that a school stands for something special, make it difficult to secure the support of external groups. Deal and Kennedy mention that a school can communicate its identity to outside groups through shared values, rituals and ceremonies, and a supportive informal network. Convictions, messages, values, behavior, traditions, and routines are basic parts of the culture. Schools become the place where different languages, cultures, religions, and world views are acquired and refined. Since there are no identical organizations, so each school is unique. Schools are complex organizations that are joined together into a larger and stronger system. The school organization is a composite of the culture of the military organization and the relationships which predominate within it. When students come to school, they bring their own attitudes, habits, and different ways of thinking with them. All students carry with them their family upbringing, styles of communication, and the cultural and educational characteristics of their childhood and adolescent environment. Thus, the school's culture consists of several subcultures in each student class, and the class subculture consists of the different identities of the individual students. The most significant aspects of the military school culture at the Dr. Franjo Tuđman Croatian Defense Academy include:

- the social climate – including security, acceptance and care, which all students feel, and which must be welcoming;
- the intellectual climate – each class and the school atmosphere support and encourage the students to make additional effort;
- rules and instructions – all participants are responsible for achieving high standards of study and behavior;
- customs and routines that must be accepted by all participants;
- organizational structure – enables joint responsibility for decision making and problem-solving, which affects the school environment and the actual implementation of life and work;
- partnership and cooperation – effective cooperation with educational institutions, business entities, and social organizations which support the work of the military school;

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[38] Terrence E. Deal and Allan A. Kennedy, "Culture and School Performance, Educational Leadership," *The Journal of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development* 40, no. 5 (1993): 14-16, quote on p. 15.

- clearly defined standards in relationships and behavior that help to create a professional culture, excellence, and recognizable ethics;
- wearing uniforms, ranks, and symbols – to ease communication and strengthen the esprit de corps;
- the division of students into troops (squad, platoon, company, battalion, brigade) – strengthens the feeling of belonging to a group;
- official annual evaluation of each staff member – increases the quality of execution of the tasks given because everyone is aware that their work is being monitored and evaluated;
- ceremonies marking important days in the school's history – develops awareness amongst students of respect for tradition;
- public announcement of awards and recognition – pointing out deserving and commendable members of the organization;
- emphasis on duty and service in lecture theaters and troops – learning to lead a unit, run exercise activities and procedures, filing reports, etc.

The culture of a school (especially a military one) differs from the cultural setting of the students' previous educational experience (their family culture, society, religious institution, etc.). They come to the school with their civilian culture, and part of that culture merges with the school's culture. It is easier to identify with a military school culture if it has similarities to their home culture. Hudley and Gottfried emphasize that the teacher must always think about the fact that: "(…) the students' home cultures are different from the school culture and the students' families have different ideas about how their children should be taught."[39]

Conclusion

Schools are not merely buildings, classrooms, and the people in them; they are complex systems. Each part is linked to and dependent on the others, and changes to one area cause changes to the others. This complex concept cannot be placed within a firm framework, but it is necessary to define it as precisely as possible. A school does not exist in isolation; it lives within the environment and social order of its location.

Military school culture is unique and, therefore, a special challenge to students. The army and military schools are included in all spheres of the life of students and affect the everyday lifestyle of their families. In a military school, the specific behavior of the students, brought from their families and civilian life, is modified, supported, and changed into a new form, which is acceptable to the culture of the military school. It constantly affects relationships, expectations,

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[39] Cynthia Hudley and Adele E. Gottfried, eds., *Academic Motivation and the Culture of School in Childhood and Adolescence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), quote on p. 129.

and behavior amongst teachers, administrative staff, students, and the environment. The Dr. Franjo Tuđman Croatian Defense Academy is expected to provide military education for students and cadets in the form of the acquisition of the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and responsibilities necessary for facing the challenges of the modern world and complex wartime operations. Mutual trust is developed between students, faculty, and staff. In a real wartime situation, individuals never undertake the given task alone, but it is carried out jointly, whether as part of a group, a squad, a platoon, a company, a battalion or a brigade. All the development of a culture is linked to and dependent on others, and changes to one part can cause changes in the others.

As a result, the culture of military schools must develop and maintain positivity and the professional development of all participants. The subculture of the class has a major influence on the culture of military schools, as an internal influence, and the culture of the wider society as an external influence. Alongside a strong positive culture, which supports the professional development of teachers and the independent student learning, military schools must become places where teachers are developed professionally and every student acquires and strengthens the competences they need in life and in their military profession. Military school culture, as assessed at the Dr. Franjo Tuđman Croatian Defense Academy, differs in terms of the students' life and work in terms of the social climate, the intellectual climate in the school, the rules, and instructions that regulate school work, the different organizational structures of the commands, and other aspects, such as how ceremonies, official assessment, and service are conducted, in fact, in everything that makes a military school distinctive and special.

Disclaimer

The views expressed are solely those of the author and do not represent official views of the PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, participating organizations, or the Consortium's editors.

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Research Article

Transformation of the Security and Intelligence Services in the Czech Republic

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Abstract: This article describes the process of transformation of the security and intelligence apparatus of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic from the totalitarian, Soviet bloc country model to the modern democratic system of today. The authors describe the main events, key organizational and legal changes, and the role of the main actors in the transformation process. They analyze the experience and provide recommendations for solving the remaining challenges facing the Czech intelligence community.

Keywords: intelligence, secret police, transformation, Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic.

Introduction

In 1989, Czechoslovakia was an integral part of the Soviet bloc, a member of the Warsaw Pact and, although there were significant changes in the Soviet Union weakening its power over its satellites, the then top Czechoslovak officials still kept their traditional, very rigid positions. This same situation was also to be found in the security apparatus, the organizational structure that mirrored the Soviet structure and still kept very close ties with its Soviet "big brother." The change of power during the so-called Velvet Revolution in November 1989 was relatively peaceful. It was followed by significant changes in the whole of Czech society, including a transformation of the security apparatus from being an organization that suppressed its own citizens with the aim of maintaining the power of the ruling Communist Party to an organization protecting a democratic society and the civil rights of its citizens.

Although there is a great deal of specific information available, there are also many very personal and subjective opinions, views, and sources dealing with this issue. The authors will primarily describe the main events, introducing organiza-

tional and legal changes, in order to arrive at certain conclusions, some lessons learned, and recommendations. Although every attempt will be made to be as objective as possible, some statements, obviously, will reflect the personal and subjective opinions of the authors predominantly and cannot be considered as an official statement of the Czech intelligence community.

Structure and Tasks of the State Security Apparatus in 1989

The structure and the mandate of state security in Czechoslovakia in 1989 were very similar to those found in the Soviet Union model as was the case in most of the former Soviet bloc countries:

- The security apparatus was very united and managed by the ruling communist party.
- Intelligence tasks were conducted by the units, the character of which was more of the secret political police (especially those focused on domestic issues) than that of a typical intelligence service as understood in democratic societies.
- The legislative framework of the state security apparatus was very vague. As described below, only the existence of the State Security organization was stipulated by the Act on the National Security Corps. All other regulations and directives were internal and publicly inaccessible. They were adopted at a ministerial or even lower level, and most of them were classified.[1]

Generally, there are four basic tasks of intelligence activities:

- offensive military intelligence,
- offensive foreign intelligence, the so-called "civilian intelligence service,"
- defensive military counter-intelligence,
- defensive internal security service, the so-called "civilian counter-intelligence service."[2]

The State Security fulfilled all of these tasks except for offensive military intelligence. The State Security organization was, until 1989, an integral part of the National Security Corps (Sbor národní bezpečnosti – SNB), and its main task was to implement the policies of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) and

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[1] Original internal orders and directives for the activity of the State Security are available on *Rozkazy a směrnice* (Orders and Directives)*,* Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů (Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes), https://www.ustrcr.cz/uvod/rozkazy-smernice/.

[2] Petr Zeman, *Intelligence Services of the Czech Republic: Current Legal Status and Its Development* (Geneva: DCAF, January 2007), https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/zeman_intelligence-services-czech.pdf.

to protect the socialist system.[3] The National Security Corps was a united security organization, which consisted of two main bodies – Public Security (Veřejná bezpečnost – VB) and State Security (Státní bezpečnost – StB). Public Security was responsible for public order and all general criminal activity, while State Security was responsible for the areas of anti-regime activities, counter-intelligence (including military counter-intelligence), and intelligence operations abroad.[4]

In 1989, the Operative and investigative State Security units were organized as directorates of the National Security Corps as follows:

- 1st Directorate of the National Security Corps (I. správa Sboru národní bezpečnosti) – *external (offensive) intelligence service*;
- 2nd Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior – *internal (defensive) counter-intelligence service*, this unit was in the strict sense of the word generally considered to be "State Security";
- 3rd Directorate of the National Security Corps – *Military Counter-intelligence* (Vojenská kontrarozvědka – VKR);
- 4th Directorate of the National Security Corps– *specialized surveillance unit*;
- 5th Directorate of the National Security Corps – *protection of the (communist) party and constitutional officials;*
- 6th Directorate of the National Security Corps – *intelligence technologies and equipment;*
- 12th Directorate of the National Security Corps – *internal (defensive) counter-intelligence service for the Slovak Socialistic Republic;* [5]
- 13th Directorate of the National Security Corps – *specialized SIGINT unit (external and internal)*;
- Investigation Directorate of State Security (Správa vyšetřování Státní bezpečnosti) – the *specialized unit responsible for conducting criminal proceedings in the area of State Security responsibility.*

Offensive military intelligence tasks were conducted by the only service existing outside of the State Security structure (similar to the Soviet Union GRU) –

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[3]   The above-mentioned main tasks were assigned to the Corps in the preamble of Act No. 40/174 Coll. on the National Security Corps. It reflected the then valid Czechoslovak constitution from 1960 which codified the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in the society. See *Zákon 100/1960 Sb.*, *Ústava Československé socialistické republiky* (Act No. 100/1960 Coll., Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialistic Republic), www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution_1960.html.

[4]   For more information see Kieran Williams and Dennis Deletant*, Security Intelligence Services in New Democracies. The Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 25-54.

[5]   The Czechoslovak Socialistic Republic as a federal state consisted, since 1968, of the Czech Socialistic Republic and the Slovak Socialistic Republic.

The Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (Zpravodajská správa generálního štábu – ZS GŠ).

Transformation to the Democratic Intelligence Service Model

The transformation process from the totalitarian security apparatus in Czechoslovakia, and later in the Czech Republic, to a modern, democratic, intelligence-community model was somewhat complicated. There were several key events, and from some perspectives, as will be shown later, the transformation process is not yet fully completed.

In a short overview, several phases of the transformation process and some main events can be identified [6]:

Transition Phase, 1989-1992

- The abolishment of most of the State Security directorates.
- The establishment of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy (Úřad pro ochranu ústavy a demokracie – ÚOÚD) as a part of the Federal Ministry of Interior. It was later renamed as the Federal Information Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior (Federální informační služba Federálního ministerstva vnitra – FIS FMV).
- The establishment of the Intelligence Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior (Zpravodajská služba Federálního ministerstva vnitra – ZS FMV), later changed to the Office for Foreign Relations and Information of FMV (Úřad pro zahraniční styky a informace FMV – ÚZSI FMV).
- Military Counterintelligence (3rd Directorate of the National Security Corps) was transferred into the structure of the Ministry of National Defense (Ministerstvo národní obrany – MNO) as the Main Directorate of the Military Counterintelligence of Ministry of Defense (Hlavní správa vojenské kontrarozvědky Ministerstva obrany), later renamed as the Directorate of the Military Defensive Intelligence of Czechoslovak Armed Forces (Správa vojenského obranného zpravodajství Československé armády), also already called Military Defensive Intelligence (Vojenské obranné zpravodajství – VOZ).
- The establishment of the Federal Security Information Service (Federální bezpečnostní informační služba – FBIS) as an independent institution by Act No. 244/1991 Coll.
- Act No. 67/1992 Coll., on Military Defensive Intelligence.

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[6] Description of the transformation phases is based mainly on the publications: Karel Zetocha, *Zpravodajské služby v nové demokracii* (Česká republika, Brno: Společnost pro odbornou literaturu Barrister&Principal, 2009) and Ladislav Pokorný, "Transformace československých (a českých) zpravodajských služeb" [Transformation of the Czechoslovak (and Czech) Intelligence Services], *Security Theory and Practice* 2 (Prague: Police Academy of the Czech Republic, 2018): 57-76.

Transformation Phase, 1992-1994

- The division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic (January 1, 1993)
- Act No. 527/1992 Coll., Czech National Council Act on Security Information Service of the Czech Republic
- Act No. 153/1992 Coll., on intelligence services of the Czech Republic
- Act No. 154/1992 Coll., on Security Information Service.

Transformation Phase, 1995 – …

- Act No. 289/2005 Coll., on Military Intelligence brought the effective merging of the Military Defensive Intelligence and Military Intelligence Service into one united Military Intelligence organization.
- Act No. 325/2017 Coll., which changed Act No. 153/1994 Coll., on intelligence services of the Czech Republic – and resulted in significant changes in the control of the intelligence services.

In the following sections, the transformation process of the Czechoslovak (Czech) intelligence community will be described in more detail.

Transition Phase, 1989 – 1992

Directly after the change of power in November 1989, there was a three months' gap when State Security was practically without any effective control. Although not conducting any operational activities, this time was (mis)used by many officers to destroy a substantial number of operative files, which created obstacles to later efforts to reconstruct the record of its activities during the communist regime.

By order No. 16 of the Federal Minister of Interior from January 31, 1990, all operative directorates of the State Security were abolished (except the 3rd Directorate – Military Counterintelligence), and the next day the following new offices were established:

- The Office for Protection of the Constitution and Democracy at the Federal Ministry of Interior (Úřad pro ochranu ústavy a demokracie Federálního ministerstva vnitra – ÚOÚD FMV)
- The Intelligence Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior (Zpravodajská služba Federálního ministerstva vnitra – ZS FMV).

This order can be considered to be the basic step (like a big sweep) on the way to the transition from the totalitarian, repressive security apparatus to the democratic model of today's intelligence services. Many other steps (such as new orders and acts) followed, leading to the current organization of the Czech intelligence community (see next sections).

By order of the Federal Ministry of Interior No. 71, on June 1, 1990, the military counter-intelligence, 3rd Directorate of the National Security Corps, was

transferred to the Ministry of National Defense as the Main Directorate of the Military Counterintelligence of the Ministry of Defense (Hlavní správa vojenské kontrarozvědky Ministerstva obrany), later renamed as the Directorate of the Military Defensive Intelligence of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces (Správa vojenského obranného zpravodajství Československé armády).

The Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy at the Federal Ministry of Interior (ÚOÚD FMV), which had existed for the previous six months, was converted to the Federal Information Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior on January 1, 1991. On May 29, 1991, the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia passed Act No. 244/1991 Coll., on the Federal Security Information Service and on the usage of intelligence means. According to this act, a new Federal Security Information Service (Federální bezpečnostní informační služba – FBIS) was established on July 1, 1991. This act was new in several ways:

- for the first time, the mandate of the intelligence service was regulated by law;
- the intelligence service was established without any executive power;
- for the first time, the specific means of information gathering were stated in law;
- the term "person acting in favor" as the designation of a human source of information was mentioned for the first time;
- for the first time, an intelligence service was to be controlled by the Parliament;
- the FBIS Director was appointed by the President but responsible to Parliament.

This act specified the competences of FBIS as an intelligence institution, the ways of fulfilling the tasks in matters of internal order, the security of the state, and its constitutional system. The FBIS is required to provide information pertaining to:

- protection of constitutional order;
- activities of foreign intelligence services;
- foreign-sponsored terrorism;
- activities against state's security;
- protection of the state's economic interests.

The FBIS act was the first of its type in the territory of Czechoslovakia. It meant the end of the core phase of the transformation of the totalitarian security apparatus and, at the same time, the beginning of the new (democratic) era in the area of the Czech intelligence services.

The Directorate of the Military Defensive Intelligence of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces (Správa vojenského obranného zpravodajství Československé armády), as the military counter-intelligence service was renamed in 1992 by Act No. 67/1992 Coll., became the second intelligence service, the activities of which

were regulated by law and controlled by Parliament. Act No. 67/1992 was similar to the Federal Security Information Service act in all its main features.

In this period, the military external intelligence service—the Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (Zpravodajská správa generálního štábu Československé armády – ZS/GŠ ČSA)—remained practically the same as an integral part of the General Staff of the Czech Armed Forces and subordinated to the Chief of the General Staff (CoGS).

The name of the Intelligence Service of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Zpravodajská služba Federálního ministerstva vnitra – ZS FMV) was in the meantime changed to the Office for Foreign Relations and Information of FMV (Úřad pro zahraniční styky a informace FMV – ÚZSI FMV).

The significant feature from the phases of transition mentioned above was the focus on the internal intelligence (counter-intelligence) services. Based on the experience during the communist regime, they were considered to be its main repressive tool. After a very short period of idealistic examination, it was decided that there would be no place for such an organization in a new democratic society, but the existence of a counter-intelligence service was recognized as being a necessary element of the security apparatus. As a consequence, this led to the relatively quick adoption of the respective acts, which would reduce, as much as possible, any threat to society and human rights from the potential possessed by those services.

Both external intelligence services remained organic parts of the respective ministries (Ministry of Defense and Federal Ministry of the Interior) and, as the first step on the way to their transformation, in 1990 they stopped all operational activities against western nations, which were previously their main target but were now seen as prospective allies.

The first period of transformation was very chaotic. Changes were made to the standard institutional processes, and new laws and institutional grounds for the new regime were created. As the former dissident and later intelligence officer Schneider states, "Transformation of intelligence system after 1989 was motivated by ideology and politics, not by security drivers" and "without any expert criteria, but it was power tool, which paradoxically forced new operatives to accept old habits." Interestingly, this view of the transition process was also supported by the former Director of VOZ (Military Defensive Intelligence), Jan Duchek.[7]

To illustrate the situation, especially from the perspective of the top management in these times, here is the list of directors of the ÚZSI FMV (external intelligence service) in the period of 1990-1992:

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[7] Jan Duchek, "Zpravodajské služby při tvorbě a realizaci bezpečnostní politiky [Security Services in the Development and Implementation of Security Policy]," *Vojenské rozhledy [Czech Military Review]*, no. 1 (2005), www.vojenskerozhledy.cz/images/archiv_voj_rozhl/clanky/2005/Rozhledy2005-1/rozhledy2005-1_Zpravodajske_sluzby_pri_tvorbe_a_realizace.pdf.

- January – April 1990, Přemysl HOLAN
- May – June 1990, Bohumil KUBÍK
- July – August 1990, Přemysl HOLAN
- September 1990 – December 1992, Radovan PROCHÁZKA.

Similar was the situation in its civilian domestic intelligence counterpart (ÚOÚD FMV, FI FMV, FBIS):

- February – April 1990, Zdeněk FORMÁNEK
- April – June 1990, Jan RUML
- June – November 1990, Jiří MÜLLER
- November 1990 – December 1991, Jiří NOVOTNÝ
- January – August 1992, Štefan BAČINSKÝ
- September – December 1992, Pavol SLOVÁK.

From the personnel perspective, the following main trends are significant for this first phase:

- Some of the officers who were fired from the Service after the Soviet occupation in 1968 (due to their reform activities in the late 1960s and/ or disagreement with the Soviet occupation) returned to the services, usually to management positions. Their main advantages were their professional experience from the previous service (e.g., Přemysl, Holan, Jan Duchek).
- Another group of newcomers to the services (and sometimes going directly into management positions) were former dissidents, people who were in opposition to the communist regime. They should guarantee democratic direction and activity within the services, but the problem, in some cases, was that their only experience in this field was their persecution by the communist State Security (e.g., Oldřich Černý, Petr Zeman, Radovan Procházka).
- On the other hand, the vetting process of former State Security officers with the aim of checking their ability to serve in the new democratic intelligence services had begun. The civil vetting commissions were especially strict in checking officers who had previously worked in the counter-intelligence directorates.
- Some of the former members of the communist security institutions also left the service voluntarily because they did not agree with the changes in the political regime.

The organizational structure, subordination, and oversight of the Czechoslovak intelligence community at the end of this transitional phase is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Organizational Structure of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Services in 1992.

Transformation Phase, 1992–1994

In this phase, the main issue was the division of Czechoslovakia into two independent states – the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. The negotiations on the division were conducted during the second half of 1992, and the new states were officially established on January 1, 1993. Already in 1992, practical measures were taken towards the delimitation of federal institutions, including the security apparatus and the armed forces. Except for the physical movement of many materials (e.g., weapons), a significant number of personnel was moved in accordance to the future nationality that they claimed and to the new institutions that needed to be established.

In the area of intelligence services, the main change was the establishment of the Security Information Service of the Czech Republic by Act No. 527/ 1992 Coll.—Czech National Council Act on the Security Information Service of the Czech Republic—as the provisional law framework for the establishment of the new Czech Republic. According to this act, the Security Information Service of the Czech Republic (Bezpečnostní informační služba České republiky – BIS ČR) was, for the first time, defined as being a state institution, then as an armed security service, and as a government agency with an independent allocation from the state budget.[8] The service functions were copied from the previous FBIS functions, with the later addition of another function concerning organized crime.

In this phase, the main event was the adoption of a new so-called "umbrella" act on intelligence services – Act. No. 153/1994 Coll., on the intelligence services of the Czech Republic. This act covers all the intelligence services – external, internal, military, and civilian. The act defines the status of the intelligence services, their mandates, tasks, competences, Director's appointment, tasking, re-

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[8] Previous, very unique subordination to the Parliament was assessed as ineffective and the intelligence service of the new Czech Republic moved again to the executive branch.

quirements, and submission of information. This act has remained valid until to-day, with some amendments.

The tasks of the services were defined in § 5 of Act. 153/1994 as follows.

The Security Information Service (BIS) provides information on:

- schemes and activities directed against the democratic foundations, the sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of the Czech Republic
- the intelligence services of foreign powers
- activities endangering state and official secrets
- activities, the consequences of which, may jeopardize the security or major economic interests of the Czech Republic
- information regarding organized crime and terrorism.

Military Intelligence (VZ) provides information:

- of foreign provenance, which is important for the security and defense of the Czech Republic[9]
- on the intelligence services of foreign powers in the area of defense
- on schemes and activities directed against the interests of safeguarding the defense of the Czech Republic
- on activities endangering classified information within the area of defense of the Czech Republic.

The Office for Foreign Relations and Information (ÚZSI) provides information on foreign provenance that is important for the security and protection of the foreign political and economic interests of the Czech Republic.

All intelligence services will also fulfill other tasks defined by specific legislation or international treaties by which the Czech Republic is bound.

The special Act No. 154/1994 Coll. on the Security Information Service that was adopted at the same time defined, first of all, specific means of collecting information,[10] the status and terms of employment of service members, and parliamentary oversight. This service was from that time referred to only as BIS, without the ČR supplement.

Until 2005, Military intelligence was defined in Act No. 153/1994 as follows: "Military Intelligence (VZ) is formed by the Military Intelligence Service (VZSl) and the Military Defensive Intelligence (VOZ)." This construct created some rather strange arrangements, such as:

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[9] This task was designated to the external military intelligence service (VZSl), the rest were tasks of the internal part of military intelligence (VOZ) and if one compares the tasks of ÚZSI, there is obvious collision or overlap ("security of the Czech Republic"), causing certain problems in the coordination of their activities (see the following text).

[10] The specific means of collecting (or acquiring) information are as follows: 1. intelligence means (intelligence technology, covert means and documents, surveillance), 2. using of persons acting in favor of the service (i.e., informants). See also Petr Zeman, Intelligence Services of the Czech Republic: Current Status and its Development.

- Only the defensive part of Military Intelligence was regulated by law (by special Act. No. 67/1992 Coll., on Military Defensive Intelligence).
- The position of the Director of Military Intelligence (VZ) was, more or less, formal (he had only a very small office), and he was accountable to the Minister of Defense. The Directors of VOZ and VZSl were subordinated to him, but only in a very limited range, which excluded "the sphere of special activities."
- The VZSl Director (whose personal title was changed from time to time – chief, inspector, or director) was, in professional matters, simultaneously subordinated to the VZ director and the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Czech Republic (AČR).
- The VOZ Director was, at the same time, directly subordinate to the Minister of Defense.

In that time, a popular bon mot said: "There are three services in the act, four in reality, with five directors." This situation continued until 2001, when one person (Jiří Giesl) became, at the same time, VZ Director and VOZ Director. The complete merger of both services occurred in 2005.

Although the situation at the end of 1994 (see the overall picture of the organization and management is in Figure 2) fit the requirements of most of the aspects of the intelligence and security services of a democratic state, there were still some remaining unsolved issues. These included the complicated organization and management of the military intelligence services, especially:

- The external intelligence services (ÚZSI and VZSl) were not subjected to parliamentary oversight.
- The legal framework of the external services was generally relatively poor. They were regulated only by several paragraphs of the umbrella act No. 153/1994 Coll. on the Czech Republic's intelligence services.
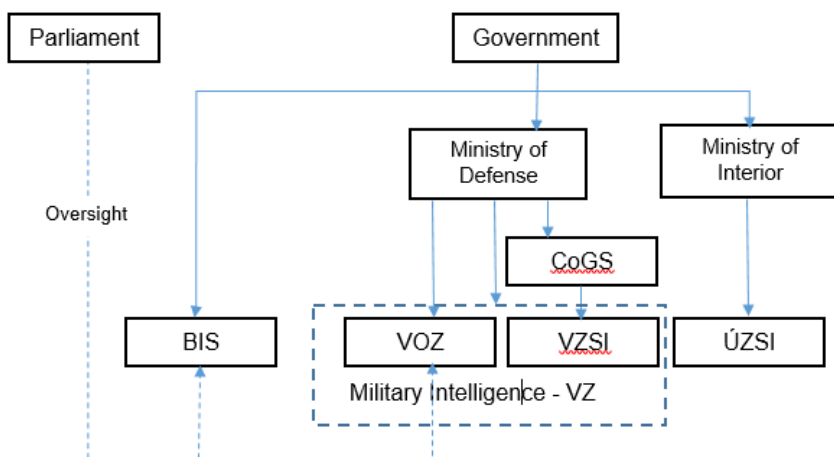

Figure 2: Organizational Structure of the Czech Intelligence Services in 1994.

Transformation Phase, 1995 until Now

The last phase of transformation, which, as will be shown later, is not yet completely finished, is characterized mainly by changes in the area of military intelligence services and in the system of oversight of the intelligence services (the situation as of 2019 is presented below in Figure 3).

As was mentioned above, the organizational structure and management of Military Intelligence (MI) were very complicated. So, in 2005 a new Act No. 289/2005 Coll. on Military Intelligence was adopted. It effectively merged the internal (VOZ) and external (VZSl) intelligence services into one united organization. The Director was subordinated to the Minister of Defense. A significant feature of this merger was a big change of personnel. As Zeman wrote: "From about 2004, military intelligence had been undergoing a crucial change of personnel; VZ members, serving before November 1989, had to leave the service, with a delay of 10-12 years in comparison to civilian services."

Until 2014, the 601st Special Forces Group [11] was part of the Military Intelligence organization. After many disagreements on these issues, a decision was made, and this unit was transferred to the Special Operations Directorate of the Ministry of Defense (Ředitelství speciálních sil Ministerstva obrany).

The last main change in the intelligence system of the Czech Republic occurred in 2017 when an amendment to Act No. 153/1994 regarding oversight of intelligence services was adopted – Act No. 325/2017 Coll. This changed parts of Act No. 153/1994 Coll. on the Czech Republic's intelligence services. The most significant changes are as follows:

- The establishment of a Parliamentary committee for the oversight of the external intelligence service (ÚZSI)
- The establishment of a new, Independent body for the oversight of the intelligence services (see next section).

The Intelligence Activity Committee (Výbor pro zpravodajskou činnost – VZČ) conducts the coordination of the intelligence services at the government level. This Committee is a permanent body established as one of the working committees of the National Security Council (Bezpečnostní rada státu – BRS). The Prime Minister heads the Intelligence Activity Committee. Its members are the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Defense, the Minister of the Interior, the Directors of all three intelligence services (BIS, VZ, ÚZSI) and the Director of the Office of the Government.

Oversight of the Intelligence Services in the Czech Republic

The oversight and/or control of intelligence and security services are generally sensitive and, in democratic states, an important legal issue. Many documents

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[11] The mission of the unit was generally defined by the tasks of special forces according to NATO documents and by highest national command and included special reconnaissance, assault actions and other special tasks (e.g., rescue missions, assistance to the Ministry of Interior, protection of embassies, etc.).
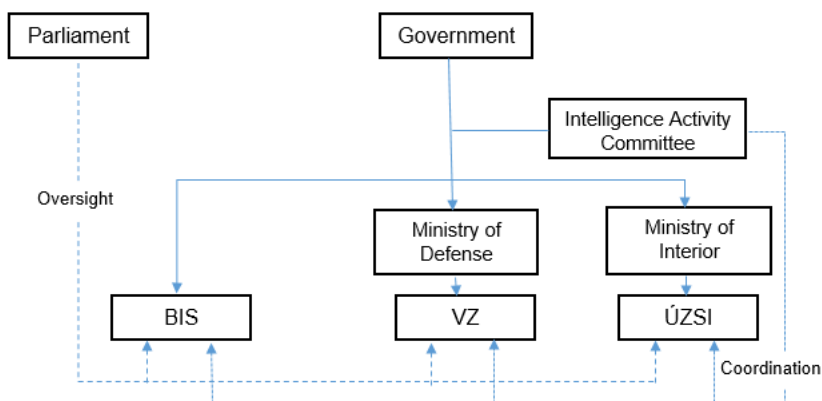
Figure 3: Organizational Structure of the Czech Intelligence Services as of 2019.

and studies have been published in this field, especially during the last 20 years. Czech lawmakers have been trying to establish proper control of the intelligence services with a mechanism for oversight that is in line with the best practices of other democratic countries. Their ideas have been based, specifically, on the recommendations of respected European institutions. Before dealing specifically with the Czech Republic situation, it is useful to mention the main documents that inspired the experts and lawmakers in this area. One of the main authorities in democratic Europe in this area is the Council of Europe, which has issued several relevant, complex documents on this topic. Many more relevant and useful publications and links in the area of control and oversight of intelligence and security services are also available on the website of the Geneva Centre for the Security Sector Governance (DCAF).

From the broadest perspective, the control of the intelligence services can be divided into internal and external aspects. The internal control mechanisms of the Czech intelligence services will be described in the next section. The external, civilian oversight of the intelligence services in the Czech Republic can be further divided into the following areas:

1. Executive control
2. Legislative (or Parliamentary) oversight
3. Judicial review
4. Independent oversight
5. Public and media control.

Executive control. First of all, the Czech Republic's intelligence services are part of the executive, and the government of the Czech Republic is primarily responsible for their management and activities. Governmental control is mainly fulfilled by giving directions and tasks to the intelligence services; through the

control of the budget and, at the personnel level, by the appointment and dismissal of intelligence services' directors. In practice, every year, the government issues a list of priorities for intelligence activity (a classified collection plan). Consequently, the intelligence services provide the government with several different reports: annual (classified[12]) reports, reports on-demand, and reports submitted by intelligence services on their own initiative. Organizationally, executive control is conducted through the respective Ministries (of Defense and Interior) and through the Committee on Intelligence.

Legislative (or Parliamentary) oversight is conducted by special oversight bodies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic. These oversight bodies, known as Permanent Commissions for the control of all intelligence services, are established by the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic (Poslanecká sněmovna Parlamentu České republiky). The mandate for those commissions is relatively limited and covers the oversight of internal regulations, the budget, and tasks allocated by the government and the President. The Commissions cannot control the ongoing activities (operations) of the intelligence services.

Judicial review is the oversight conducted by the judicial branch. The main task of the judicial review system is to check the law relating to the use of specific means of information gathering. This is because the use of intelligence technology could interfere with the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens. The use of intelligence technology has to be approved by a judge from the respective High Court in the location of the service's headquarters. Practically, this means the High Court in Prague because both BIS and VZ headquarters are located in the capital city. A judicial review is conducted not only *a priori*, in the phase before the actual use of intelligence technology, which results in official approval of its use by a proper judge but, it can also be done *ex post facto* in the course of the use of intelligence technology. The judge has to assess whether the reasons for the use of intelligence technology persist. If the judge determines that the reasons for the use of intelligence technology have ceased to exist, he/ she can withdraw the warrant for its use.

The external intelligence service (ÚZSI) is not, from this perspective, the subject of any judicial reviews because it is not authorized to use such means inside the territory of the Czech Republic.

The Independent Oversight Body. Since 2018, a new oversight body has been established – The Independent Oversight Body. It conducts *de facto,* second-level oversight because it has superior competences than the first level of oversight, which is conducted by special Parliament control bodies. The appropriate special Parliament Oversight Commission (for BIS, VZ, or ÚZSI) initiates its control activity, and it is to that Commission that the final report is submitted. According

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[12] These annual classified reports to the government are provided by all three intelligence services (BIS, VZ, and ÚZSI) and contain more detailed and sensitive information than the unclassified annual public report provided only by BIS and VZ.

to law, the Independent Oversight Body consists of five members. They are independent experts[13] proposed by the government and then selected and appointed by the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic for a period of five years. Currently, this system is not working effectively because of the short time since the adoption of the specific changes in the law and the fact that the members of the Commission have not been appointed yet.

Public and media control. There are several formats of this type of control in the current Czech Republic. First of all, the intelligence services are subject to Act No. 106/1999 Coll., on the free access to information, as are all other government institutions. It means that they have to provide information on many of the questions being asked of the service. However, according to the special act, the Service is not required to provide answers to questions about either classified information or specific intelligence activity (operations).

The internal intelligence service (BIS) and the military intelligence service (VZ) regularly publish Annual Reports on their activities. Every year, after these reports have been published, they become the subject of intense media discussion and, even later, the information provided by the services are screened and investigated by journalists. At the same time, journalists are always looking for any breaches in the activities of the intelligence services and any information leaks.

The internal intelligence service (BIS) and the military intelligence service (VZ) have official spokespersons. Whenever an intelligence-related issue attracts the interest of the public, journalists regularly seek information from these spokespersons, especially the one from the BIS.

Lessons Learned, Recommendations and Remaining Challenges

Based on an assessment of the actual transformation processes of the Czech intelligence services from a totalitarian security apparatus, some specific factors can be identified in comparison with the same processes of change in other former socialist countries such as Poland, Hungary, and East Germany. First, it was a reinstatement of a significant number of former SNB members who, due to their reform activities in the late 1960s and/or their disagreement with the Soviet occupation, had been removed from the service after the Soviet occupation in 1968. Another significant feature was the extensive involvement of the civil vetting commissions in the process of assessment of the eligibility of former members of the State Security for service in both the new intelligence services and the police.

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[13] A member of the Independent Oversight Body cannot be the President of the Czech Republic, government minister or deputy minister, Deputy or Senator, Deputy of European Parliament, judge, regional parliament deputy, member or employee of the security corps of the Czech Republic, a professional soldier or employee of the Armed Forces of the Czech Republic. Note: Security corps of the Czech Republic are as follows: Police of the Czech Republic, Prison Service of the Czech Republic, Fire Rescue Service of the Czech Republic, General Inspection of the Security Corps, Security Information Service, Custom Service, and the Office of Foreign Relations and Information.

Among the former Soviet bloc countries, at least in civilian intelligence services, the Czech Republic was the closest to the so-called "null variant," which means that it built the new services from zero on the "green grass."[14] The exchange of personnel in the other countries was on a much less level playing field.

The early stages of the transformation were not conducted on the basis of a rational and elaborate plan. Sometimes it took leaps and bounds and unpremeditated changes; sometimes, it was based on very individual and subjective ideas.[15] In reality, this means that the legal situation in the Czech Republic was a case of law discontinuity in this specific area. Because there was no existing legislation, the core changes can be described as a journey from non-regulation to regulation based on the best practices and experiences of the developed, democratic countries without relics of existing previous legislation. It is necessary to say, though, that despite the big move forward, the legislation in the first period of transformation (from transition to 1992) did not fully comply with the democratic standards that were later set up in, for example, the DCAF documents.

Only Acts No. 153/1994, on the intelligence services of the Czech Republic and No. 154/1994, on the Security Information Service produced the complex legislation, which concluded the stage of establishing a standard legal regulation of the Czech Republic intelligence system. These acts can be considered to be the closure of the first phase of the Czech Republic intelligence transformation process (by 1994).

A more narrow concept of the mandate of the intelligence services was clearly embedded in the form of the Czech legal regulation of the intelligence services. The application resulted in a requirement for separation between the intelligence services and the police authorities and the absence of any executive powers of a police-type or law enforcement powers in the intelligence services. The Czech Republic's intelligence services have been defined as state authorities with no executive powers and which are not among the law enforcement authorities. This accurately describes the range of powers granted to them and the extent of the applicability of the information obtained by them.

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[14] The former Director of ÚZSI Oldřich Černý in his article "Pár poznámek k problematice zpravodajských služeb v ČR" describes this time of changes by following words: "Czechoslovakia and later the Czech Republic were building their intelligence community on green grass (I speak on the civilian internal and external services only…) and despite the generous foreign assistance it was a process of tests and mistakes, "hits and misses" and those misses were much more than "hits." Oldřich Černý, "Pár poznámek k problematice zpravodajských služeb v ČR" (Europeum Institut pro evropskou politiku, 2008), http://old.europeum.org/doc/pdf/Oldrich_Cerny_zari_final.pdf.

[15] For example, Igor Cibula talks about the proposal of then Federal Minister of Interior Ján Langoš to stop completely operative activity of the Czechoslovakian external intelligence services and thus in practice to dissolve external intelligence service. Igor Cibula, "Zmeny v spravodajských službách po skončení studenej vojny, resp. skončení bipolárního usporiadania světa," in *Zmeny v spravodajských službách*, Collection of contributions from a conferece in Bratislava, December 4, 2007 (Bratislava: BVŠP-ABSD, 2008), www.absd.sk/upload/file/Zmeny_v_spravodajskych_sluzbach.pdf.

The 1994 legislation enshrined a state of high stability and, through several successive amendments, this still exists today at the basic level. It has created a prerequisite for the standard operation of intelligence services on the principles of the rule of law. With the exception of the Military Intelligence, where the time frame is somewhat shorter, for almost a quarter of a century, this has produced a high degree of stability, which is a desirable state for regulating the legal and intelligence systems. However, in many aspects, recent developments have shown the need for further modernization of the law to allow the most efficient use of the intelligence services, especially in the face of new forms of terrorism and the associated phenomena.

From the topics discussed, it is possible to identify the most important occurrences in recent years:

- the extension of the external control of the intelligence services;
- the possible use of intelligence from intelligence sources as evidence in trials; and
- the modification of some aspects of the principle of separation that is still, unreservedly, applied to the mandate and character of the Czech intelligence services.

The requirement to extend the external control of intelligence services, including the creation of an independent control body, was, in principle, fulfilled by the adoption of Act No. 325/2017 Coll., amending Act No. 153/1994 Coll., on the intelligence services of the Czech Republic.

A legal solution has still to be found to allow the possible evidential use of intelligence-related information. This intention is already contained and formulated in some governmental measures, especially in the so-called National Security Audit.

Certain modifications of some aspects of the imperative principle of separation should, according to the proposed amendment to the Act on Military Intelligence, entrust the provision of the cyber defense of the Czech Republic to Military Intelligence.

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Zákon č. 244/1991 Sb., o Federální bezpečnostní informační službě a o používání zpravodajských prostředků [Act No. 244/1991 Coll., on the Federal Security Information Service and on the usage of intelligence means], www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1991-244

Zákon č. 67/1992 Sb., o Vojenském obranném zpravodajství [Act No. 67/1992 Coll., on Military Defensive Intelligence], www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1992-67

Zákon č. 527/1992 Sb., Zákon České národní rady o Bezpečnostní informační službě České republiky [Act No. 527/1992 Coll., Czech National Council Act on Security Information Service of the Czech Republic], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1992-527

Zákon č. 153/1994 Sb, o zpravodajských službách České republiky [Act No. 153/1992 Coll., on intelligence services of the Czech Republic], https://www.zakony prolidi.cz/cs/1994-153

Zákon č. 154/1994 Sb., o Bezpečnostní informační službě [Act No. 154/1992 Coll., on Security Information Service], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1994-154

Zákon č. 289/2005 Sb., o Vojenském zpravodajství [Act No. 289/2005 Coll., on Military Intelligence], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2005-289

Zákon č. 325/2017 Sb., kterým se mění zákon č. 153/1994 Sb., o zpravodajských službách České republiky, ve znění pozdějších předpisů, a další související zákony [Act No. 325/2017 Coll., which changes act No. 153/1994 Coll., on intelligence services of the Czech Republic], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2017-325

Zákon č. 100/1960 Sb., Ústava Československé socialistické republiky [Act No. 100/1960 Coll., Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialistic Republic], https://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution_1960.html

Zákon č. 106/1999 Sb. o svobodném přístupu k informacím [Act No. 106/1999 Coll., on free access to information], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1999-106

Zákon č. 412/2005 Sb. o ochraně utajovaných informací a o bezpečnostní způsobilosti [Act No. 412/2005 Coll., on the protection of classified information and security clearance], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2005-412

Zákon č. 451/1991 Sb., kterým se stanoví některé další předpoklady pro výkon některých funkcí ve státních orgánech a organizacích České a Slovenské Federativní Republiky, České republiky a Slovenské republiky [Act No. 451/1991 Coll., which defines other conditions for appointment to the selected positions in the state administration and institution of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, Czech Republic and Slovak Republic], www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1991-451

Zákon č. 279/1992 Sb. Zákon České národní rady o některých dalších předpokladech pro výkon některých funkcí obsazovaných ustanovením nebo jmenováním příslušníků Policie České republiky a příslušníků Sboru nápravné výchovy České republiky [Act No. 279/1992 Coll., Act on some other prerequisites for the performance of certain functions occupied by provisions or the appointment of members of the Police of the Czech Republic and members of the of Prison Service the Czech Republic], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1992-279

Zákon č. 140/1996 Sb., o zpřístupnění svazků vzniklých činností bývalé Státní bezpečnosti [Act No. 140/1996 Coll., on accessing the bundles arising out of the activities of the former State Security], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1996-140

Zákon č. 341/2011 Sb., o Generální inspekci bezpečnostních sborů a o změně souvisejících zákonů [Act No. 341/2011 Coll. on General Inspection of Security Corpses], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2011-341

Zákon č. 40/2009 Sb., trestní zákoník [Act. No. 40/2009 Coll., Criminal Code], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2009-40?text=trestní+zákon.

Zákon č. 141/1961 Sb., o trestním řízení soudním (trestní řád) [Act No. 141/1961 Coll., Penal Code], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1961-141

Zákon č. 200/1990 Sb., Zákon České národní rady o přestupcích [Act. No. 200/ 1990, Act of Czech National Council on Offenses], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1990-200

Zákon č. 361/2003 Sb., o služebním poměru příslušníků bezpečnostních sborů [Act No. 361/2003 Coll., on the service of the security corps members], https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2003-361

Disclaimer

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Research Article

Transformation of the State Security in the Slovak Republic from 1989 to 1992

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Abstract: This article describes the main steps of the post-communist transition of the intelligence and counter-intelligence services of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, first to the purposes of democratization of the federal formation and then to the establishment of the respective capacity of the Slovak Republic. The authors pay particular attention to the introduction of norms and practices of parliamentary oversight of the security services in this early phase of the transformation process.

Keywords: intelligence, counterintelligence, transformation, democratic control, oversight, Slovakia.

Introduction

The following article describes the transformation process of the State Security (hereinafter StB)[1] in the Slovak Republic, which began after the "Velvet Revolution" in November 1989. Following the "Velvet Revolution," a democratization process was initiated in all areas of social life, including political, economic, social, as well as changes in the security services. Those changes aimed to set up new security agencies (including intelligence services) to perform their activities on completely different bases compared to the State Security. This study examines two periods, namely a period before the "Velvet Revolution" (until November 1989) and a period of security services transformation (from November 1989 to the end of 1992). Within the first period, the StB organization and management are analyzed, including, in detail, the related legislation, tasks, and powers

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[1] Štátna bezpečnosť, State Security in Slovak. The State Security was an organizational part of the National Security Corps. De facto, it was a police component comprehensively engaged in intelligence and counter-intelligence activities.

of various State security units shortly before the "Velvet Revolution." The second part of the study deals with the process of the StB transformation in the territory of the Slovak Republic, describing the genesis of necessary legislative changes, as well as assembling the staff of the new intelligence agencies.

The First Period: Organization, Management and the Role of the State Security before November 1989

When beginning an analysis of this period, it should be noted that in the time before and during the Velvet Revolution in November 1989, the Slovak Republic was part of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (hereinafter CSSR). From the aspect of the state and legal establishments, it was a federation of two republics, namely the Czech Socialist Republic (hereinafter CSR) and the Slovak Socialist Republic (hereinafter SSR). Within the federal establishment, some areas of social, political, and economic life, as well as some security issues, came under the authority of the federal ministries of the CSSR. The legal basis for the activities of the National Security Corps (the then "police") before November 1989 was Act No. 40/1970 Coll. on the National Security Corps of April 24, 1974. This applied to the whole territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and, therefore, it applied to the territory of the SSR as well. The Act came into force on July 1, 1974, and in accordance with Section 1 of the Act, the National Security Corps was a single armed security corps whose primary mission was to protect the socialist state, the social establishment, public order, and the security of persons and property. It fulfilled its tasks through preventive and educational activities and by means of state coercion. The National Security Corps was divided into the State Security and Public Security. The National Security Corps was, in principle, organized by regions, districts, and precincts. Departments operating within the State Security were subordinated to the Federal Minister of Interior of the CSSR. In contrast, departments working in the field of Public Security were subordinated to national Ministers of Interior, i.e., to the Minister of Interior of the SSR in the territory of the Slovak Republic, and to the Minister of Interior of the CSR in the Czech Republic. The duties of both the State Security and the Public Security were assigned in Act No. 40/1970 Coll., Section 4.

State Security tasks included, in particular:

- to detect and eliminate hostile activities against the CSSR;
- to gather and process information relevant to state security and its political and economic development;
- to ensure the protection of constitutional officials;
- to provide, to a limited extent, the protection of particularly significant premises;
- to participate in the defense of the CSSR and in the protection of national borders;

- to participate in tasks assigned by regulations for the protection of the state, economic, and official secrets.

Tasks of the Public Security were as follows:

- to ensure the safety of persons and property;
- to detect felonies, minor offenses and to identify offenders;
- to investigate and detect offenses and clear them up according to the Criminal Procedure Code;
- to ensure public order and, if disturbed, take measures to restore it;
- to take part in traffic control and to supervise its safety and smooth flow;
- to detect and clarify minor offenses;
- to fulfill tasks assigned in protective supervision.

The accomplishment of tasks by the StB departments was part of the responsibilities of the Federal Ministry of Interior of the CSSR. The State Security organizational structure was built up with regards to this purpose and could be changed in compliance with its needs since, according to Section 8 of Act No. 40/1970 Coll., the organization of the National Security Corps departments managed by the Minister of Interior of the CSSR was set up by the Minister of Interior of the CSSR (Federal Minister of the Interior). One year before the "Velvet Revolution," specifically from August 1, 1988, to February 15, 1990, the StB organizational structure, subordinated to the Federal Ministry of Interior, looked as follows:

- 1st Directorate of the National Security Corps (Main Intelligence Service);
- 2nd Directorate of the National Security Corps (Main Counter-Intelligence Service);
- 3rd Directorate of the National Security Corps (Main Military Counter-Intelligence Service);
- 4th Directorate of the National Security Corps (Surveillance);
- 5th Directorate of the National Security Corps (Protection of Party and Constitutional officials);
- 6th Directorate of the National Security Corps (Intelligence Equipment);
- 12th Directorate of the National Security Corps (Counter-Intelligence Service in Bratislava);
- 13th Directorate of the National Security Corps (Special Directorate);
- Directorate of State Security Investigation;
- Passport and Visa Directorate;

- Directorate of Automation Development of the National Security Corps.[2]

This study aims to concentrate only on the specialization and tasks performed by operational departments of intelligence and counter-intelligence services in the CSSR.

Main Intelligence Service

The 1st Directorate of the National Security Corps carried out activities aimed at ensuring the safety and strengthening the defensive capability of the CSSR and the socialist community countries. This would be achieved by specific means, methods, and forms of work. 1st Directorate of the National Security Corps detected and eliminated subversive activities of hostile special services, treacherous emigration, ideological diversion centers, and took measures for the protection of economic interests, developing the economy of the CSSR and socialist countries, and the development of science, technology, and the military.[3] The following tasks were fulfilled in the above-mentioned focus areas:

- gathering confidential information on the enemy's intentions, plans, and actions against the CSSR and socialist countries, on the enemy's military and economic potential, as well as information and knowledge enabling active fight against external threats;
- collecting, verifying, analyzing, and processing the information obtained by means of intelligence activities and additional resources;
- conducting secret operations and actions in order to support the struggle for global peace, paralyze and weaken the enemy's activities with the aim of strengthening the defense capacity and security of the CSSR and the socialist community in the political, ideological, and economic spheres;
- defending the designated Czechoslovak embassies, institutions, Czechoslovak citizens and residences of the 1st Directorate of the National Security Corps abroad;
- performance of tasks, within its scope, which arose from mutual agreements on cooperation between allied intelligence services;
- ensuring the security of the courier and enciphered connection with all Czechoslovak embassies abroad.[4]

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[2] "Štruktúra ŠtB [StB Structure]," accessed January 15, 2019, http://www.policie.cz/clanek/struktura-stb.aspx.

[3] "Organizačný poriadok Hlavnej správy rozviedky ZNB [Establishment plan of the Main Directorate of Counter-Intelligence of the National Security Corps]," accessed January 15, 2019, http://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/1-sprava/zakladne-ulohy.php.

[4] Ibid.

Main Counter-Intelligence Service

The 2nd Directorate of the National Security Corps, Main Counter-Intelligence Service of the National Security Corps was formed during the reorganization of the Federal Ministry of Interior on October 1, 1988, by merging the former directorate for the fight against the external enemy (formerly the 2nd Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior), the directorate for combatting the interior enemy (formerly the 10th Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior) and the directorate for the protection of the economy (formerly the 11th Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior).

The 2nd Directorate of the National Security Corps was divided into:

Departments specializing in the fight against the so-called external enemy:

- 1st Department – specializing in the USA and Latin American countries;
- 2nd Department – specializing in Germany and Austria;
- 3rd Department – specializing in the United Kingdom, France, and other NATO states; protection of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- 4th Department – specializing in African-Asian countries, terrorism, people smuggling organizations, protection of Soviet troops.

Departments for the protection of economy:

- 5th Department, focused on the pre-production sphere, industry, agriculture;
- 6th Department – aimed at protecting the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, foreign trade companies, business representation of foreign companies;
- 7th Department, targeting transport, communications, power engineering;
- 8th Department – focused on the protection of state, economic, and business secrets.

Departments for combatting internal enemies:

- 9th Department – focused on churches, religious societies, sects;
- 10th Department – focused on counter-intelligence on hostile groupings (right-wing and anti-socialist forces, former communists, independent initiatives, Charter 77, Movement for Civil Freedom, Party of Democratic Socialism);
- 11th Department – focused on the youth, science, education, and culture;

- 12th Department – specializing in ideological diversion centers and emigrant organizations.[5]

In accordance with the Establishment Plan for the Main Directorate of Counter-Intelligence of March 15, 1989, the Directorate was assigned the following main tasks:

- detection of hostile activities by intelligence agencies in the territory of the CSSR;
- detection of hostile activities performed by citizens of the CSSR and foreigners in contact with foreign intelligence services;
- detection, prevention, and elimination of hostile activities performed by persons threatening the internal order of the CSSR;
- implementation of counter-intelligence measures against ideological diversion;
- implementation of counter-intelligence protection of designated premises;
- cooperation with the counter-intelligence agencies aimed at the penetration of hostile intelligence services centers (including participation in so-called disinformation);
- participation in the protection of the state secrets of the CSSR;
- co-operation with the military counter-intelligence service in the protection of military premises (including places in which Soviet troops were deployed);
- application of preventive and educational measures aimed at the prevention or elimination of hostile activities;
- prevention of terrorist activities in the territory of the CSSR;
- penetration of embassies and detection of spies.[6]

On the Slovak Socialist Republic territory, the State Security departments were supervised by the Federal Ministry of Interior. The organization of the StB departments in the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic was compliant with the territorial-administrative division into three regions, namely the Western Slovak Region, the Central Slovak Region and the Eastern Slovak Republic. The StB departments were divided into:

- State Security Administration Bratislava;
- State Security Administration Banská Bystrica;
- State Security Administration Košice;

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5   "Druhá správa ZNB [Second Directorate of the National Security Corps]," January 15, 2019, http://www.cdtr.cz/cs/slovnik/2-sprava-fmv.

6   Ibid.

- Intelligence departments (Regional Departments of the First Directorate in Slovakia),

which were part of the regional administrations of the National Security Corps. Each StB administration was then divided into three departments. The first department specialized in counter-intelligence protection against the activities of foreign intelligence agencies. The second department was focused on the fight against the so-called internal enemy, and the third department was responsible for the protection of economic interests. Methodological management and supervision over individual departments were exercised by relevant directorates of the Federal Ministry of Interior. The 2nd Directorate of the National Security Corps was responsible for the first department, while the second department was directed by 10th Directorate of the National Security Corps and the third department by the 11th Directorate of the National Security Corps. Following the organizational changes in October 1988, when 2nd, 10th, and 11th directorates of the National Security Corps merged into the Main Counterintelligence Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior, all three departments were methodically guided and supervised by the Main Directorate. Regional StB departments were subordinated to the StB deputy chiefs of the Regional Administration of the National Security Corps. The Chief of the 1st Directorate of the National Security Corps provided their methodical management, scrutiny within a specified scale, and ensured officers' training.[7]

As a state coercion body, the main focus of the StB Administration was on prevention, detection, and disruption activities in its assigned territory, i.e., in a particular region. Its activities in a specific region focused mainly on:

- detection of the enemy's intentions in order to prevent their activities, foil their actions, search for and punish their screening counter-intelligence officers and enemy agencies on the territory of the CSSR;
- detection and thwarting of hostile activities of emigrant, Zionist, nationalist, and other anti-socialist centers, organizing ideological diversion and other hostile activities against the CSSR and socialist countries;
- detection and recording of anti-state activities carried out by persons from among internal enemies, anti-socialist clusters, and wrecking enemy activities;
- ensuring the agency and operational protection of special important premises that might be of interest to enemy intelligence services; the State Security participated in the protection of classified information in other designated premises;

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[7] "Útvary rozviedky na území SSR [Counter-intelligence Departments in the Territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic]," January 15, 2019, http://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/1-sprava/utvary-rozviedky.php.

- detection, recording and prevention of foreigners' cross-border activities and cooperation in the protection of national borders;
- exercising the agency-operative supervision over returned émigrés and foreigners permanently residing on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic;
- prevention of improper travel of Czechoslovak citizens abroad through agency-operational means;
- providing the external protection of premises of the Czechoslovak People's Army and Soviet troops in specified places.[8]

Regional Structures

In compliance with its specializations, the State Security administration of the relevant regional directorate of the National Security Corps fulfilled the following tasks:

- it organized and implemented the detection of anti-state activities in the territory of a region through agents and operational means, keeping and processing operational records. It decided about the investigation of a case, except for the cases requiring approval by the Chief of the Main Counter-Intelligence Directorate or the Regional Administration of the National Security Corps;
- in cooperation with national and economic authorities in the territory of a region, it organized the protection of state, economic, and service/ official matters;
- it gathered and analyzed information on the operational situation in individual issues and premises in the territory of a region, on the scope and level of the cases and signals being worked on, the scope and level of the means of the operational work (agency system, monitoring, operational technology), their distribution and use in the territory of a region;
- it organized the performance of the service by border control departments in the region;
- it organized preventive measures in line with the Main Counter-Intelligence Directorate's plan and within its scope of authority;
- it kept statistics and registries of the agency-operational nature within a region;
- it was responsible for the effective distribution of work among individual departments within the StB framework. In addition, it cooperated with

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8 "Správa ŠtB KS ZNB [StB Administration of the Regional Administration of the National Security Corps]," January 15, 2019, http://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/sprava-stb-bratislava/zakladne-zameranie.php.

the territorial authorities of military counter-intelligence and, in cases extending beyond the region, also with other StB administrations;

- in accordance with the principles of the notification service, it informed the Chief of the Main Counter-intelligence Directorate and the Chief of the Regional Administration of the National Security Corps, especially about important new knowledge of anti-state activities within individual cases and the progress of their elaboration, work results, and the state-of-the-art and needs of the professional and political training of officers;

- it performed operational activities according to the orders and directives of the Chief of the Main Counter-intelligence Directorate and the Chief of the Regional Administration of the National Security Corps and methodological instructions of the Main Counter-Intelligence Directorate.[9]

In addition, there were two more StB departments operating in the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic:

- The 12th Directorate of the National Security Corps – Counter-intelligence Directorate in Bratislava;
- The intelligence department of the 11th Border Guard Brigade.[10]

The 12th Directorate of the National Security Corps – Counter-intelligence Directorate in Bratislava was a unit of the National Security Corps and a component of State Security. As an executive unit of the Federal Ministry of Interior, it was responsible for ensuring, implementing and organizing counter-intelligence measures on designated issues and in federal premises within the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic. It was divided into:

- 1st Department – department for combatting the external enemy;
- 2nd Department – department of the fight against internal enemies;
- 3rd Department – department for the protection of the economy;
- 4th Department – surveillance department;
- 5th Department – screening of correspondence and expertise department;
- 6th Department – intelligence equipment department.[11]

The Department for Combatting the External Enemy took counter-intelligence measures against the penetration of special services in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It worked in the premises of the Diplomatic Corps Services

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9   Ibid.

10 "Spravodajské zložky 11. brigády PS [Intelligence Units of the 11th Border Guard Brigade]," January 15, 2019, http://www.upn.gov.sk/sk/utvary-a-prislusnici-stb-a-ps/.

11 "XII. Správa ZNB [12th Directorate of the National Security Corps]," January 15, 2019, http://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/12-sprava/index.php.

Directorate, the UN Research Computing/Computational Centre, the United Nations Environment Protection Research Centre, Press and Information Centre of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the embassies of capitalist states, China and Yugoslavia. It worked on cases and signals in the following issues: Diplomats, Travel Agencies, Foreign Visas, and Excursions/ Travels.

Combatting Internal Enemies

The Division for Combatting Internal Enemies was broken down into:

- 1st department, dealing with right-wing opportunism issues;
- 2nd department, dealing with culture, science, and mass media matters;
- 3rd department, dealing with education, youth, sport issues, protection of national front organizations and revivalist political parties, Zionism and Slovak separatism;
- Special Department, dealing with the issues of the Church and various sects.[12]

Protecting the Economy

The Division for the Protection of Economy was divided into:

- 1st department, dealing with counter-intelligence protection of the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade and observing foreign trade representative offices in Bratislava, Western companies' branches, international fairs and exhibitions held in Bratislava (especially in INCHEBA), the penetration of foreign intelligence services and monopolies into central sectors of the Czechoslovak economy;
- 2nd department, dealing with sections of counter-intelligence protection of the scientific research base, planning and financing of the national economy, investment, construction, design and management, computing technology and environment, chemical industry, agriculture and nutrition, building and investment construction and internal trade in terms of counter-intelligence protection of the pre-production and production spheres;
- 3rd department, ensuring the protection of classified information in central organizations of the Slovak economy and carrying out screening of persons proposed for getting access to state secrets.

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[12] "XII. Správa ZNB, popis odborov [12th Directorate of the National Security Corps, description of departments]," January 15, 2019, http://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/12-sprava/popis-odbor-2.php.

The Division for the Protection of the Economy worked on the so-called economic right, ensuring the counter-intelligence protection of socialist development and protection of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.[13]

Border Guards

The main task of the intelligence unit of the 11th Border Guard Brigade and its subordinate intelligence groups (1. Malacky, 2. Bratislava, 3. Komárno) was to gather and evaluate information on persons planning their escape abroad and related counter-intelligence tasks. Intelligence activities were carried out by the Intelligence Directorate of the Main Administration of the border guard of state border protection, a superior unit in powers/authority to the 11th Border Guard Brigade. The intelligence structure of the 11th Border Guard Brigade was extended by the intelligence group Petržalka from 1 November 1979.[14]

The Second Period: The Transformation of the Security Agencies after the "Velvet Revolution," November 1989 – end of 1992

On a federal level, the transformation of the State Security agencies after the "Velvet Revolution" did not take place in a single step. It was implemented through gradual changes in the organization, legislation, and staffing of the new security services. The main events of the transformation process were:

- The dissolution of all StB departments by February 15, 1990 (by the Federal Minister of Interior Order No. 16 and No. 17 of January 31, 1990);
- The establishment of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy of the Federal Ministry of Interior by the Federal Minister of Interior order. The Office functioned from February 16, 1990, to December 19, 1990;
- The establishment of the Federal Intelligence Service by order of the Federal Minister of Interior. It operated from December 20, 1990, to June 30, 1991;
- The creation of the Federal Security Intelligence Service by Act No. 244/1991 Coll. on the Federal Security Service and the Use of intelligence means. The service operated from July 1, 1991, to December 31, 1993;
- The establishment of the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

Immediately after the "Velvet Revolution," democratization and transformational changes began in all areas of social life. In the beginning, there were political and economic changes. Of course, the changes also concerned the armed

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[13] Ibid.

[14] "Spravodajské zložky 11. brigády PS [Intelligence Units of the 11th Border Guard Brigade]," January 15, 2019, http://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/11-brigada/.

security corps, which had been discredited by its "forceful" intervention against the participants of the November demonstrations. Due to that, the newly-originated political parties and movements (the Citizens' Forum in the Czech Republic and The Public against Violence in the Slovak Republic), which formed a government of national understanding, took over the implementation of changes in the field of security services. During the first phase, all StB activities ceased, and its members could not carry out their duties anymore. At the same time, civilian screening commissions [15] were created in each region by order of the Federal Minister of Interior. The aim of the commissions was to interview each member of the State Security and consider their previous work activities and assess their capability to work in the new security services. The purpose of the "civilian reviews" was to independently assess which State Security members would be able to continue to work for the newly created security and intelligence services.

The Civilian Commissions were composed of representatives of the main political parties – the Citizens' Forum and the Public against Violence. In addition, members of the Public Security and so-called reactivated former members of the National Security Corps who had been dismissed from service after 1968 were appointed to those commissions. Some politicians were of the opinion that the commissions were created too hastily, often from randomly selected people who did not have adequate knowledge of the activities performed by individual officers, and that this resulted in insubstantial screening.[16] Some politicians adhered to the view that former StB members should not be admitted to the new security and intelligence services. Others believed that it would be a mistake to dismiss all intelligence and counter-intelligence officers and not make use of their experience in the new intelligence services as long as the civilian commission had assessed them as reliable and competent for the work in the new intelligence services. One of the arguments was that there was a risk that the former officers might be recruited by foreign intelligence and other services.[17]

On February 15, 1990, Richard Sacher, the Federal Minister of the Interior, abolished all StB components and ensured that new departments would be created on their foundations. The Intelligence Service (First Directorate of the National Security Corps of the Federal Ministry of Interior) changed into the Office for Foreign Relations and Information of the Federal Ministry of Interior. Together with its headquarters, the new office took over all of its registries and archives, and a large number of the employees in the First Directorate of the National Security Corps. The Second Directorate of the National Security Corps—

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[15] Order of the Minister of the Interior of CSSR 21 of 7 February 1990, accessed January 21, 2020, https://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/rozkazy/rfmv90-92/21-90.pdf.

[16] Vladimír Palko, "November ešte neznamenal koniec, Štátna bezpečnosť prežila dodnes [November did not mean the end, State Security has survived to this day]," *SME.sk*, December 13, 2001, www.sme.sk/c/184683/november-este-neznamenal-koniec-statna-bezpecnost-prezila-dodnes.html.

[17] Palko, "November ešte neznamenal koniec."

The Main Directorate of Counter-intelligence—was transformed into the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy similar to Germany's model, and became part of the Federal Ministry of Interior. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy was established from the previous four State Security directorates: Counterintelligence (Second Directorate of the National Security Corps), Slovak Counterintelligence (12th Directorate of the National Security Corps), Surveillance (4th Directorate of the National Security Corps) and Intelligence Equipment (6th Directorate of the National Security Corps). The 4th Directorate of the National Security Corps (Military Counterintelligence) was transformed into the Military Defense Intelligence as part of the Federal Ministry of Defense. The Federal Office for the Protection of Constitutional Officials was created from the 5th Directorate of the National Security Corps – Protection of State Officials.[18] These newly-formed units hired former State Security officers who had passed the reviews by civilian commissions, on the one hand, and some of the officers who had been dismissed from service during the 1970s purges, on the other. The remainder was made up of new employees who were intended to gradually replace the former StB officers.

On December 9, 1990, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy was dissolved by order of the Federal Minister of Interior, and the Federal Information Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior was established. All former StB officers, including the ones who had undergone civil commission reviews in 1990, were prevented from joining the service.[19] The Federal Information Service was abolished on June 30, 1991, by order of the Federal Minister of Interior. In fact, supervision over the newly created intelligence services did not exist in that period.

On July 1, 1991, the Federal Security Information Service was established. It operated until the termination of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic at the end of 1992. The establishment of the Federal Security Information Service is considered to be the beginning of a new era in the legal regulation and actual activity of intelligence services in Czechoslovakia, because unlike the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and the Federal Information Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior, it did not arise by order of the Federal Minister of Interior, but by the Act of the Federal Assembly No. 244/1991 on the Federal Security Service and the Use of Intelligence Equipment. This Act made the Federal Security Information Service an independent authority that did not fall under the Federal Ministry of Interior, as was the case of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and the Federal Information Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior. The Act already incorporated both the basic democratic principles and the principles of intelligence services (including their oversight) that was similar to other democratic countries. The Act fully accepted the principle of legality and constitutionality. The Federal Security Infor-

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18 Palko, "November ešte neznamenal koniec."

19 Palko, "November ešte neznamenal koniec."

mation Service Act defined precisely the specific areas of authority and instituted parliamentary oversight of Service's activities. The Act laid down the conditions for the legitimate use of intelligence means and explicitly defined and stipulated the legal conditions under which those means could be used. Contrary to the State Security activities, the Act did not give executive powers of a police nature, such as investigative competencies, to the Federal Security Information Service officers.

Under Section 2, the Federal Security Information Service was responsible for collecting, collating, and evaluating information that was:

- important for the protection of the constitutional establishment;
- derived from the activities of foreign intelligence services;
- concerning terrorism organized in connection with foreign countries;
- directed against state security and important for the protection of state economic interests.[20]

The service was able to make the gathered information available to the President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, to three governments (the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic Government, the Czech Republic Government, and the Slovak Republic Government) and the three parliaments (the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, and the Slovak National Council). Intelligence could also be passed to other state authorities, if needed, for the prevention of unconstitutional and illegal activity.[21]

To gather and evaluate the information in the above-mentioned areas of operation, the Federal Security Information Service was authorized to use the following intelligence means:

- intelligence technology;
- covert means and documents;
- surveillance;
- persons acting in favor of the Federal Security Information Service.[22]

The intelligence equipment could only be used by the Federal Security Information Service in its jurisdiction on the basis of a prior written authorization by the Prosecutor, and only in cases where the detection and recording of the activities were otherwise ineffective or substantially constrained. The Prosecutor could set the duration of the use of intelligence equipment up to a maximum period of six months. This time could be extended on the basis of a new application, each time for no longer than six months. Information obtained through the use of the intelligence equipment could only be used by the Federal Security In-

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[20] Act No. 244/1991 on the Federal Security Information Service and Use of Intelligence Means, Section 2.

[21] Act No. 244/1991, Section 3.

[22] Act No. 244/1991, Section 14.

formation Service and in compliance with the provisions on keeping records on individuals. For the purposes of this Act, the technical-intelligence measures were primarily electro-technical, radio-technical, photo-technical, optical, mechanical, chemical, and other technical measures and equipment or their sets, used in a covert manner in:

a) searching for, opening, examining, and assessing mail and other transported packages suspected of being used for criminal purposes;

b) monitoring and recording of telecommunication activities;

c) production of visual, audio, audio-visual and other recordings in cases in which the Federal Information Service has used them to discover information within the scope of its competences.[23]

The activities of the Federal Security Information Service were subject to parliamentary scrutiny. Authorization to carry out the scrutiny was given by the Federal Assembly, which set up a specialized oversight body for that purpose.[24] The oversight body consisted of three to four members elected by the People's House from among its deputies, and three to four deputies elected by the House of Nations. If the oversight authority had doubts about the legality of the Federal Security Information Service's activities, it was entitled to ask the Director for the necessary justification. The oversight body was also empowered to order the Director to terminate any activity that went beyond the scope of the Service or was illegal. The body was also authorized to request all the data within Federal Security Information Service records, which were beyond the Service's province, were untrue, or which had been obtained unlawfully, to be stored so that no one, except for the court, could access them. Any violation of the law by Federal Security Information Service officers that was discovered by the oversight body was to be notified to the Federal Assembly and the General Prosecutor of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. Depending on the nature of the matter, the government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic was also to be notified.[25]

As a result of the division of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic into two separate states—the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic—the Federal Security Information Service was disbanded by Act No. 543/1992 Coll. on the Federal Security Information Service.[26] In particular, this Act dealt with the division of immovable and movable property and property rights and obligations, including the right to the economic management of the Federal Security Information Service, between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic (in the ratio of two to one). Next, it solved the division of the information stored in databases, the

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[23] Act No. 244/1991, Section 15.

[24] Act No. 244/1991, Section 5.

[25] Act No. 244/1991, Section 7.

[26] Law 543 on the Abolition of the Federal Security Information Service, November 13, 1992, https://www.slov-lex.sk/static/pdf/1992/543/ZZ_1992_543_19921231.pdf (in Slovak).

handing over of records, and sorting out of service and labor-law relations. The information from the Federal Security Information Service databases was divided between the competent authorities of the Czech and Slovak Republics under an agreement concluded between the authorities while respecting the state security interests of both republics.

The then Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Vladimír Mečiar, did not trust the federal intelligence organizations (Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, Federal Information Service of the Federal Ministry of Interior, Federal Security Information Service) during the transformation period (from 1990 to 1992). Efforts were made to remove some competencies from the federal government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and hand them over to the national governments. There also occurred a demand for the creation of national secret services, so that the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic would have their own independent intelligence services. Some Slovak politicians, including Vladimír Mečiar, argued at the time that "it was not possible for the Prime Ministers or Speakers of National Councils to be dependent on one's goodwill whether they obtain information on the national political and security situation in their territory from federal security forces."[27] The objections were partially removed by establishing intelligence services in the Slovak Republic and in the Czech Republic within the control of the national Ministries of Interior (the Czech Ministry of Interior and the Slovak Ministry of Interior) whose powers were narrowed only to the area of the protection of national economic interests. This step was mainly undertaken with the purpose of preventing fraud and other illegal activities in the transformation of economies, specifically the ongoing privatization of state property. Based on these arguments, services for the protection of economic interests within the competence of national police forces were established in both the Slovak Republic and in the Czech Republic in April 1991.

In the Slovak Republic, the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests was legally established by Act No. 204/1991 on the Police Force of the Slovak Republic (Annex 8).[28] Following Section 4 (3) of the Act, this Service was created as a special service of the Police Force. The Service for the Protection of Economic Interests was not subordinated to the President of the Police Force like other organizations such as the criminal police, traffic police, public-order police, and premises protection service, but was directly responsible to the Minister of the Interior. The duties of the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests were, according to Section 3 (1c), to collect, summarize and evaluate information important for the protection of economic interests of the Slovak Republic. To fulfill their tasks, officers had, in addition to the ordinary powers of a member of

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[27] Palko, "November ešte neznamenal koniec."

[28] Law 204 on the Police Force of the Slovak Republic, April 29, 1991, https://www.slov-lex.sk/static/pdf/1991/204/ZZ_1991_204_19920101.pdf (in Slovak).

the Police Force, special powers mentioned in Title 3 of the Act, especially the means of operative-search activity and technical-intelligence means.[29]

For the purposes of this Act, the means of operational search activity included the following:

- surveillance of persons and objects;
- use of covert means and documents;
- decoy and safeguarding equipment; and
- the use of persons acting in favor of service for the protection of economic interests.[30]

The means and conditions for the use of technical intelligence were defined correspondingly in the intelligence technology Act No. 244/1991 Coll. on the Federal Security Service and the Use of Intelligence Means.

The fourth title of Act No. 204/1994 Coll. on the Police Force also included provisions regarding the distribution of the information obtained by the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests and ways by which the scrutiny of the Service's activities can be ensured. Through the mediation of the Minister of Interior, the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests provided the Slovak National Council and the Government of the Slovak Republic with any information important for their activities and decision-making. This information could also be made available to other national authorities.[31] The activities of the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests were inspected by the Slovak National Council, which set up a special oversight body for that purpose. The Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic was required to submit to the special scrutiny authority any directives regulating the use of operational-search activity and technical-intelligence means by the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests.

Disclaimer

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[29] Law 204/1991, Section 29.

[30] Law 204/1991, Section 30.

[31] Law 204/1991, Section 35.

Research Article

Transformation of Security and Intelligence Services in Latvia

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Abstract: The article examines in detail the process of setting up the security services of Latvia in the period prior to and after gaining full independence with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The author emphasizes that a successful transition towards a consolidated democracy requires decisive and quick actions in selecting personnel with intelligence experience under the totalitarian regime, yet loyal to the national ideals and the principles of democracy, the need for a clear legislative framework, and comprehensive democratic control of the services along parliamentary, government, judicial, prosecution, and financing venues.

Keywords: intelligence, counter-intelligence, post-communist transition, checks and balances, Latvia, Russia.

Introduction

Latvia had lost its statehood *de facto* in the years of the Soviet occupation. Its security structures during the Soviet period were established by an external, hostile force. Therefore, we cannot talk about the 'transformation' of Latvian security services in 1990 and 1991, but rather about 'demolition' and 'rebuilding anew.'

However, the history of Latvian security services did not start in 1991. The need to create special services appeared with the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Latvia on November 18, 1918. On July 29, 1919, the Security Department of the Ministry of the Interior was established, whose task was to combat crimes against the constitutional order. The Political Guard of the Ministry of the Interior was created on October 2, 1920, while from May 1924 to June 1939, the functions of the counter-intelligence and internal security service were performed by the Political Bureau of the Ministry. After the occupation by

the Soviet Union in 1940, more than 90 percent of Latvian special service officers were killed or died in Soviet prisons.[1]

Until the establishment of the USSR Committee for State Security (KGB) in 1954, many Soviet security authorities operated in occupied Latvia from 1940 (with a break during the German occupation in 1941 – 1944/45), which carried out repressions against the people of Latvia. During the Soviet occupation, the KGB bodies in Latvia operated under Moscow's full control, and one of the aims of repressions was to prevent the restoration of Latvia's independence. In the totalitarian regime of the USSR, security authorities acted as executive bodies that were largely politicized in view of their task of defending the indisputable role of the communist ideology.

A clear-marked political orientation of security institutions is not characteristic of democratic regimes. On the opposite, one of the features of a totalitarian regime is the direct reliance on strong secret police, which ensures unconditional submission of the population to the regime.[2]

On May 4, 1990, the Supreme Council of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) adopted the Declaration on the Restoration of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia, which, among other things, required the restoration of the Satversme (Constitution) of the Republic of Latvia adopted on February 15, 1922, throughout the whole country of Latvia.[3] The Declaration of Independence of May 4, 1990, proclaimed a transitional period for regaining complete independence, as all financial, administrative, and military resources were still in the hands of Moscow. Latvia chose a gradual, non-violent resistance path that entered history as the "singing revolution." The transitional period was a period of turbulence, dramatic popular emotional upsurge, and political events, culminating in the constitutional law *On the Statehood of the Republic of Latvia*, adopted by the Supreme Council on August 21, 1991, which envisaged a complete restoration of the independence of Latvia.[4] Restoration of independence also meant the re-establishment of democracy, which was partially lost already in 1934 in the course of the authoritarian coup by Kārlis Ulmanis and completely lost in 1940 with the Soviet occupation.

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[1] History of Security Police, http://www.dp.gov.lv/lv/vispariga-informacija/vesture/, accessed March 17, 2018.

[2] Ritvars Jansons, "Activities of the Security Services of the Latvian SSR (1944 – 1956)," in *VDK zinātniskās izpētes komisijas raksti*, ed. K. Jarinovska (Rīga: LPSR VDK zinātniskās izpētes komisija, LU Latvijas vēstures institūts, 2016), 97-115, accessed March 11, 2019, https://www.lu.lv/fileadmin/user_upload/lu_portal/projekti/vdkkomisija/VDKkomisija_raksti_2sejums_LPSR-drosibas-iestazu-darbiba-1944-1956_2016-05-06maijs_12-00.pdf. – in Latvian.

[3] Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR "On the Renewal of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia," accessed March 14, 2019, available at https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=75539&mode=DOC. – in Latvian.

[4] "Law on the Statehood of the Republic of Latvia," Likumi.lv, August 21, 1991, accessed March 11, 2019, https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=69512.

Since 1990, Latvia has achieved a lot. The Soviet regime had eliminated almost all the spheres of economic and public activities in Latvia. Many sectors had to start almost from scratch. Public administration, economy, agriculture, and foreign trade, which until then were performed mostly by other republics of the USSR, underwent radical changes. Privatization, economic and political reforms allowed relatively quickly to shift to the Western development practice, from which Latvia was forcibly withdrawn for 50 years.

Nowadays, Latvia is a democratic country and member of the European Union, NATO, and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), as well as a member of the Schengen and Eurozone. In the ranking of Freedom House's Nations in Transit in 2018, Latvia is rated as a *consolidated democracy*; its achievements among the 29 countries of transit to liberal democracy are surpassed only by Estonia.[5]

Latvia is followed in this ranking by Slovenia, the Czech Republic, and Lithuania.[6] Remarkably, Latvia ranks as the first (together with Estonia) in the chapter *Democratic Governance*, leaving behind all remaining post-soviet countries.[7] The achievements in this area are important because they have also ensured democratic principles in the civilian control over the Latvian security services.

The Structure of the State Security Services of Latvia in 1990-1991

Although on May 4, 1990, the Supreme Council of the LSSR announced a transition period for the restoration of independence, the Committee for State Security of the LSSR continued to operate on the territory of Latvia. The KGB of the LSSR was an influential and branched organization comprising the KGB leadership of the LSSR, administrative and operational units dealing with intelligence and counter-intelligence. There were specialized counter-intelligence units, operational activity departments (surveillance, operational technical unit, encryption, communications, etc.), and an investigative segment. The total number of officers in the KGB of LSSR was about 360-400 people.[8] Each operative officer had around 10 to 20 agents. The largest number of employees served in the support unit of the operational activities, as well as in the management. The KGB of LSSR was a territorial unit of the KGB of the USSR and subordinated to its central leadership. Decrees about the main directions of work, recruitment, and retirement were signed by the Chairman of the KGB of the USSR. The KGB of the LSSR

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[5] Freedom House, "Nations in Transit 2018," p. 23., accessed March 17, 2019, https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_NationsInTransit_Web_PDF_FINAL _2018_03_16.pdf.

[6] Freedom House, "Nations in Transit 2018."

[7] Freedom House, "Nations in Transit 2018."

[8] Indulis Zālīte, "Structure and Main Directions of Action of the State Security Committee of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1980-1991," LPRA, accessed March 11, 2019, http://lpra.vip.lv/vdk_uzbuve.htm#Structure. – in Latvian.

was led by the Chairman of the KGB of the LSSR and his deputies, the Collegium of the KGB of the LSSR, and the Committee of the Communist Party.[9]

The *Intelligence Unit* (1st unit) contained: Section No.1, executing illegal intelligence activities; Section No.2, carrying out external counter-intelligence activities; Section No.3, scientific and technological intelligence; while Section No.4 carried out political intelligence. The last section in the list was created in the 1980s on the basis of Section No. 2 and was engaged in the screening of the agents of influence and recruitment of foreign nationals in order to influence socio-political processes. The *Counter-Intelligence Unit* (2nd unit) performed counter-intelligence tasks to protect the USSR against the activities of foreign special services. The unit's operation took place mainly in the USSR territory, although it had its own network of agents abroad. About 50-60 operational employees worked in this unit in 1990-1991.[10]

The 3rd unit of the intelligence branch of the Latvian KGB – the *Support Unit of Counter-Intelligence by Law Enforcement Bodies* was established in the early 1980s, dealing mainly with corruption and bribery issues in the system of internal affairs of the LSSR. By the end of the 1980s, its focus was on organized crime. In 1991, a new unit of the fight against organized crime was created on this basis. Unit No.4 – the *Support Unit of the Transport Counter-Intelligence* was created in 1982. Unit No.5 – *Combat Against Ideological Sabotage* was established in 1967 when ideological counter-intelligence was declared one of the KGB priorities. About 50-60 employees worked in this unit in 1990. By 1990, the KGB of the LSSR continued to operate units engaged in economic counter-intelligence, surveillance, investigation, radio remote sensing, etc.[11]

Preserving and reorganizing the KGB in Latvia after regaining independence in 1991 was not an option because it was created by a regime hostile to Latvia. The only rational choice was the liquidation of the KGB. On August 24, 1991, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia passed a resolution "On Terminating the Activities of the USSR State Security Institutions in the Republic of Latvia."[12] According to the resolution, the activities of the KGB of the USSR and the LSSR in the territory of Latvia were prohibited. After restoring its independence in 1991, Latvia started building a new security system. This also included the establishment of a system of intelligence and counter-intelligence services.

One year earlier, on November 26, 1990, the Ministry of Interior of Latvia issued Order No. 200 to establish the 1st Police Battalion. This battalion can be considered the beginning of forming security and defense services of Latvia during the process of restoring independence. It is noteworthy that the 1st Police Battalion carried out the task given by the Supreme Council to take over the KGB

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9   Zālīte, "Structure and Main Directions of Action of the State Security Committee."

10   Zālīte, "Structure and Main Directions of Action of the State Security Committee."

11   Zālīte, "Structure and Main Directions of Action of the State Security Committee."

12   "Par PSRS valsts drošības iestāžu darbības izbeigšanu Latvijas Republikā," accessed March 11, 2019, http://www.barikadopedija.lv/raksti/375072.

sites on August 24, 1991. The archives of the Committee for State Security were also taken over with the participation of the 1st Police Battalion.[13] This battalion served as a basis for establishing the Security Service under the Supreme Council of Latvia that was later transformed into two different services – Security Service of the Republic of Latvia and the Dignitaries Protection Service.

On January 28, 1992, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia passed a resolution "On the Renaming of the Security Service of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia as the Security Service of the Republic of Latvia."[14] According to the newly created staff regulations, the Security Service of the Republic of Latvia was a state institution directly subordinated to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, whose task was to protect the state power and economic interests of the Republic of Latvia. Compared to the Security Service of the Supreme Council, the structure of the Security Service of the Republic of Latvia changed according to its main tasks, and the number of staff increased slightly (882 posts were planned).[15] Such changes were based on a significant increase in the level of official duties, as new embassies and missions were opened in the Republic of Latvia, foreign ambassadors were accredited, and the number of official delegations from other countries increased, all this increasing the number of facilities to be secured. Upon obtaining the new status, a working group was set up to develop a package of draft documents regulating the institution's main units, its legal basis, the forms, and structure of its activities. On June 4, 1992, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia passed a resolution "On Approval of the Regulations of the Security Service of the Republic of Latvia."[16] According to the regulations, the Security Service of the Republic of Latvia was directly subordinated to the legislative power of Latvia and acted in accordance with national laws.[17] Thus, one can conclude that the institution was established first and, while already operating, all its legal and management aspects were further fine-tuned. Such a procedure was due to the atmosphere of uncertainty and urgency of that time; the need to avoid a power vacuum, especially considering the level of crime at that time and the presence of troops of

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[13] Raimonds Rublovskis, "Uzruna 20 gadu jubilejā. No 1. policijas bataljona līdz Latvijas Republikas Drošības dienestam un Militārajai policijai (1990—2013) [Address on the 20th Anniversary. From the 1st Police Battalion to the Security Service of the Republic of Latvia and the Military Police (1990—2013)]," accessed March 11, 2019, http://bataljons.lv/index.php/raksti/31-raimonds-rublovskis-uzruna-1-policijas-bataljona-20-gadu-jubileja.html.

[14] "Lēmums Par Latvijas Republikas Augstākās Padomes apsardzes dienesta pārdēvēšanu," January 28, 1992, https://m.likumi.lv/doc.php?id=72447, accessed March 17, 2019.

[15] Rublovskis, "Uzruna 20 gadu jubilejā. No 1. policijas bataljona."

[16] Likums Par Latvijas Republikas Drošības dienesta nolikuma apstiprināšanu, Likumi.lv, June 4, 1992, accessed March 17, 2019, https://likumi.lv/ta/id/66472-par-latvijas-republikas-drosibas-dienesta-nolikuma-apstiprinasanu.

[17] Rublovskis, "Uzruna 20 gadu jubilejā. No 1. policijas bataljona."

the USSR (later, of the Russian Federation) in Latvia until 1994 (for some specific units until 1998).

In parallel, on November 4, 1991, the Council of Ministers issued Order No. 301 to establish the Information Department of the Ministry of Interior, entrusting intelligence and counter-intelligence functions to this security body. The Information Department consisted of four divisions:

1. Division for protection of the sovereignty of the Republic, with its regional sections;

2. International relations division, responsible for maintaining communication with foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence services;

3. Division of information analysis and development of recommendations, responsible for the analysis of operational information, as wells as preparing information on security matters for state officials;

4. A secretariat, responsible for managing documentation within the department.

The period from 1990 to 1993 demanded great commitment and determination from Latvian politicians and security personnel, as democratic reforms had to be implemented quickly, relying on the personal experience of the people involved and the increasing assistance from the Western allies.

The Structure of the State Security Services of Latvia at the End of the Transformation Process

Reforms continued after 1993 in the branch of institutions that sprouted from the 1st Police Battalion. On November 22, 1994, the Security Service of the Republic of Latvia was transformed into Security Service of the President of Latvia and Security Service of the Saeima (Parliament of Latvia). The next reorganization took place on July 1, 1997, when two separate units—the Security Service of the Saeima and the President of the State and the Military Police of the National Armed Forces (NAF) of the Republic of Latvia—were created on the basis of the President of the Republic of Latvia and the Saeima Security Service. The changes continued, and in 2010, the Security Service of the Saeima and the President of the State was incorporated in the Military Police of the NAF. As a result of the merger, the name of the Security Service was legally erased. In the summer of 2010, the NAF Military Police transferred a significant part of its functions to the State Police and the Security Police as a result of the reorganization.[18] The functions initially performed by the 1st Police Battalion have now been partially taken over by the Military Police. This branch of security services has gradually transferred counter-intelligence and operational functions to other security ser-

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[18] "The History of the First Police Battalion," http://bataljons.lv/index.php/vesture.html, accessed March 11, 2019. – in Latvian.

vices while maintaining responsibility for the safety of persons, objects, and institutions within certain spheres.

A branch launched in 1991 with the establishment of the Information Department of the Ministry of Interior, continued further its institutional development. This service and the Dignitary Protection Service were merged in 1993, resulting in the establishment of the National Economic Sovereignty Protection Department (VESAD)[19] with the aim to provide the security measures crucial at that time. The main functions of this security body were intelligence, counter-intelligence, and counterterrorism, as well as the fight against groups of organized crime. Initially, VESAD was created as a temporary solution to address topical issues of national security. Since rather a range of functions was entrusted to VESAD, it was a relatively ineffective security body. Therefore, in 1994 the recently established security system of Latvia was reorganized. In 1994, the Law on State Security Institutions [20] was adopted, which stipulated the body and legal status of security and intelligence services in Latvia. At that point, VESAD was reorganized, and the Latvian Security Police was established.

The adoption of the 1994 Law on the State Security Institutions can be regarded as the end of the first phase of the establishment of the Latvian security system after regaining independence. This Law marked the modern security system in Latvia, with three security services operating in Latvia: Security Police (DP),[21] Defense Intelligence and Security Service (MDID),[22] and the Constitution Protection Bureau (SAB).[23] With amendments to the Law on State Security Institutions, adopted in 2018, the Security Police has been renamed the Latvian State Security Service.[24]

State Security Service

During the first years after its establishment, the State Security Service (in that time – the Security Police) was responsible not only for counter-intelligence activities but also for carrying out intelligence gathering. However, in the year 2000, the intelligence functions were transferred to the Constitution Protection Bureau (SAB). Furthermore, in 2003 the counter-espionage function was passed from DP to SAB. In 2004, to address current threats, a Counterterrorism Center was established within the structure of the Security Police. Thus, the State Security Service is the only security service in Latvia with responsibilities in this area as well.

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[19] In Latvian – Valsts Ekonomiskās suverenitātes aizsardzības dienests (VESAD).

[20] "On State Security Institutions," Likumi.lv, May 05, 1994, accessed March 17, 2019, https://likumi.lv/ta/en/id/57256-on-state-security-institutions.

[21] In Latvian – Drošības policija (DP).

[22] In Latvian – Militārās izlūkošanas un drošības dienests (MIDD).

[23] In Latvian – Satversmes aizsardzības birojs (SAB).

[24] In Latvian – Valsts drošības dienests (VDD).

The State Security Service is the Latvian counter-intelligence that gathers information, carries out its analysis, informs senior officials about identified threats to the national security, and takes measures to neutralize them. The State Security Service is responsible for conducting counter-intelligence activities, protecting constitutional order, protecting state secrets, economic security, coordinating and implementing counterterrorism measures, and protecting dignitaries. The State Security Service is also the only security service in Latvia with the right to carry out a pre-trial investigation (to initiate criminal proceedings, initiate criminal prosecution, and to arrest persons).

Defense Intelligence and Security Service

The Defense Intelligence and Security Service (MIDD) is one of the three state security institutions carrying out the tasks stipulated in the Law on State Security Institutions. MIDD is under the auspices of the Ministry of Defense. Its primary tasks include: protection of official secrets at the Ministry of Defense, its subordinate institutions and the National Armed Forces; intelligence and counter-intelligence in the military sphere; security vetting of employees of the Ministry of Defense for granting personnel security clearances for access to official secrets.

MIDD detects and prevents, in cooperation with other state security institutions, subversive activities carried out by foreign intelligence services, as well as activities against organizations and individuals within the Ministry of Defense, the institutions subordinated to it, and the National Armed Forces. MIDD checks candidates wanting to receive security clearances for conducting specific business activities subject to licensing and gives opinions on granting special security clearances. MIDD is acting as the national signals intelligence (SIGINT) authority of the Republic of Latvia. It carries out and controls SIGINT and guarantees the protection of the information collected. It carries out other tasks stipulated in the laws, regulations, and international treaties, ensuring *inter alia* efficient exchange of information with both NATO and European Union bodies and partner countries.[25]

Constitution Protection Bureau

The Constitution Protection Bureau (SAB) is a state security institution under the supervision of the Cabinet of Ministers. SAB was established in 1995 on the basis of the Law on the Constitution Protection Bureau adopted by the Saeima in 1994.[26] The Constitution Protection Bureau's main tasks include intelligence, counter-intelligence, and protection of state (official) secrets. As the National Security Authority, SAB also ensures the protection of NATO and EU classified information in public institutions working with such information. SAB operates

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[25] "Defense Intelligence and Security Service (MIDD)," accessed March 17, 2019, https://www.midd.gov.lv/en/about-us.

[26] "Law of the Constitution Protection Bureau," May 19, 1994, accessed March 21, 2019, http://www.sab.gov.lv/?a=s&id=33.

in accordance with the National Security Law, the Law on State Security Institutions, the Law on the Constitution Protection Bureau of the Republic of Latvia, the Law on State Secrets, the Investigatory Operations Law, and the Cabinet of Ministers' regulations related to these laws.[27]

Decisive Steps to Establish the State Security Services in Law and Practice

Latvian security services were established after Latvia regained its independence through the implementation of several main measures. The transformation of the USSR institutions never happened because KGB was recognized as a criminal organization in Latvia and liquidated. Implementing a direct succession process with the security institutions that existed in Latvia prior to the Soviet occupation in 1940 was also challenging since they were dissolved long before. Therefore, one can speak not about t *transformation* but rather *creation*. Activities from 1990 to 1993 could be considered the first step in developing a renewed Latvian security system, which included both the creation of the 1st Police Battalion and the creation of the Information Department of the Ministry of the Interior. The creation of the 1st Police Battalion was important because it happened at a time when KGB was still working in Latvia. However, the branch of institutional development, originated by the creation of the Information Department of the Ministry of the Interior in 1991, after regaining complete independence, evolved further and laid the foundations first for VESAD, then for the establishment of the Security Police and later also for the Constitution Protection Bureau.

The establishment of the Security Police and the Constitution Protection Bureau (in 1994 and 1995, respectively) can be considered the conclusion of the foundation of the system of Latvian security institutions, cementing the modern security architecture in Latvia. This step, accompanied by a more significant rise in the financing of the security sector, was also important for the achievement of Latvia's foreign policy goals. In 1995, Latvia adopted the Main Directions of Foreign Policy until 2005 (as a Foreign Policy Concept),[28] stipulating that Latvia's accession to NATO and the European Union was a foreign policy priority. Latvia's eventual NATO membership required confidence from the Western allies about the country's security system, which, among other things, should also be prepared to keep NATO military secrets. The security authorities had to be sure that their employees were loyal to the democratic and free development of Latvia and that the technical aspects of storing classified documentation should be arranged in accordance with NATO standards. In this regard, the State Security Service, the Constitution Protection Bureau, and the Military Security and Intelli-

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[27] The Constitution Protection Bureau (SAB), accessed March 17, 2019, www.sab.gov.lv/ ?a=s&id=1.

[28] "Main Directions of Latvian Foreign Policy until 2005," December 2, 2014, accessed March 11, 2019, available at http://www.mfa.gov.lv/arpolitika/latvijas-arpolitikas-pamatvirzieni-lidz-2005-gadam. – in Latvian.

gence Service did a fundamentally important work that brought Latvia closer to NATO in 2004.

The adoption in 1994 of the Law on State Security Institutions[29] was the most important achievement in the legislative area; it defined the division of competences between the national security authorities and entities, the legal basis for action, objectives and tasks, duties and responsibilities, and regulated the financing, monitoring, and control of their activities.[30] It is essential that the said law marks a fundamental difference from the Soviet regime, stating in Article 5 that "The activities of State security institutions shall be organized and carried out on a lawful basis, in conformity with the general human rights [..]."[31] The rule of law and respect for human rights are the principles that distinguish the activities of the Latvian services from the KGB activities during Soviet times. Since then, the Latvian legislation continued to evolve in response to new challenges; still, the changes were introduced on the basis put in place in 1994 by the Law on State Security Institutions.

Internal and External Political Context, the Role of Individuals in Structuring the Reform Steps

The first steps in establishing security services took place when the Supreme Council was still issuing laws in Latvia, the last of which was elected on March 18, 1990, with the Soviet Union shaking but still intact. In this election, the majority of the population supported the candidates nominated by the Latvian Popular Front (LTF),[32] who supported the move towards Latvia's independence. Two factions emerged in the newly elected Supreme Council – the winning LTF with 131 members and the opposition Equity with 57 MPs. The LTF in 1990 stood for Latvia's full independence, whereas Equity was pro-Moscow-oriented. The number of MPs of the LTF was sufficient for the Supreme Council to decide in support of the Declaration of Independence on May 4, 1990, as well as to move forward with the security-related legislation.

In accordance with the Constitution adopted in 1922, the Republic of Latvia is a parliamentary state; therefore, the restoration of the Saeima (Parliament) activities in 1993 by the 5th Saeima elections was also logical. Eight parties overcame the four percent threshold with the best results for the party Latvian Way ("Latvijas ceļš," 36 seats). Pro-Western parties created the ruling coalition: the Latvian Way, the Latvian Farmers' Union, and the Green Party. During its parliamentary term, the Saeima adopted important laws, including those related to defense and security. During its operation, Latvia became involved in the NATO Partnership for Peace program. The pro-democratic and West-oriented political

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[29] "On State Security Institutions," 1994.

[30] "On State Security Institutions."

[31] "On State Security Institutions."

[32] In Latvian – Latvijas Tautas Fronte (LTF).

elite of Latvia also ensured the development of appropriate legislation for the effectiveness and democratic control of security services. At the same time, it should be noted that the Western direction as a foreign policy priority was the reason for the activation of Russian security services in Latvia.

After regaining independence, the first parliamentary elections already showed the tendency, i.e., the fact that the Latvian voters and political parties they support can roughly be divided into pro-Western and pro-Moscow support-ers. During the Soviet occupation period, Latvia has undergone substantial changes in the ethnic composition of the population. Before 1935, Russians living in Latvia composed 8.8 percent of the entire population,[33] but by 1989 their share reached 34 percent.[34] This change was not a natural process of migration, but an artificially implemented Moscow policy aimed at Sovietization, Russifica-tion, and national identity change. Latvian Communists who opposed such a USSR policy lost their jobs and often were deported from Latvia. Some of the Soviet-era Russian immigrants supported the efforts of Latvia's independence in the late 1980s, while another significant portion advocated preserving the USSR. An example of the active role of this public segment was the organization *Inter-front*, which in 1989-1991 actively supported the preservation of the USSR and opposed the restoration of Latvia's independence. In addition, *Interfront* was also used by Russia's (USSR) special services. However, it must be emphasized that Russians living in Latvia have never been a homogeneous group. After 1991, many former Russian citizens of the USSR living in Latvia gained citizenship and integrated into social and public life. However, another part retained a negative attitude towards the Latvian state, its institutions, and pro-Western develop-ment with the set foreign policy priorities.

It is also important to take into account the fact that after the regaining of independence in 1991, the armed forces of the USSR, later the Russian Federa-tion still were dislocated in Latvia until 1994. During this time, the Russian troops, including the intelligence and counter-intelligence units of the army and their network of agents, were still active in Latvia. Hateful propaganda was spread against Latvia and the West, officials of independent Latvia were being provoked and discredited. Latvia's experience in this field can be of use for allied and part-ner countries today. At that time, Latvia did not have the sort of security guar-antees now provided by NATO. During the negotiations on the withdrawal of the Soviet (later Russian) armed forces, the Latvian delegation subjected to Russia's pressure and agreed to leave in Latvia 22,320 Russian army retirees (pensioners). The notion 'pensioner' may be misleading here as it is necessary to consider the

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[33] "Fourth Population Census in Latvia in 1935," CSB, September 22, 2015, accessed March 17, 2019, www.csb.gov.lv/en/dati/e-publikacijas/fourth-population-census-latvia-1935-latvian-and-french-43290.html. – in Latvian and French.

[34] "Results of the all-union Population and Housing Census 1989, Latvian SSR," CSB, Sep-tember 22, 2015, http://www.csb.gov.lv/en/dati/e-publikacijas/results-all-union-population-and-housing-census-1989-latvian-ssr-demographic-ind, accessed March 17, 2019. – in Latvian.

early retirement age of the army officers. According to political expert Tālavs Jundzis, the number of persons left behind along with the neighboring state's former servicemen was actually between 75 and 100 thousand, given that most officers in Latvia lived with their families.[35] In comparison with other groups of the society, the Soviet army officers were especially faithful to the Soviet power, and their mood influenced the opinion of the Russian population and Russia's political atmosphere in general. Latvia suffered more in this regard than the neighboring countries Estonia and Lithuania, as the headquarters of the USSR Baltic Military District during the occupation period was located in the capital of Latvia, Riga.

Thus, the establishment of Latvian security services in the early 1990s and their work took place under specific conditions and atmosphere. In addition to the security challenges, it has yet to be considered that the period was characterized by an economic crisis and a high crime rate. For Russia, which had not lost its regional ambitions, the situation provided some advantages. The aforementioned background made it easier for the Russian security services to recruit agents in Latvia. Further, it complicated the discussion on allowing former KGB employees to work in an independent security service in Latvia.

The Role of Individuals

There was concern among Latvian politicians that ex-KGB officers can continue to cooperate with Russian colleagues. It should be noted that just after the restoration of independence, there was a lack of qualified security specialists in Latvia. One of the persons who supported the involvement of former KGB employees was the experienced officer of interior affairs Aloizs Vaznis, who became Minister of Interior of Latvia in 1990. In August 1991, A. Vaznis received from the Head of the Government of Latvia, Ivars Godmanis, the task of forming an intelligence service of the restored Latvian state. A. Vaznis stated the following in an interview with the newspaper: "When I became Minister of the Interior, the USSR KGB was still in operation. I quietly and calmly established contacts with several leading employees of the KGB. [..] At that time, I succeeded in compiling a list of the KGB employees who were supportive of independent Latvia and whose knowledge and experience should be used for the benefit of Latvia."[36] A. Vaznis stressed that they were highly professional technicians who did not have any political motives. The former interior minister continued: "But I did not succeed in persuading the members of the Supreme Council who chose the easiest

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[35] Tālavs Jundzis, "Krievijas karaspēka izvešana no Latvijas 1992-1994: diplomātiska uzvara vai politiska piekāpšanās?" *LZA Vēstis* 68, no. 3/4 (2014): 4-22, accessed March 17, 2019, http://ww3.lza.lv/LZA_VestisA/68_3-4/1_Talavs%20Jundzis_Krievias%20karaspeka%20izvesana.pdf.

[36] Uldis Dreiblats and Ritums Rozenbergs, "Latvijas izlūkdienestam – 20," *NRA*, November 4, 2011, accessed March 17, 2019, http://nra.lv/latvija/politika/59217-latvijas-izlukdienestam-20.htm.

way: to break everything that existed before and destroy it all. Despite this position, I managed to negotiate for a number of professionals to assist in creating a new service."[37] However, one should object to the former Minister here, as among the staff members of the Information Department of the Ministry of the Interior, later the VESAD, there were not only former technical employees of the KGB but also intelligence specialists. One example was Andris Trautmanis, Information Officer at the Ministry of the Interior, who worked in Germany, Britain, etc., as a KGB intelligence officer. In 1991, due to the absence of experienced staff members, it was decided to allow the involvement of a limited number of former KGB staff for a temporary, transitional period, in order to transfer their experience to Latvia's new intelligence officers. In the following years, their knowledge was quickly complemented by the security services of NATO member states. Latvian services established good cooperation with the services of France, UK, Germany, the United States, and other countries.

Continuing to examine individuals who invested their efforts in establishing Latvian security services at the beginning of the 1990s, we can highlight the role of politicians and officials, as well as security personnel. Among the latter, one should mention Juris Vectirāns, who was in charge of the security of the Supreme Council and the Government of Latvia in 1990-1991. That was a stormy period when Latvia's independence was not yet carved in stone. General J. Vectirāns had graduated from the Minsk Higher School of the Ministry of the Interior during the Soviet era, and later, in an independent Latvia, he acquired additional knowledge at the G.C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies and at the Czech War Academy, as well as in the United States Government top-level courses. J. Vectirāns has served as the Chief of the Security Service of the President of the Republic of Latvia and the Saeima and as Head and General Inspector of the Riga Garrison of the National Armed Forces of Latvia.

Another important figure is Jānis Apelis, Head of the Information Department of the Ministry of the Interior, who replaced Yuriy Kuzin in this office. J. Apelis also led the Security Police from the end of 1996 to mid-1999. Jānis Apelis had extensive experience working in internal affairs structures; from 1986 to 1990, he worked in top positions of the Police office in Riga.

After transforming the Information Department of the Ministry of the Interior into the State Economic Sovereignty Protection Department (VESAD) in 1993, Raimonds Rožkalns was appointed as its head. He also led the Security Police from the summer of 1994 to the end of 1996 and was later the Deputy Director of the Constitution Protection Bureau. After his work in security services, Rožkalns became also known as the Latvian representative to NATO, and then as the security adviser to President Valdis Zatlers. Before his appointment in the security services, R. Rožkalns gained experience as a staff member of the internal affairs (Police) branch.

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[37] Dreiblats and Rozenbergs, "Latvijas izlūkdienestam – 20."

In summary, the stories of the top official managers in the branch at the time were similar to an extent; namely, several of them have been employees of internal affairs, army or security institutions during the Soviet period, and after the fall of the Iron Curtain, they have gained additional knowledge in the West, as well as from cooperation with allied partner services in Latvia. Another feature emerged later with Latvia's continued integration with Western institutions – professionals from security institutions who have no connection with the Soviet era came to the forefront. One such example is the former British Army General of Latvian origin Jānis Kažociņš, who became the Director of the Constitution Protection Bureau in 2003. Other former exile Latvians also provided assistance to the Latvian intelligence community, including Gunārs Meierovics,[38] Oļģerts Pavlovskis,[39] and Valdis Pavlovskis.[40] Former Latvian intelligence officers have expressed the opinion in interviews [41] that the significance of the security services and information provided by them was most appreciated by the members of government Ivars Godmanis,[42] Māris Gailis,[43] Ziedonis Čevers,[44] and others. This list of policymakers and security service officials of the early 1990s is far from complete. This article names only a small part of those who have contributed to strengthening Latvia's security right after regaining independence. Many security professionals remain behind the scenes, and they have done their job without any particular publicity.

Organization of Civilian Democratic Oversight over the State Security Services

The current Latvian legislation defines the work of the security institutions with comprehensive, five-tier control and monitoring mechanism, which includes parliamentary control, supervision by the Cabinet of Ministers, judicial control, supervision by the Prosecutor's General Office, and financial control.

The Law on State Security Institutions, adopted in 1994, established, *inter alia*, democratic oversight over Latvian security institutions. Article 25 of the Law states that the Saeima and its National Security Committee shall exercise parliamentary control over the activities of national security authorities. The National Security Committee of the Saeima has the right to hear reports and surveys from the heads of national security authorities, as well as to read the documents and information of these authorities, except for documents on secret sources of this

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[38] Gunārs Meierovics, former employee of the US Department of Defense, former Head of the World Federation of Free Latvians, Latvian politician.

[39] Oļģerts Pavlovskis, Latvian politician and diplomat.

[40] Valdis Pavlovskis, Minister of Defense of Latvia, 1993-1994.

[41] Dreiblats and Rozenbergs, "Latvijas izlūkdienestam – 20."

[42] Ivars Godmanis was the first Prime Minister of restored Republic of Latvia, 1990-1993.

[43] Māris Gailis, Prime Minister of Latvia 1994-1995.

[44] Ziedonis Čevers, Minister of Interior of Latvia, 1991-1993, 1997-1998.

information.[45] Thus, parliamentary control takes place both by listening to the special services reports and reviewing their work and, if necessary, by examining the documents from the security authorities to evaluate their work.

As for the executive's role, the Law states that the Cabinet of Ministers, within the limits of its competence, controls the activities of state security institutions. The Minister in charge carries out supervision over the subordinate national security authority in all areas, except for the state security authorities' operational activities, intelligence, counter-intelligence processes, and the official secret protection system.[46] The differences between the three security services of Latvia are rooted in the fact that each of them is controlled by a different minister. The State Security Service is monitored by the Minister of Interior, the Constitution Protection Bureau is supervised by the Minister of Justice, while the Defense Intelligence and Security Service is under the oversight of the Minister of Defense.

The third pillar of the checks and balances system—the judiciary—has its role in supervising security services. All three national security authorities are subject to a unified judicial control mechanism over the special operational measures. The necessity and reasonableness of the special operational measures are assessed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court or his specially authorized judges of the Supreme Court. Only those special measures of operational activities, whose validity and compliance with the Law have been recognized by the Supreme Court judge, and the judge has sanctioned them, are carried out.

Article 26 of the Law on State Security Institutions states that the Prosecutor General and his specially authorized prosecutors supervise the operational activities, intelligence and counter-intelligence of state security institutions, and the official secret protection system. In carrying out the supervision, they are entitled to familiarize themselves with the documents, materials, and information held by the state security authorities. The identity of sources of information can only be discovered when they are directly involved in a crime, and only to the Prosecutor General; other authorized prosecutors can be informed only with the permission of the head of the national safety authority.[47] For example, prosecutors of the Special Prosecution Division of the Prosecutor General Office arrive at the Constitutional Protection Office at least once a month to check the correspondence of the numbers entered in the Office's telephone conversation control system with the orders issued by the Supreme Court judges.[48]

The legality and reasonableness of the use of public funds allocated to the security services are checked by the State Audit Office every year on the basis of

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[45] "On State Security Institutions," Likumi.lv, May 05, 1994.

[46] "On State Security Institutions," Likumi.lv, May 05, 1994.

[47] "On State Security Institutions," Likumi.lv, May 05, 1994.

[48] "Supervision and control," The Constitution Protection Bureau, accessed March 19, 2019, http://www.sab.gov.lv/?a=s&id=30. – in Latvian.

the State Audit Office Law,[49] while the compliance of the use of operational funds with the Law is verified by the State Auditor personally.[50] The activities of security services are regulated also by the National Security Law,[51] the Law on State Secrets,[52] the Investigatory Operations Law,[53] and the regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers related to these laws. The Constitution Protection Bureau's operation is regulated by another law – the Law on the Constitution Protection Bureau.[54]

The Latvian legislative base provides for proper democratic control over the activities of the security services. However, there have been some attempts by political forces and individuals to gain an unacceptably strong authority over security institutions. One such case occurred in 2007 when the Latvian government drafted amendments to the Law on State Security Institutions as well as to the National Security Law. However, since there were suspicions that these amendments were prepared in the interests of three Latvian so-called oligarchs Ainārs Šlesers,[55] Aivars Lembers,[56] and Andris Šķēle,[57] they were stopped from coming into force by the then President of Latvia Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga. Also, after the President refused to sign the amendments into force, a referendum was called. It took place on July 7, 2007. Although the referendum failed to reach the quorum of 453 730 votes, the results showed massive disapproval of the amendments.[58] Only 3 percent of voters supported the amendments, while 96 percent were against them. These amendments did not come into force. There were worries that if the amendments take place, the security services legislation would then allow too many parliamentarians and their officials to access state secrets. NATO also voiced concerns in regard to these amendments.

This case has shown that, while democracy is consolidating in Latvia, society must ensure that certain economic and political groups do not seize control over

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[49] "Law on State Control," Likumi.lv, May 29, 2002, accessed March 10, 2019, https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=62538. – in Latvian.

[50] "Supervision and control," The Constitution Protection Bureau.

[51] "National Security Law," Likumi.lv, December 29, 2000, accessed March 17, 2019, https://likumi.lv/ta/en/id/14011-national-security-law. – in Latvian.

[52] "Law on Official Secrets," Likumi.lv, October 29, 1996, accessed March 19, 2019, https://likumi.lv/ta/en/id/41058-on-official-secrets.

[53] "Investigatory Operations Law," Likumi.lv, December 30, 1993, accessed March 20, 2019, https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=57573. – in Latvian.

[54] "Law of the Constitution Protection Bureau," May 19, 1994.

[55] Ainārs Slešers, Latvian businessman and politician who was Deputy Prime Minister of Latvia in 2002 – 2004.

[56] Aivars Lembergs, Latvian businessman and politician, mayor of Ventspils since 1988.

[57] Andris Šķēle, Latvian businessman and politician. He was Prime Mister of Latvia in 1995 – 1997 and 1999 – 2000. He is founder of Latvian People's Party.

[58] "Referendum results," CVK, July 7, 2007, accessed March 16, 2018, www.cvk.lv/cvkserv/TN_2007/rez/index.html.

special services. The second reminder is that, although the Soviet Union collapsed already in 1991, a part of the population of Latvia and even politicians still preserve pro-Moscow sentiments. The authoritarian regime and lack of democratic control over Russia's security services are not examples to follow because Latvia chose to strengthen the rule of law as one of its core values.

Day-to-Day Work and Challenges for Latvian Security Services

Although Latvian security services are working to prevent any illegal activity against Latvia from abroad, it is not a secret that the focus is on Russia's destructive actions. The Security Police Activity Report for 2017 states that "Russia's special services created the most important counter-intelligence risks to Latvia's national security."[59] The Russian-Georgian war in 2008 and the Russian aggression against Ukraine since 2014 have caused anxiety in countries neighboring Russia, including Latvia. Part of Russia's hybrid instruments in Ukraine are also employed against Latvia and other Baltic states. The work of the Latvian security services since 1991 has made it possible to conclude that harm to national security and functioning of democracy is caused not only by foreign espionage activity but also by hostile influence in a broad sense, which is illustrated in the last few years particularly by the proliferation of Russian disinformation and propaganda in Latvia. This problem has a complex nature and can be solved with the involvement of both state institutions and civil society organizations. In this context, the task of security services is to keep track of the various disruptive effects of foreign countries and inform the responsible public officials, politicians, and the general public to the extent possible, without compromising the state secrets.

Officials and politicians are kept informed by Latvian security services in closed sessions, while one of the ways to inform the wider public is the annual public reporting on the work of the services and threats to national security. For example, the State Security Service describes in its annual reports not only the activities of foreign intelligence but also the risks posed by Russia's compatriots' policy and Moscow-controlled media. Such activity reports make the wider public aware of the methods used by Russia against Latvia to impede the functioning of its democracy and create security risks.

In addition, Latvian security services carry out their daily work in the classical areas of intelligence, counter-intelligence, and counterterrorism. One of the main fields of Security Police work is counter-intelligence. The main task of counter-intelligence is to identify and prevent the activities of foreign intelligence services against the sovereignty of the Republic of Latvia, its economic, scientific, technical, and military potential, as well as national security and other vital in-

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[59] "Security Police Activity Report for 2017," Valsts drošības dienests (VDD), p. 12, accessed March 19, 2019, http://vdd.gov.lv/lv/?rt=documents&ac=download&id=32. – in Latvian.

terests of our country.[60] Pre-emptive identification of terrorism threats and their prevention is a key responsibility of the Latvian State Security Service. During identification and neutralization of terrorist threats, the State Security Service closely cooperates with foreign partner services by regularly exchanging information. Along with conducting operational activities, assessing terrorist threats, and implementing preventive measures, the State Security Service also coordinates the activities of governmental and municipal institutions, as well as private sector companies involved in counterterrorism.[61] The State Security Service regularly assesses the level of the terrorist threat that can be declared on the country's entire territory, the affected region, economic sector, or object. The level of the terrorist threat, based on the recommendation of the Head of the State Security Service, is declared by the Minister of the Interior.

The State Security Service and SAB are entrusted with issuing security clearances to those national or municipal authorities whose responsibilities stipulate access to state secrets. The State Security Service issues the second and third category security clearances for work with state secrets, which correspond respectively to classification levels *secret* and *confidential*. SAB issues security clearances of the first category – *top secret*. This area has been the subject of public and media debates in recent years, as officials and also parliamentarians who have been refused clearances have been publicly criticizing the Latvian security services. Every person who has been refused the post related to state secrets has the right to appeal this decision.[62] The judgment to decline the security clearance can be appealed to the SAB Director within ten days, starting from the day the person has been informed about the judgment. The judgment made by the SAB director can, in turn, be appealed to the Prosecutor General within ten days, from the day the person was informed about the judgment. The judgment made by the Prosecutor General is final and cannot be appealed.[63]

Each of the security services in Latvia specializes in one of the security areas. The State Security Service, in addition to counter-intelligence and protection of the official secrets, continues to deal with threats of terrorism and the protection of dignitaries (it protects national and foreign dignitaries as well as dignitaries of international organizations visiting the Republic of Latvia). MIDD, on its part, focuses on defense and military threats, which have gained momentum after the illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014. SAB deals with counter-intelligence and intelligence, paying attention to cooperation with special services in other countries. The exchange of information with the services of other countries enables

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[60] "Counterintelligence," Latvian State Security Service, accessed March 9, 2019, https://vdd.gov.lv/en/areas-of-activity/counterintelligence/.

[61] "Counterterrorism," Latvian State Security Service, accessed March 17, 2019, https://vdd.gov.lv/en/areas-of-activity/counterterrorism/.

[62] "Protection of State Secrets," Latvian State Security Service, accessed March 17, 2019, http://vdd.gov.lv/en/areas-of-activity/protection-of-state-secrets/.

[63] "Protection of State Secrets."

faster and more accurate identification of a potential threat by foreign special services and its prevention. In the framework of NATO, the SAB conducts extensive cooperation in the field of intelligence and counter-intelligence. In the institutional framework of the EU, SAB cooperates with the EU Intelligence Centre (EU INTCEN), participates in several EU security committees, and conducts practical counter-intelligence work with the security services of EU institutions. Beyond the international institutional formats, SAB has developed active cooperation with foreign special services over a long time. Bilateral relations are also an essential form of cooperation.[64]

Compared to the beginning of the 1990s, Latvian security services are in a politically more stable situation. The amount of financing provided has increased significantly due to the growth of Latvia's economy. The legislation provides a clear institutional framework for the functioning of services in a democratic environment. In addition, security staff have accumulated experience over the years and have established an active cooperative practice with the partner services of NATO member states.

Conclusion

The establishment of Latvian security services was not a one-day or even one-year enterprise. It took time and effort. In the early 1990s, the country's limited financial potential had a significant impact on these processes. During the period of Soviet occupation, Latvia's economy was based on the ineffective socialist planning economy, and hence the very low starting position in 1991. It was possible to develop the functions and capacity of the security services only within that financial framework. However, the process of setting up Latvian security services suggests that the most important precondition for quick reforms is not so much the level of financing but rather the confidence, values, and decisiveness of the officials and security officers.

The transformation of the system of security services took place in several steps and almost ten years (starting from 1990). During this period, different security institutions were responsible for different tasks that were most urgent at that time. This transformation process can be appraised as a "piecemeal" quasi-evolutionary way without any hard political fights fought during the establishment of Latvia's current security system. The adoption of the Law on State Security Institutions in 1994 can be considered the beginning in forming the system of Latvia's security services as it is known today. Therefore, the acceptance of this law can be considered as a decisive turning point in developing a security system that could fulfill its functions within a democratic society and under civilian oversight.

Also, expertise and knowledge shared by Western security services had a remarkable significance in shaping the system of security services in Latvia and un-

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[64] "International Cooperation," Constitution Protection Bureau (SAB), accessed March 29, 2019, http://www.sab.gov.lv/?a=s&id=29. – in Latvian.

derstanding the role of such services in securing a democratic state. Therefore, the readiness of Western security services to come with advice and consultations can also be considered decisive in transforming the security services into fully capable security bodies that can guard state's secrets and neutralize possible threats to the security of Latvia.

Countries that are still in the process of democratic transition can learn from Latvia's example that it is crucial to act decisively and quickly when selecting loyal employees who are sufficiently motivated to serve in promoting national security. The second recommendation is to develop a legislative framework that is clear and in line with democratic principles. Third, democratic control of the services is of fundamental importance. It must be based on the checks and balances philosophy, which means that supervision and control are carried out along parliamentary, government, judicial, prosecution, and financing venues. The practical and uncompromising nature of such a system will ultimately increase public confidence in the security services. Without this confidence, consolidated democracy is unthinkable.

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