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## RECENZJE / REVIEWS

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## PIOTR GAWLICZEK, WOJCIECH GUZEWICZ, KHAYAL ISKANDAROV, THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND NON-MILITARY SECURITY THREATS, WYDAWNICTWO UWM, OLSZTYN 2021, PP. 135

According to the Nicholas Spykman's Rimland (also, the South Caucasus is part of it): "Who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia; who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world".

Nowadays, the world is facing sophisticated contemporary security challenges, which are considerably diverse from the past. Indeed, the diversification relates to the exploitation of different means of soft, hard and smart power in order to be accomplished underlined adversaries' goals. The hybrid warfare is one of the security challenges as a means in terms of non-military security threat which is rapidly exploited in the present. There are several examples that proved the power of the hybrid warfare in terms of its exploitation and implications among confronted entities. Additionally, it should be noted that South Caucasus is region which is prone to the hybrid threats and it deserves huge attention toward capacity building for the resilience and deterrence. Furthermore, the most important fact, which has to be mentioned, is related to the enormous quantities of natural minerals, energy resources and the transportation of oil and gas in the South Caucasus region, which is mainly occupied by Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia. For some, the dominance in the geopolitics is about energy per se (China), for others, mostly about the economic implications (the countries in the region and to some extent Turkey and Iran, and the oil companies); to others again it is mainly a way to gain influence and/or prevent others from doing so (the USA and Russia, in particular). The struggle is basically about the politics and economics of competing pipeline projects to connect the Caspian Basin hydrocarbon resources to world markets, via Russia and the Black Sea, via the South Caucasus and Turkey, via Iran, Afghanistan, or Kazakhstan to China. Therefore, the South Caucasus region will constantly be in the sphere of interest of those powers and organizations (EU, EEU, NATO and CSTO), where the intensity of the inevitable non-military security threats will be changed according to the underscored goals by the aforementioned entities.

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The book "THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND NON-MILITARY SECURITY THREATS", written by Piotr Gawliczek, Wojciech Guzewicz and Khayal Iskandarov, endeavors to clarify high level of intensity regarding to hybrid threats as non-military security threats in the South Caucasus region, which is the result of frozen conflicts and lost trust among regional countries and dichotomy between their security policies since the end of the Cold War. Also, emerging threats are connected to the discovery of energy sources in the Caucasus region and the importance of heartland and rimland region have led to the presence of new power and new games. Notwithstanding, in the book are elaborated ideas for increasing conscious toward situational awareness in terms of hybrid threats, where the South Caucasus countries are encouraged to make steps toward in improvement of their security in general via combined action.

According to the authors, the book is more theoretical in nature and is not really aimed at presenting concrete policy options. Neoclassical realism has been chosen as an approach to make sense of this case study. Furthermore, the aim of the book is based on a very wide scope of literature. According to the previously mentioned aim and exploited literature, the authors' objective is to shed the light on the hybrid threats, which are overtly or covertly used by the great powers in order to achieve their dominance that are highly motivated by the reasons only connected with their own interest. Next, the clear explanation of terminology related to the hybrid threat, hybrid warfare and hybrid conflict support aforementioned objective. The objective is supported by the numerous examples recently occurred in the Caucasus region and beyond connected with the non-military security threats mentioned in the monograph. Next, the importance of the energy security toward energy resources and transit conduit in the South Caucasus is another element of hybrid threats, which is related to the objective. The authors elaborate several cases, where the energy security was broken, where the most important are: 1) 2008 Russia-Georgia war, when Russian military jets dropped bombs near the BTC and Baku-Supsa oil pipelines, resulting in the temporary energy disruption and 2) the most recent escalation, which occurred in the front-line between Armenia and Azerbaijan in April 2016. Moreover, the objective is extent with elaboration of the deterrence strategy, which is needed to maintain stability and security in the region in order to be avoided any possibility of clash among region countries. The raised question is connected to the efficiency in adversary detriment in terms of weak power vs strong power countries. For example, the Russian Federation is great world power in the South Caucasus but on the other side are Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia as weak power countries in comparison to Russia so that the question is how the deterrence strategy could be applied. Consequently, following the previous context, it should be noted that elaboration about deterrence strategy as tool against hybrid threats is discussed emphasizing case of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Therefore, the deterrence strategy as tool of response to hybrid threats is applied on very sophisticated manner toward simultaneously aiming to mitigate low-level hostile activities by denying their negative effect

The monograph is comprised of the 3 elements (Front Matter, Body Matter and End Matter). The 1st element-Front Matter is composed of the following titles: Executive summary, Acknowledgment, Table of Content, List of Abbreviations and Acronyms, and Introduction. The 2<sup>nd</sup> element-Body Matter is composed of 4 Chapters as the core content of the book. The 3<sup>rd</sup> element-End matter is consisted of the section Conclusion, Bibliography. The Introduction, the Conclusion, the 1st Chapter are written by the Piotr Gawliczeck. The 2nd Chapter is written by Wojciech Guzewicz. Next, the work for writing the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Chapter is carried out by Khayahal Iskandarov. Considering the structure of the monograph, the chapters are named by following order: CHAPTER I, "HYBRID WARFARE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL LEVERAGE"; CHAPTER II, "THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AS A TESTBED FOR EXERCISING HYBRID TECHNIQUES"; CHAPTER III, "TRANSNATIONAL ENERGY PROJECTS AND HYBRID THREATS TO THEIR SECURITY; CHAPTER IV, "THE WAYS TO INCREASE THE RESILIENCE AGAINST HYBRID THREATS; Additionally, chapters in the monograph begin with the short introduction and each chapter (and also, subchapters) end with the useful conclusion.

The first chapter introduces the characteristics of hybrid warfare based on retrospective analysis and states that, even though the term has been recently coined, the techniques are as old as the history of war itself. It examines the concept of "hybrid warfare" through bringing historical examples to the fore and highlights the Russian engagement in hybrid conflicts. The authors envisioned the implications of Russian engagement in its "near abroad" with a special focus on the South Caucasus. The authors simultaneously highlight that, Russia is not a single actor, which may apply hybrid tactics in the region. It can be any other country with the certain capacity, which has a vested interest in the region, and they see that their interests are at stake. The countries with abiding interests in the region have been presented. The chapter is concluded with the recommendations for the countries in the region in order to eradicate their susceptibility. The concepts of employing non-military measures in different conflicts differ completely, or at least significantly. This is the most challenging factor for each and every nation in introducing the common framework for increasing their resilience against hybrid threats. The research presents the comparison between grey-zone and hybrid warfare characteristics and examines the conceptual construct of hybrid warfare. Different approaches of the researchers regarding the concept of hybrid warfare have been studied. The authors attempted to elaborate on the stages and phases of hybrid warfare based on the retrospective analysis of events took place in Ukraine.

The second chapter explains the Hybrid War context in the South Caucasus and the specific regional vulnerabilities that can be easily exploited. It briefly elaborates on each country's Hybrid War scenarios. The authors endeavored to set examples from Ukraine, which lost the hybrid warfare, Balkan countries which are susceptible to common hybrid threats and Baltic States, which have proved remarkably resilient. This chapter addresses the question that, what regional countries can do in order not fall victim to external intrusion or not

to be exploited by foreign actors against each other. The authors assess how and to what extent the states in the South Caucasus can deal with hybrid threats alone, or how plausible is it to come together against common threats. The South Caucasus has always been a playground of different rivals throughout centuries. Each rival endeavors to impose its rules and tries to capitalize on the geostrategic benefits of the region. The research studies the rivalry of geostrategies in the South Caucasus region. The attitude of every external actor engaged in the region has been delineated. Their vested interests have been brought into focus and their influence has been relatively juxtaposed with each other. The issue of energy transportation through the South Caucasus region is considered as a central element of clashing interests of the external actors. The authors attempted to compare the ongoing processes taking place in the South Caucasus with an "Old Great Game" and justify the presence of "New Great Game". The recommendations have been made for the countries in the region to avoid the issues which are politically detrimental to their national security.

The abundance of the energy resources in the South Caucasus, as well as its geographical location, which is suitable for oil and infrastructure are the main factors drawing ample attention from the outside. The third chapter seeks to highlight the importance of the South Caucasus as a historical energy provider and transit conduit and a promising energy hub for the foreseeable future. The authors touched upon the historical evolution of energy security concept and tried to envision the future prospects for the broader region, including the potential of the Caspian basin. The energy projects related with the region have been delineated and construed. The authors tried to conclude the paper with the recommendations for further enhancement of energy security concept with regards to the South Caucasus. The authors tried to assess the threats to the energy security in the South Caucasus region and beyond. The threat and risk factors have been delineated, contingent and structural risks to energy security have been studied based on retrospective analysis. Transnational energy projects, which are intended to transport Caspian energy resources have been examined. The possible effects of the hybrid threats on the security of demand and supply have been analyzed.

Early identification of the most recent hybrid threats (incident at Keshikchidag, the escalation in the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan, in July 2020, etc.) in the South Caucasus, enabled the nations to sidestep the repercussions of the provocation, most probably initiated by the external actors. The importance of early identification in fighting against hybrid threats has been highlighted in the fourth chapter. The authors elaborated on the examples occured in the South Caucasus countries, as well as beyond the region. The challenges of identifying hybrid threats ahve been specified. The scenarios have been presented regarding the hybrid aggressors and hybrid threats in the South Caucasus region. The genesis of deterrence has been studied. The characteristic features of deterrence strategy have been presented. The evolution process of deterrence concept has been delineated, five waves of deterrence have been brought to the spotlight. The factors affecting the implementation of a deterrence strategy

have been underscored. The South Caucasus has been chosen as a focal point and its comparison with other regions has been conducted. The vulnerabilities of the countries in the region have been presented. The recommendations have been made for developing robust deterrence strategy against external actors. Azerbaijan's experience in fighting against separatists in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenian armed forces, which broke out in late September, 2020 was thoroughly studied with regard to its deterrence strategy. The authors endeavored to touch upon various aspects and elements of Azerbaijan's deterrence strategy in comparison with other countries in the region.

In the introductory part of the monograph, the literature on the subject has been analyzed. The topicality of the problem has been proved and research methods have been presented.

In conclusion remarks, the authors summarized the results of the research, based on the conclusive findings. Therefore, there have been closing parts from the previous chapters emphasizing main thoughts regarding hybrid conflict, which definitely contributes in increasing awareness of contemporary threats in the South Caucasus. On the other hand, it has been mentioned P2DR framework as means for response against hybrid threat.

A list of the bibliography closes the book.

The main point of the book is phenomena of non-military threats in the South Caucasus region and their influence on stability in general context. The authors argue about exploitation of hybrid threats by the countries in the region for achieving own interests. Next, it is well elaborated via several examples especially it is stressed via exploitation by the world great powers and organizations. Additionally, in CHAPTER II is revealed usage of hybrid techniques in the region from recent past. Next, in CHAPTER III is presented evidence about hybrid threats toward transnational energy projects, which are in the phase of development or already exists. In that connotation, it is discussed energy security of the oil and gas transportation pipelines from Caspian basin to Europe (Azerbaijan via Georgia). Notwithstanding, the authors present perspective how energy security of the region is going to influence to European security if it is not ensured security of supply. On that way, authors succeed in their efforts to adjacent main point to the readership. On the other hand, there is suggested strategy against non-military threats in the region. The authors argue that each regional country should be aware of the hybrid threats and development of capacities for recognition and fighting is mandatory in order to be provided long term stability in the region.

Although, the existence of research articles and publicly available online resources about the phenomena of hybrid threats is obvious, the monograph presents remarkable work which throws light on the non-military threats in the South Caucasus, which are in rapid development to terminate unbalanced peace. There are suggestions how the security inviable situations in the region, which is mainly connected to transnational energy to be avoided. The monograph, when will be published, is going to be significant scientific resource as an example of well-made analysis about hybrid threats in the environment

(the South Caucasus region) where the interest of world great powers and world organizations overlaps so that experts, professionals, researchers etc., could use the results of the research in order to reference their scientific work.

The messages, which is interesting for the readership, the monograph highlighted that the hybrid threats as means of the non-military threat is going to evolve in the future. Consequently, the P2DR framework has to be established in order to act against non-kinetic elements. In continuation of the previous assertions, the authors in the monograph, write: "Interstate contestation and intrastate discord are living realities of today's world. The states continue to strive for maximization of power at the cost of other states. This gives way to a perpetual conflict which in its present day character can be aptly termed as hybrid. However, considering the obtaining international and regional environment, there is a need to continually review our thoughts...". In terms of the hybrid threats and their influence on the transnational energy projects in the South Caucasus region, the message, which is sent by authors is: "Therefore, in order to ensure the energy security of the South Caucasus a global approach should be applied ranging from simple forums among all three nations to developing new partnerships with Western countries and organizations which desperately need the natural resources of the region and seek an access to Central Asian resources." Additionally, authors have succeeded to achieve their aim in order to send key message and not only to the readership from the defense community, but also to the broader audience.

Regarding the bibliography, the information source working, research and studying of literature are correct. The authors used all relevant literature sources that are shown in the list of literature.

Technical terms were used, of course, but each basic term was carefully defined at first use. The book is easy to read and understand. The authors take a reader through their thoughts and show very interesting case studies and practical applications.

The book "THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND NON-MILITARY SECURITY THREATS" is written in a professional style, in accordance with the present literary trend, clearly written, well organized, and with good editing.

Command of language is high; the authors express their thoughts excellently in English. Adequate proof reading was provided.

Clarity of reasoning is high, and it is easy to follow the flow of logic and see how the conclusions follow the information presented. There is enough abstraction in the form of clustering to offer hands-on advice for a reader.