GlobalFocus programme on Asymmetric Threats

A Study of Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova

PROPAGANDA MADE-TO-MEASURE: HOW OUR VULNERABILITIES FACILITATE RUSSIAN INFLUENCE

Gena Popescu & Rufin Zamfir (editors)

Funded by: B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

A Study of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia

PROPAGANDA MADE-TO-MEASURE: DIMENSIONS OF RISK AND RESILIENCE IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Rufin Zamfir (editor)

Funded by: B | T | D The Balkan Trust for Democracy
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND
Black Sea & Western Balkans
PERMEABILITY INDEXES

Total Permeability Index
(0 = not permeable, 3 = very permeable)

Raw data:
Bulgaria: 1.60
Georgia: 1.55
Republic of Moldova: 2.10
Romania: 1.52

Total Vulnerability Index
(0 = not vulnerable, 3 = very vulnerable)

Raw data:
Albania: 1.52
Bosnia and Herzegovina: 2.05
Kosovo: 1.65
North Macedonia: 1.51
Montenegro: 1.62
Serbia: 1.73
Foreign policy and security & social permeability

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**Foreign policy, security and defense permeability index**
(0 = not permeable, 3 = very permeable)

- Bulgaria: 1.46
- Georgia: 1.50
- Moldova: 2.24
- Romania: 1.31

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**Social permeability index**
(0 = not permeable, 3 = very permeable)

- Bulgaria: 1.63
- Georgia: 1.63
- Moldova: 1.86
- Romania: 1.75
Political and economic permeability

Political permeability index
(0 = not permeable, 3 = very permeable)

Economic permeability index
(0 = not permeable, 3 = very permeable)

Raw data:
Bulgaria: 1.60
Georgia: 1.62
Republic of Moldova: 2.08
Romania: 1.69

Raw data:
Bulgaria: 1.72
Georgia: 1.43
Republic of Moldova: 2.21
Romania: 1.33
Romania/Bulgaria

Romania's permeability indexes
(0 = not permeable, 3 = very permeable)

- Political: 1.69
- Economic: 1.33
- Social: 1.75
- Foreign policy, security, and defense: 1.31

Bulgaria's permeability indexes
(0 = not permeable, 3 = very permeable)

- Political: 1.60
- Economic: 1.72
- Social: 1.63
- Foreign policy, security, and defense: 1.46
### Topics and polarisation

**ROMANIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>The highest standard deviation value was...</th>
<th>... and it was met in the case of the following statement:</th>
<th>The lowest standard deviation value was...</th>
<th>... and it was met in the case of the following statement:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>.958</td>
<td>Significant ethnic minorities are excluded from political, economic or social representation</td>
<td>.479</td>
<td>Many people believe public institutions or service providers are not there to help them or do not do enough for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Policy and Security</td>
<td>1.015</td>
<td>There is an articulated narrative in some media or groups portraying my country's internal and/or external actions as fomenting regional instability</td>
<td>.517</td>
<td>My country would suffer significant damage in case of sabotage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>1.083</td>
<td>The distribution of constitutional powers overwhelmingly favors the political actors who resort to populism during electoral campaigns</td>
<td>.586</td>
<td>Generally, political parties in opposition are inactive and unable to properly criticize or take action against contentious government decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>.867</td>
<td>A sharp decrease in the level of remittances to the country would create chaos</td>
<td>.540</td>
<td>A significant part of the country's tourism comes from or through non-Western countries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Bulgaria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>The highest standard deviation value was...</th>
<th>... and it was met in the case of the following statement:</th>
<th>The lowest standard deviation value was...</th>
<th>... and it was met in the case of the following statement:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>1.113</td>
<td>Significant ethnic minorities are excluded from political, economic or social representation</td>
<td>.637</td>
<td>There is a movement or tendency towards regional secession within the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Policy and Security</td>
<td>1.114</td>
<td>Foreign policy decision-makers in my country are polarized between Atlanticism and Counter-Atlanticism</td>
<td>.708</td>
<td>My country would suffer significant damage in case of sabotage or a non-military attack on its critical infrastructure (including cyber)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>1.102</td>
<td>There is a significant public discourse accusing institutions of force (judiciary; police; military; etc) of distorting the country's democratic order</td>
<td>.563</td>
<td>Political elites are easily influenced by the views of the national Orthodox Church or other official religious institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>1.116</td>
<td>A significant share of the national media market is owned or controlled by non-Western entities</td>
<td>.535</td>
<td>The country has an unsuccessful working relationship with international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONCLUSIONS

- Communication is critical infrastructure (*not just communications!*)
  - Disinformation, misinformation, information manipulation are hybrid threats
  - They can occur in isolation, as an independent attack/ problem or they can accompany another crisis

- StratCom – part of disaster management

- Environmental awareness is necessary (social, political, economic, foreign policy & security)

- WHOLE-OF-SOCIETY APPROACH = solution!
Eastern Focus, Summer Issue: EUROPE still unwhole and unfree

Exactly thirty years ago, shortly before the fall of the Iron Curtain, the late president George H.W. Bush was urging German citizens and political leaders (including chancellor Helmut Kohl) gathered in Mainz, on May 31, to build a ‘Europe Whole and Free’.

Fast forward to mid-2019, when the new EU leadership takes office after elections to the European Parliament, and Europe is still neither whole, nor free. This issue of EasternFocus focuses on the Union’s ability to continue to nurture democracy and rule of law within its own borders and to help engender it in its neighbourhood.

READ MORE
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