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**“Covid 19 as stimulus for a new multilateral
Cold War, the role of the Balcan region
countries and NATO in such a scenario”**

Irida Xheneti Ph.D. Cand. ⁽¹⁾

SUMMARY: .I. Introduction. - .II. The impact of COVID 19 on Europe credibility. - .III. Competition from China and Russia to win the Balkans. - .IV. Conclusion. - .V. References.

.I. Introduction.

The COVID-19 pandemic changes and challenges our lives in more than one way. It has pushed almost every person on the planet to narrow their focus on how to get by day after day. In response to the public health crisis, countries across the world have closed their borders to try to limit the transmission and protect themselves. This lockdown has put both

⁽¹⁾ Ph.D. Cand. in Political Sciences, Sapienza University of Rome. Firs Secretary of Albanian Embassy of Rome.

globalization and economies under suspension. Many experts warn that the public health crisis we face today will inevitably become an economic crisis in the following months but potentially a national security issue as well.

Countries around the world are trying to curb the economic consequences of this pandemic by providing relief for their economies. On the other hand, the COVID-19 pandemic seems as a “make or break” challenge for the EU. Member countries which have been most affected by the devastating consequences of the Coronavirus accuse the block of a lack of solidarity. Others have called upon for a more coordinated international response through NATO, G7, G20, etc. It seems that Coronavirus plants the new crop of instabilities that potentially has the power to rearrange the world system we know today. As it happens with the crisis of this scale, the pandemic will aggravate some of the negative developments such as shrinking of global economy, state collapse, migrations, the rise of nationalism and authoritarianism, etc.

With western democracies struggling to contain the virus and its consequences, many have praised Chinese response and other authoritarian regimes’ strategies in tackling the crisis. Both China and Russia have seized the momentum and emerged as international benefactors, sending medical equipment, supplies, and human resources to the affected countries. another element of competition is becoming also the production of anti-covid vaccines. All the countries would like to have the primacy, maybe without realizing that such issues can’t be subject of competition².

² The Future of NATO in the post Covid-19 era, Tarik Oguzlu.

This virus called Covid 19 has produced the most serious crisis since the post-war, affecting a system of institutions, political, economic and social relations, which were not vaccinated against biological threats.

But, unlike other international organizations, we can say that the Covid-19 pandemic crisis has strengthened the Atlantic Alliance, which reacted with a strong spirit of solidarity. Upon overcoming the first impact, NATO has quickly responded to the Allied needs, adapting its complex political-military organization to support civil efforts and activating the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) to coordinate the air transport of doctors, patients, medical devices and field hospitals.

Since 2010, article 15 of the Strategic Concept includes “health risks” in NATO’s security scenario. However, biological threats directly undermine national security and must be addressed with specific strategies that cannot be generically framed within the environment of hybrid threats. Covid-19 has also produced relevant effects on all three of NATO’s fundamental tasks: collective defence, crisis management and cooperative security³.

In the new context of global bio-insecurity, the concept of resilience embodied in Article 3 of the Treaty must be revised in a more rigorous way. Therefore, the protection of NATO forces in operation, as well as the preservation of critical national assets and supply chains, require more attention.

The pandemic crisis offers further prominence to article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty and to the political dimension of the

³ New Geopolitics After Covid-19- by: Atlantic Treaty Association – 30.04.2020

Alliance, which confirms itself as the irreplaceable forum for transatlantic consultation on security issues.

Moreover, in the current security scenario, article 5 and the core principle of collective defence implies a broader and more demanding solidarity commitment. In fact, in a global pandemic crisis, NATO most likely would not be called upon to intervene in defence of a conventional aggression to a single allied country. Probably, it would be requested to provide all 30 Allies with the necessary support against a biological agent.

In this context, the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Forces in Europe (SHAPE) could be further engaged in early warning, situation awareness and air transport for monitoring threats originating from agents of a biological nature, as well as for the planning and managing of complex operations in support of civilian authorities⁴.

In the current security landscape, Covid-19 could seriously impact the fragile institutions and health system of the Western Balcan countries, with serious consequences on the political and social stability of the region⁵.

In this perspective, Security Force Assistance can play a crucial role in assisting Host Nations' governments and security forces in coping with the disease. These efforts can have a dual beneficial effect: on the one hand, it will improve the conditions of the local population with the possible implementation of effective health protocols combined with the provision of

⁴ The Geopolitical Implications of COVID-19, Speech by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA).

⁵ The geopolitical implications of the COVID-19 pandemic, Policy Department for External Relations Directorate General for External Policies of the Union PE 603.511 - September 2020.

medical equipment. On the other hand, it will indirectly provide NATO troops with an additional shield against the disease through the improvement of the general health conditions in the operational environment, but also strengthening its position in these important and fragile region, eliminating the attempts of Russia and China through their old and new methods to penetrate again.

.II. The impact of COVID 19 on Europe credibility.

Muddled initial reactions to the COVID-19 crisis tarnished the EU's image in the Western Balkans. Europe should not take for granted the extent of its influence over its backyard in the face of Chinese and Russian charm offensives.

The European Union's soft power, largely stemming from the attractiveness of its model, could be impaired by COVID-19. The EU's external influence is strongest in countries that seek to emulate the EU and eventually become members, principally today in the Western Balkans: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia.

However, maybe the lack of solidarity among EU countries in the first weeks of the COVID-19 crisis response, the closing of borders that left many people stranded and the apparent lack of concern for the needs of the region dented the EU's image in the Balkans.

The EU's unstable initial response towards its neighbours in south-east Europe did not help improve perceptions. It initially banned exports of medical supplies to them, and even though this step was subsequently corrected it left an impression of abandonment. Though the EU reprogrammed and topped up

ongoing assistance to help these countries meet crisis needs, it did not include them in its own crisis recovery package. As a result, the credibility of the EU's outreach to the region, already eroded by apparently endless membership talks and enlargement fatigue, seems to have been further dented⁶.

.III. Competition from China and Russia to win the Balkans.

COVID-19 has encouraged China and Russia, already active in the Balkans, to try to fill the widening geopolitical gap by offering assistance and investment as well as negative reporting, fake news and disinformation aimed at the EU. Pro-Russian media portray EU assistance as a belated effort to catch up with Russian and Chinese support. Storylines include rumours of the EU's imminent collapse because of its failure to deal with the pandemic, the Union's selfishness in its external actions, and its exploitation of the crisis to advance its own interests. By contrast, these sources portray Russia and China as the only trustworthy powers in the crisis, and as saviours who helped Italy and Serbia while the EU dithered⁷.

Statements from political leaders in Serbia reinforce this narrative, building on longstanding government claims that the country benefits from close links with China and Russia as well as the EU. President Aleksandar Vučić called European solidarity "*a fairy tale*" and said that China was the only country able to provide substantial aid to Serbia in the crisis. Posters of President Xi Jinping and Chinese flags were displayed

⁶ Has COVID-19 dented the EU's credibility in the Balkans?Bruegel.org

⁷ **Has COVID-19 dented the EU's credibility in the Balkans?Bruegel.org**

prominently in Belgrade for several weeks. Images of Prime Minister Ana Brnabić meeting the first of eleven Russian planes carrying supplies were broadcast live on Serbian television. We can see that between March and May 2020, Serbian news articles about China became much more positive and articles about the EU rather more negative. Serbian state television regularly presented the EU in a negative light, while depicting China and Russia positively⁸.

.IV. Conclusions.

In this context, it is very important the cooperation between NATO, the European Union and the United Nations in the areas of prevention, research, monitoring and resilience is also crucial to develop and apply severe regulations to effectively track hazardous and biological materials, as well as to ensure the compliance with bio-safety standards of the laboratories treating microorganisms.

Nevertheless, the new wider NATO commitments cannot distract the Allies from the fundamental tasks of deterrence and defence towards the assertive posture of the Russian Federation and from the threats and risks originating from proliferation, terrorism, disruptive technologies and cyber space. Moreover, it isn't excluded that China could exploit the pandemic and economic crisis, for predatory interests on Western strategic assets and companies⁹.

⁸ Sino–Russian Interests in Serbia Competitive, Coordinated or Complementary? Veerle Nouwens and Emily Ferris.

⁹ China's Approach to the Belt and Road Initiative and Europe's Response, Giulia Di Donato

Furthermore, above all, now more than ever NATO and the EU are called upon to strengthen cooperation in countering the growing misinformation and disinformation campaigns implemented by Moscow, Beijing, and other non-state actors, through the pervasive and uncontrolled use of modern social media¹⁰.

Over seventy years after its establishment, NATO proved to be the Organization that adapted itself to respond to the new challenges of a changing security environment quicker than any other multilateral institution. However, in the current complex and demanding scenario it is vital that the Alliance is provided with the necessary capabilities and financial resources to continue operating effectively and to prevent a global health crisis from becoming a security crisis affecting the security of the citizens, territories and fundamental freedoms¹¹.

It must be understood that this virus should not be the object of competition or a return to the Cold War era but an opportunity to act united in a war that is no longer individual but worldwide.

The war is not with the virus itself but with the reality that he was able to create, a reality that on the one hand requires adaptation and on the other hand probably gives us the message that there is no going back ...

And finally Covid 19 probably gives the message of how meaningless any kind of war is, cold or not ... Now, not

¹⁰ COVID-19 Provides New Material for Russian Anti-EU, Balkaninsight.com.

¹¹ The Alliance in the pandemic chaos and the role of the NATO SFA COE- Interview with the President of the Atlantic Treaty Association –ATA– FABRIZIO W. LUCIOLLI

war, but the survival of human existence must be the only common goal....

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