



Hybrid  
Warfare  
Research  
Institute



## The 10<sup>th</sup> Zagreb Security Forum 2025

October 10-11, 2025, Hotel Sheraton, Zagreb, Croatia

### Call for Papers:

## Hybrid Threats against NATO and EU in 21<sup>st</sup> Century

*Strengthening Democracy, Protecting Freedom and Society*

Since the first Zagreb Security Forum in 2015, we have been warning about hybrid threats with accent on non-kinetic threats and risks from Russia and other autocratic regimes. Especially in information influence domain. Preventive activities aimed at suppressing disinformation requires the whole of society approach. Recognizing disinformation and disproving it publicly is a demanding process that requires true and in-depth knowledge and interdisciplinary approach. At the same time, the need for a clear, complete and unambiguous determination of the real authors and planners of disinformation activities is indicated. By identifying the source, significantly better results can be achieved in the fight against the scourge of the modern age. The Russian invasion of Ukraine and the ensuing hybrid attacks clearly illustrates that hybrid warfare is now an integral and central part of conflicts and wars. Just as future conflicts and wars between different players.



The entire spectrum of Russian malign and offensive actions has its origins in the Grand Strategy of Putin's Russia. This Grand Strategy is aimed to be realized in various forms of aggression (kinetic and non-kinetic)

against Ukraine and in non-kinetic modus operandi against NATO and EU. Therefore, to win an overall victory over the Russian aggressor, and other similar security threats in future, it is essential to recognize and face the Grand Strategy. The survival of Grand Strategy of Putin's Russia means that their negative consequences will appear again and lead to new crises, new conflicts, and wars: against countries in Europe, Middle East, Asia as well as in Africa.

One of the key answers for developing social and state resiliency against hybrid threats is in scientific cooperation between various partners and experts at both the national and international levels. Without investments in research and development, multidisciplinary approach to emerging security challenges, integration of knowledge, without creation of international network of experts and ability to exchange information and knowledge, it will be very difficult to recognize early enough signals of coming hybrid threats. We need to shift the focus of science to make deep and substantial research on risks that have a low probability of their appearance but high impact by its possible negative consequences. **We welcome paper proposals, with scientific background, on every issue relating to the conference theme with**



ZAKLADA  
HRVATSKOG  
PREDAVNOG  
ZAVJETA



KONRAD  
ADENAUER  
STIFTUNG



TEHNOZAVOD  
MARUŠIĆ



Nuklearna  
Elektrarna  
Krk

Hybrid Warfare Research Institute, Teslina 10, Zagreb; OIB: 31073348655,

IBAN: HR35 2390 0011 1009 9221 2, Hrvatska poštanska banka, Zagreb

[www.zagrebsecurityforum.com](http://www.zagrebsecurityforum.com)



Hybrid  
Warfare  
Research  
Institute



**accent on early warning signals and proposals how to counter them.** An excellent base for those paper proposals can be found in NATO STO SAS-161 RTG document that is available here: <https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/4381>, and that covers the key thematic areas of 10<sup>th</sup> Zagreb Security Forum:

1. Russian hybrid, non-kinetic influence operations especially connected with malign influence at elections and referendum campaigns.
2. Use of energy and financial policies to promote and protect Russian interests.
3. Russian (and Russian proxy investors and companies) investments in economies aimed at creating footholds for influence on society as well as building potential centers for covert SIGINT or intelligence operations.
4. Russian proxies and their detrimental influence in Europe, Middle East, Africa and Asia.
5. Russian and pro-Russian (dis)information policies and activities (actors, modes of operation, goals, means, methods) directed against the interests and unity of the EU and NATO.
6. Russian malign activity in cyber domain, state-sponsored cyber operations, and the evolving legal and ethical norms surrounding cyber warfare.
7. Continuing on the successfully implemented launch of the Women in Security and Defense panel at 9<sup>th</sup> ZSF, just as Young Researchers Forum, we strongly support applications for these panels with the aim of encouraging and promoting ideas to strengthen Human and Social aspects of Security and Intelligence Sciences.

We welcome any further suggestions, comments, or additions to ensure a robust discussion and effective outcomes of the jubilee 10<sup>th</sup> ZSF according to the main moto of the Forum: *Strengthening Democracy, Protecting Freedom and Society.*

**Please submit your paper proposal abstract of 250-300 words and your CV in English by email to [jakovzsf@gmail.com](mailto:jakovzsf@gmail.com).**

**The deadline for proposal submissions is December 10, 2024.**

**Notifications of acceptance will go out by the end of December 2024.**

Conference presenters are invited to submit their revised paper in form of an article to the *National Security and The Future* and *Strategos* journals.

Prof. Dr. Shlomo Shpiro  
Bar Ilan University

Assoc.Prof. Gordan Akrap  
Hybrid Warfare Research Institute



ZAKLADA  
HRVATSKOG  
DRŽAVNOG  
ZAVJETA



KONRAD  
ADENAUER  
STIFTUNG



TEHNOZAVOD  
MARUŠIĆ



Nuklearna  
Elektrana  
Kriko

Hybrid Warfare Research Institute, Teslina 10, Zagreb; OIB: 31073348655,  
IBAN: HR35 2390 0011 1009 9221 2, Hrvatska poštanska banka, Zagreb  
[www.zagrebsecurityforum.com](http://www.zagrebsecurityforum.com)