

Intelligence strategic documents issued by international & regional state actors in 2024

LTC (Ret) Georgios KOUKAKIS

Research Paper no. 113



Board of Directors

Dr Andreas Banoutsos, Founder and President

Dr Panagiotis Sfaelos, Vice President and Director of Research

Georgios Koukakis, Secretary General

Argetta Malichoutsaki, Financial Director

Vasiliki Kantioti, Member

Maria Ntampou, Member

Ekaterini Marouki, Member

© 2025 Center for International Strategic Analyses (KEDISA, All Rights Reserved)

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without permission of the publisher



CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC ANALYSES

Intelligence strategic documents issued by international & regional state actors in 2024

LTC (Ret) Georgios KOUKAKIS

Disclosure Statement

The opinion expressed in this paper represents the author's personal views and in no way reflects the official position of the Center for International Strategic Analyses (KEDISA) or any other Institute or Organization he is affiliated with.

Heraklion (Crete), 30 January 2025

Georgios Zoukakis

Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.) Georgios KOUKAKIS

Secretary General & Senior Researcher of KEDISA

Academic Head of the 'Security Studies in the Mediterranean' Educational Programme of the Center for CE-LL of the University of the Aegean

About the author



Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.) Georgios KOUKAKIS has graduated from the *Hellenic Military Academy* (2002), the *Hellenic Army War College* (2020) and the *Hellenic Supreme Joint War College* (2023). He retired in 2024 on his own initiative, after serving for 22 years as a Leader and Staff officer in several Special Forces

and Infantry Units, and as an Instructor in the Hellenic Airborne School and the Hellenic Infantry School.

He holds a Master of Arts in 'Governance, Development and Security in the Mediterranean' from the Department of Mediterranean Studies of the University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece) –having graduated 1st among his Class with his dissertation focusing on the prospects of establishing a National Security Council (NSC) in the Hellenic Republic (Greece)– and an Adult Instructor of the Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning Center (CE-LLC) of the University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece).

He is also a Senior Analyst in the *Center for International Strategic Analyses* (KEDISA), a Research Associate of *HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy* (I.I.A.S.GE.) and a member of the *Hellenic Institute of Strategic Studies* (HEL.I.S.S.), *ALLILONnet* the Global Network of Greeks and Friends of Greece for Solidarity in the Professional Field and the *Mercury Negotiation Academy* (MNA). He has participated as a speaker in several seminars and conferences regarding international relations in the fields of foreign policy, security and defense.

Many of his articles and research papers have been published in the 'Global Security

and Intelligence Notes' (GSIN) and the 'South and South East Asia Security Research

Centre' (SSEASRC) Research Notes of the Buckingham Centre of Security & Intelligence

Studies (BUCSIS), the 'HAPSc Policy Briefs' Journal of the Hellenic Association of Political

Scientists, the 'NRDC-GR Herald' Journal of NRDC-GR, the 'Military Review' Journal of

the Hellenic Army General Staff (HAGS), the 'Cultural Diplomacy Journal' of the Hellenic

Institute of Cultural Diplomacy (HICD).

He currently serves as the Academic Head of the educational programmes (in Greek)

'Security Studies in the Mediterranean (BASIC)' and 'Getting to know Security

Studies through the work of Thucydides' of the Continuing Education and Lifelong

Learning Center of the University of the Aegean.

In addition to his involvement in academic research regarding international relations,

Georgios is a columnist in a number of foreign affairs, geopolitics and international affairs

websites such as 'Foreign Affairs - The Hellenic Edition', 'Policy Journal', 'Geopolitics &

Daily News', 'HuffPost Greece', 'Liberal', 'Infognomon Politics', 'LEP' and 'Active News'.

He is the co-author of the book (In Greek) 'National Security: Myths and Reality'

that was published in April 2023, the author of the book 'Armed Conflict & National

Security in the 21st century' that was published in January 2025,

Email : g_k_koukakis@yahoo.gr

LinkedIn : Georgios Koukakis

Research Gate: Georgios Koukakis

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Ab	breviations	i
Ab	stract	iii
1.	Introduction	1
2.	Terms & Concepts	1
3.	The IC OSINT Strategy of the USA	4
4.	The Annual Threat Assessment of the USA	7
5.	The ODNI Strategy of the USA	10
6.	The NCSC Annual Review of the UK	12
7.	The NIS Annual Report of Greece	15
8.	Remarks & future considerations	19
9.	Conclusion	21
Bib	oliography	23
Δπ	thor's Published Work	26

Abbreviations

Al Artificial Intelligence

AR Annual Review

ARPFA Annual Report of Priorities and Fields of Actions

ATA Annual Threat Assessment

AUKUS Australia, United Kingdom and United States

CNI Critical National Infrastructure

EU European Union

NIΣ National Intelligence Service

FIMI Foreign Information Manipulation and Interference

GCHQ Government Communications Headquarters

GEOINT Geospatial Intelligence

HUMINT Human Intelligence

IC Intelligence Community

IMINT Imagery Intelligence

INFOSEC Information Security

IRR Integrated Review Refresh

MASINT Measurement and Signature Intelligence

MoFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NCSC National Cyber Security Centre

NSS National Security Strategy

ODNI Office of the Director of National Intelligence

OSINT Open-Source Intelligence

PRC People's Republic of China

SIGNIT Signals Intelligence

TEMPEST Telecommunication Electronics Material Protected from Emanating Spurious

Transmissions

R&D Research and Development

UK United Kingdom

USA United States of America

WMD Weapons of Mass Destruction

Abstract

The research paper reviews several intelligence documents of strategic nature that were published in 2024 by the USA, the UK and Greece. Its purpose is to provide a brief overview of the content of these documents in order to highlight the actors' goals and intentions, and identify the emerging trends of the contemporary security environment. Moreover, it aims to underline the essential role of strategy in addressing security issues, thus contributing to the establishment of a security culture among the academic community. The information provided about each document includes the institutional framework in which it was published, its structure, and its main key points. Finally, the paper in concluded by the author's remarks regarding the conditions of the contemporary security environment and some future considerations regarding the world order that is being reshaped.

Key words: USA, UK, Russia, China, Greece, Intelligence, Cybersecurity, National Security, Strategy

1. Introduction

Monitoring the publication of new official strategic documents of several regional and international actors (states, organizations, alliances, etc.) and understanding their content is of vital importance for every International Relations (IR) analyst, researcher and/or scholar, as it provides an insight to the actors' strategic planning. This allows a more accurate evaluation of the actors' (foreign) policy and the assessment of future implications as far as several policy fields (foreign policy, defence, economy, energy, etc.), regions (such as the Arctic, the Indo-Pacific, etc.) and domains (space, cyberspace, etc.) are concerned.

2. Terms & Concepts

Before proceeding to the presentation of the official strategic documents, it is necessary to clarify some related terms in order to facilitate a deeper understanding of their content and the context in which they are published.

The first term that needs to be clarified is the term **security**, which is related countering *threats/risks* by applying effective –preventive, administrative and recovery–measures depending on the nature of the threat/risk. Although security is an extremely broad term, it can be defined as:

"[...] the state of being protected or safe from harm, [...] the state of being closely watched or guarded, [...] the state of being free from anxiety or worry: the state of being or feeling secure".

It must also be stressed that the difference between threats and risks in international relations is that the term **threat** usually refers to a certain actor that has the *capabilities* and *intention* to harm the security of another actor by exploiting possible vulnerabilities (weaknesses and/or flaws), while the term **risk** usually refers to an *unintentional* condition

¹ The Britannica Dictionary. (n.d.). security. https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/security

or *phenomenon* (e.g. climate change, earthquake, economic crisis, etc.) that may harm the security of an actor.²

Taking into consideration the aforementioned definitions, it must be noted that **national security** refers to the protection of a state against all threats/risks that may harm its proper functioning, territorial integrity, national infrastructure, political independence or the well-being of its citizens.³ **Cybersecurity** –one of the many variants of security – refers to the protection of a state or non-state actor against all cyber threats/risks that may harm its electronic means, systems and/or infrastructure.

Another term that needs to be clarified is the term **foreign policy**, which is defined as the general objectives –usually broken down into long term goals (political, economic, military, etc.)— of a state which guide its activities and relationship with other actors.⁴ In order for a state to achieve these objectives, its draws a specific plan entitled **Grand or National Strategy**,⁵ which defines the desired *ends*, necessary *means*, and preferred *ways* that will enable their achievement. In addition to the aforementioned three elements, most strategies usually include a *threat/risk analysis*⁶ –the second component of risk management –⁷ which is used to:

"[...] identify: (i) threats to organizations (i.e., operations, assets, or individuals) or threats directed through organizations against other organizations or the Nation; (ii) vulnerabilities internal and external to

² Wallander, C. & Keohane, R. (2002). Risk, threat, and security institutions. in Keohane,R. (Ed.), *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Routledge, 91. https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/486331/mod_resource/content/0/Robert%20Keohane%20Power%20and%20Governance%20in%20a%20Partially%20Globalized%20World.pdf

³ National security comprises several variants such as military security (national defence), economic security, internal security (social cohesion, public order, etc.), energy security, health security (public health), food security, cyber security, climate security, environmental security, cultural security, information security, protection of national critical infrastructure, etc. For further information see: Pikramenos, K. & Koukakis, G. (2023). National Security: Myths and Reality [In Greek]. Infognomon, 32.

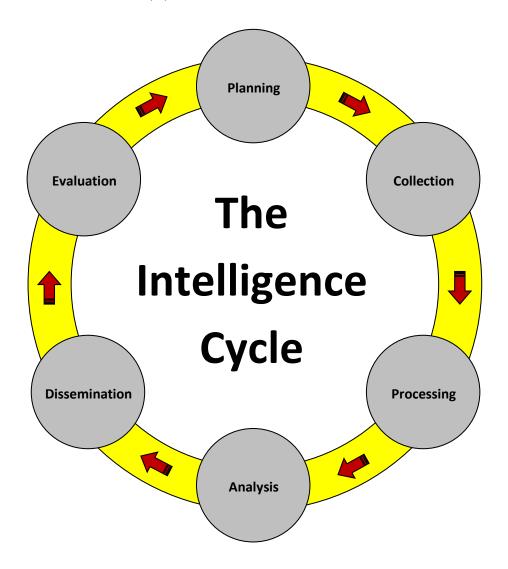
⁴ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2024, November 25). *foreign policy. Encyclopedia Britannica.* https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-policy

⁵ The Britannica Dictionary. (n.d.). strategy. https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/strategy

⁶ National Institute of Standards and Technology. (2020, October). Control Baselines for Information Systems and Organizations, 63. https://nvlpubs.nist.gov/nistpubs/SpecialPublications/NIST.SP.800-53B.pdf

Risk management is defined as "[...] a comprehensive process that requires organizations to: (i) frame risk (i.e., establish the context for risk-based decisions); (ii) assess risk; (iii) respond to risk once determined; and (iv) monitor risk on an ongoing basis using effective organizational communications and a feedback loop for continuous improvement in the risk-related activities of organizations". National Institute of Standards and Technology. (2011, March). Managing Information Security Risk: Organization, Mission, and Information System View, 6. https://nvlpubs.nist.gov/nistpubs/Legacy/SP/nistspecialpublication800-39.pdf

organizations;14 (iii) the harm (i.e., consequences/impact) to organizations that may occur given the potential for threats exploiting vulnerabilities; and (iv) the likelihood that harm will occur".8



Picture 1: The 6 steps of the Intelligence Cycle Source: Created by Georgios Koukakis ©

Intelligence is processed information that is produced through a specific 6-step procedure called the intelligence cycle,9 and is categorized -depending on the means/methods of collection and the nature of the information- into Signals Intelligence (SIGNIT), Imagery Intelligence (IMINT), Measurement and Signature Intelligence

Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). How the IC works. https://www.intelligence.gov/howthe-ic-works

(MASINT), Human Intelligence (HUMINT), Open-Source Intelligence (OSINT), and Geospatial Intelligence (GEOINT).¹⁰ It must also be stressed that <u>having access to timely</u> and accurate intelligence is a vital factor for national security, as analysts often:

"[...] include alternative scenarios in their assessments and, when appropriate, warn about possible developments abroad that could provide threats to or opportunities for U.S. security and policy interests".¹¹

3. The IC OSINT Strategy of the USA

The *IC OSINT Strategy 2024-2026 of the USA* is a strategic document that was published by the *Office of the Director of National Intelligence* (ODNI) in collaboration with the *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA) on *08 March 2024*.¹² Its institutional framework, structure, and key points that need to be stressed, are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

3.1 Institutional framework

The 2024-2026 IC OSINT Strategy is an unclassified intelligence document that was published for the first time in 2024 in order to modernize the overall approach of the US Intelligence Community (IC) as far as OSINT is concerned. As stated in the ODNI press release:

"OSINT, or intelligence derived exclusively from publicly or commercially available information that addresses specific intelligence priorities, requirements, or gaps, is vital to the IC's mission, providing unique intelligence value and enabling all other intelligence collection disciplines. Given the expansive and evolving open source environment, the IC has been working to modernize its

¹⁰ Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). What is intelligence? https://www.dni.gov/index.php/what-we-do/what-is-intelligence

Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). How the IC works. Ibid.

¹² Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (2024, March 08). The IC OSINT Strategy 2024-2026. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/reports-publications/reports-publications-2024/3785-the-ic-osint-strategy-2024-2026

approach to collecting, creating, and delivering OSINT, and the IC OSINT Strategy outlines the way forward". 13

ODNI was established in *2004* by the *Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act* (IRTPAP), while its Director (DNI) is the US President's principal intelligence advisor and head of the US *Intelligence Community* (IC).¹⁴ As far as the US *Intelligence Community* (IC) is concerned, it comprises <u>2 independent agencies</u> and <u>16 elements</u> of the US Departments and Agencies,¹⁵ its customers include the US President, the National Security Council (NSC), the Heads of Departments and Agencies of the Executive Branch, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and senior military commanders, and the Congress, and its mission is to conduct intelligence activities in support of the US foreign & domestic security policy.

3.2 Structure

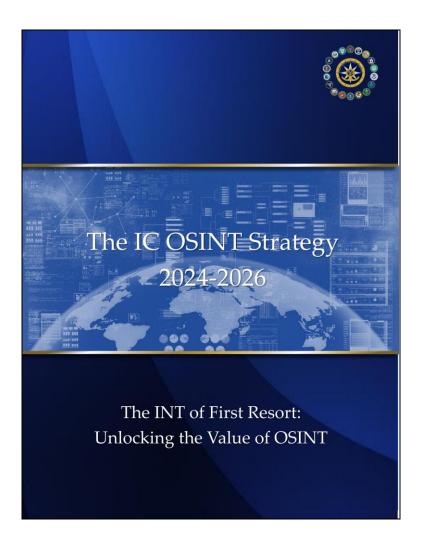
The 2024 ODNI Strategy is a <u>6 pages</u> long document, comprising the following parts:

- i. Foreword from the Director of National Intelligence (page i).
- ii. Foreword From the OSINT Functional Manager (page i).
- iii. IC OSINT Strategy 2024-2026 (page 1).
- iv. Introduction (page 2).
- v. Strategic Focus Areas (pages 3-5).
- vi. Key Enablers (page 6).
- vii. Way Forward (page 6).

Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). Who We Are. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/who-we-are

¹³ Ibid

¹⁵ Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). Members of the IC. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/what-we-do/members-of-the-ic



Picture 2: The 2024-2026 IC OSINT Strategy

Source: https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/reports-publications/reports-publications-2024/3785-the-ic-osint-strategy-2024-2026

3.3 Key points

Some of the keys points of the strategic document regarding its content are the following:

i. The first key point that needs to be stressed is the <u>critical role of OSINT</u> in situational awareness and countering national security threats by filling several intelligence gaps. It must also be noted that due to the rapid change of the security environment and the advancement of technology, the IC OSINT Strategy will be <u>reviewed annually</u>.

- ii. Moreover, attention needs to be given to the fact that collaboration with domestic and foreign partners from several sectors such as industry and academia will enhance the capabilities and effectiveness of the IC.
- iii. Another point is the 4 <u>focus areas</u> (goals) that are outlined in the Strategy, which comprise the following:
- ✓ Goal 1: Coordinate Open Source Data Acquisition and Expand Sharing.
- ✓ Goal 2: Establish Integrated Open Source Collection Management.
 - ✓ Goal 3: Drive OSINT Innovation To Deliver New Capabilities.
- ✓ Goal 4: Develop the Next-Generation OSINT Workforce and Tradecraft.
- iv. As far as the <u>key enablers</u> of this strategy are concerned, the document refers to the followingQ
- ✓ Governance of the OSINT enterprise which is basically conducted by the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (D/CIA) serves as the OSINT Functional Manager (OSFM).
- ✓ Partnerships which refers to engagement of the IC OSINT Community with domestic and foreign actors.

4. The Annual Threat Assessment of the USA

The 2024 Annual Threat Assessment (ATA) of the USA is a strategic document that was published by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) on 11 March 2024.¹⁶ Its institutional framework, structure, and key points that need to be stressed, are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Center for International Strategic Analyses (KEDISA)

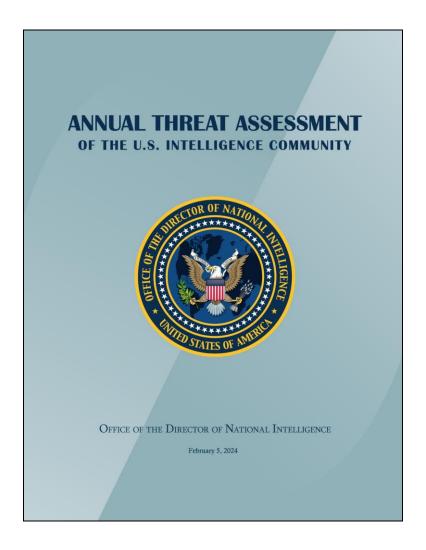
7

¹⁶ Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (2024, March 11). ODNI Releases 2024 Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community [Press Release]. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/press-releases/press-releases-2024/3789-odni-releases-2024-annual-threat-assessment-of-the-u-s-intelligence-community

4.1 Institutional framework

ATA is an unclassified intelligence document of the aforementioned ODNI that is published annually since *2006* in order to provide:

"[...] an unclassified summary the Intelligence Community's evaluation of current threats to U.S. national security, including cyber and technological threats, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, crime, environmental and natural resources issues, and economic issues".¹⁷



Picture 3: The 2024 Annual Threat Assessment

Source: https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf

Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community. https://www.intelligence.gov/annual-threat-assessment

4.2 Structure

The 2024 ATA is a 40 pages long document, comprising the following parts:

- i. Introduction (page 3).
- ii. Foreword (pages 5-6).
- iii. State actors (pages 7-29).
- iv. Transnational issues (page 30-40).

4.3 Key points

Some of the keys points of the strategic document regarding its content are the following:

- i. As far as <u>state actors</u> are concerned, the 2024 ATA focuses on the regional and global activities of *China*, *Russia*, *Iran* and *North Korea*, characterising China as a major indirect threat of the United States that "[...] vies to surpass the United States in comprehensive national power and secure deference to its preferences from its neighbors and from countries around the world [...]" and *Russia* as a major direct threat aiming "[...] to assert leverage regionally and globally".
- iii. As far as <u>conflicts and fragility</u> are concerned, the 2024 ATA focuses on the *Gaza Conflict*, *Potential Interstate Conflict* (China maritime, India-China, India-Pakistan, and Azerbaijan-Armenia), *Potential Intrastate Turmoil* (The Balkans, Sudan, Ethiopia, The Sahel, Haiti, and Venezuela).
- iv. Attention must also be given to the fact that the <u>policy fields</u> that the 2024 emphasizes on is economy, technology, WMD, military, space, cyberspace, malign influence operations, and intelligence.
- v. As far as <u>transnational issues</u> are concerned, the 2024 ATA refers that the spaces contested by major actors mostly include *Disruptive Technology*, *Digital Authoritarianism and Transnational Repression*, and *WMD*.

- vi. On the other hand, the <u>shared domains</u> highlighted by the 2024 ATA are *Environmental Change and Extreme Weather*, *Health Security*, and *Migration*.
- vii. As far as <u>non-state actors</u> are concerned, the 2024 ATA stresses the severe impact of *Transnational Organized Crime*, *Human Trafficking*, *Global Terrorism*, and *Private Military and Security Companies*.

5. The ODNI Strategy of the USA

The *ODNI Strategy of the USA* is a strategic document that was published by the *Office of the Director of National Intelligence* (ODNI) on *24 October 2024*. Its institutional framework, structure, and key points that need to be stressed, are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

5.1 Institutional framework

National Intelligence Strategy (NIS) is an unclassified intelligence document of ODNI that has been published every 5 years since *2005* (2005, 2009, 2014, 2019, 2024) in order to provide the IC guidance regarding its vision, mission, and objectives.

5.2 Structure

The 2024 ODNI Strategy is a <u>15 pages</u> long document, comprising the following parts:

- i. Goal 1: Aligning our National Intelligence Resources to our National Priorities (page 4).
 - ii. Goal 2: Promoting Expertise, Data, Science, and Innovation (pages 6-7).
 - iii. Goal 3: Enhancing IC Partnerships (pages 8-9).
 - iv. Goal 4: Strengthening Resilience (pages 10-11).

¹⁸ Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (2024, October 24). The ODNI Strategy. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/reports-publications/reports-publications-2024/4009-the-odni-strategy

- v. Goal 5: Building Trust and Confidence (pages 12-13).
- vi. Goal 6: Strengthening our Institution and our Workforce (pages 14-15).



Picture 4: The ODNI Strategy

Source: https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/reports-publications/reports-publications-2024/4009-the-odni-strategy

5.3 Key points

Some of the keys points of the strategic document regarding its content are the following:

i. One of the key points that must be stressed is that the US priorities are defined in <u>National Security Strategy</u> (NSS), the <u>National Defense Strategy</u> (NDS), and the

<u>Annual Threat Assessment</u> (ATA), also stressing the significant work done by the *National Counterterrorism Center* (NCTC).

- ii. Another key point is the essential role of <u>education</u> in promoting best practices and reforms in intelligence, which in this case is provided through the *National Intelligence University* (NIU).
- iii. <u>Innovation</u> is also a vital factor for intelligence, and can be achieved through research and development (R&D) and proper funding.
- iv. As far as <u>resilience</u> is concerned, the United States is the not the only actor that has highlighted its importance, as many state or non-state actors have stressed its vital role in the contemporary security environment.
- v. The fact that foreign malign influence has drawn the IC's attention is of no surprise, as <u>Foreign Influence Manipulation and Interference</u> (FIMI) has been characterised as one of the most dangerous threats to democracy.
- vi. The need for <u>transparency</u> that is noted in the document is also a very important factor in building trust for every governmental body, especially for intelligence services whose work remains unknown most of the times.
- vii. As far as the strengthening of the <u>workforce</u> is concerned, it is considered to be a high priority for every governmental body as it is closely related to its effectiveness regardless of the modernization of its equipment.

6. The NCSC Annual Review of the UK

The *Annual Review* (AR) is a strategic document that was published by the *National Cyber Security Centre* (NCSC) of the United Kingdom on **03 December 2024**. 19 Its institutional framework, structure, and key points that need to be stressed, are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Center for International Strategic Analyses (KEDISA)

¹⁹ National Cyber Security Centre. (2024, December 03). NCSC Annual Review 2024. https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/collection/ncsc-annual-review-2024

6.1 Institutional framework

The AR is an unclassified intelligence document of the NCSC emphasising on cybersecurity that is published annually since *2017*. As far as its content is concerned, it:

"[...] highlights and milestones between 1 September 2023 and 31 August 2024. It also looks ahead to future challenges. As part of a national security agency, not all its work can be disclosed publicly but the review seeks to describe the year with insights and facts from colleagues inside and out of the organisation.".²⁰

It must also be stressed that NCSC, is the technical authority for cyber security of the UK and part of its *Government Communications Headquarters* (GCHQ).²¹ As far as the *GCHQ* is concerned, it is the UK's intelligence, security and cyber agency having as a mission to help keep the UK safe by conducting operations in the fields of *Counter Terrorism*, *Cyber Security*, *Strategic Advantage*, *Serious & Organised Crime*, and *Support to Defence*.²²

6.2 Structure

The 2024 AR is a <u>71 pages</u> long document, comprising the following parts:

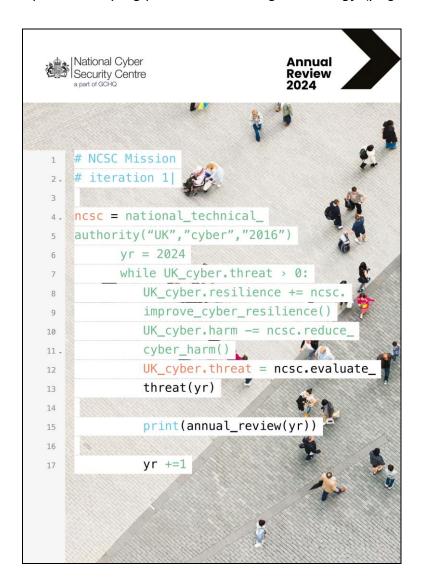
- i. *Ministerial foreword* (pages 1-2).
- ii. Director GCHQ foreword (pages 3-4).
- iii. NCSC CEO foreword (pages 5-6).
- iv. Timeline (pages 7-11).
- v. The NCSC at a glance (pages 11-12).
- vi. The NCSC, working with... (pages 13-14).

²¹ National Cyber Security Centre. (n.d.). About the NCSC. https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/section/about-ncsc/what-we-do

²⁰ Ibid.

GCHQ. (n.d.). Mission (Overview). https://www.gchq.gov.uk/section/mission/overview

- vii. Chapter 1: Countering the cyber threat (page 15-26).
- viii. Chapter 2: Building the UK's cyber resilience (pages 27-44).
- ix. Chapter 3: Developing the UK's cyber ecosystem (pages 45-56).
- x. Chapter 4: Keeping pace with evolving technology (pages 57-71).



Picture 5: The 2024 Annual Review of the NCSC

Source: https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/collection/ncsc-annual-review-2024

6.3 Key points

Some of the keys points of the strategic document regarding its content are the following:

i. *Cybersecurity* is closely related to *national critical infrastructure* (CNI) security and a vital variant of national security, as cyberattacks are an integral part of the contemporary security environment. Collaboration with private and international state actors is a crucial factor in enhancing a states' cybersecurity.

- ii. The direct or indirect *dependency on technology* makes states extremely vulnerable to cyber threats. Cyber threats though, do not target only governmental/public institutions, but the *private sector* as well. Cybersecurity can easily be achieved in most cases by applying basic cyber security standards.
- iii. The main cyber threats in national and international level are *China*, *Russia*, *Iran* and the *Democratic People's Republic of Korea* (DPRK). Geopolitics is consider to be a driver of cyber threat, while the most common goal of cyberattacks is either *economic* (gain money) or *political* (reduce people's trust in democracy).
- iv. Artificial Intelligence (AI) is being used to facilitate cyberattacks, changing the methods and means the hostile actors operate. Thus, keeping up with technological advancements is crucial for achieving cybersecurity.
- v. Cyber resilience underpins the economic future and safety of the UK, as it is related to its critical national infrastructure security, the democratic procedures (e.g. elections), etc. To this end, research and development (R&D) and proper 'digital legislation' is an essential factor for enhancing resilience.
- vi. The UK has implemented a number of initiatives regarding cybersecurity in order to develop a robust cyber ecosystem.

7. The NIS Annual Report of Greece

The Annual Report of Priorities and Fields of Actions (ARPFA) is a strategic document that was published by the National Intelligence Service (NIS) of Greece on **06**

December 2024.²³ Its institutional framework, structure, and key points that need to be stressed, are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

7.1 Institutional framework

ARPFA is an unclassified intelligence product of EYP that was published for the first time in 2023. According to the NIS, the importance of ARPFA lies in the fact that it:

"[...] enables the public to be informed about the multifaceted work carried out by the Service on a daily basis to defend national security and the national interests of the country".²⁴

As far as the Intelligence Services of Greece are concerned, it must be noted that the first one was founded in 1925 under the name *General Security Service* (GSS). During World War II (WWII) the security of Greece was provided by the *War Special Services Section* (WSSS), in 1936 the Greek state founded the *Defence Service*, while in 1946 the *Military Protection Service* (MPS) was founded. In 1952 MPS was restructured into the *Central Information and Investigation Service* (CIIS) –which is considered to be the predecessor of the current NIS– and in 1986 renamed into *National Intelligence Service* (NIS).²⁵

7.2 Structure

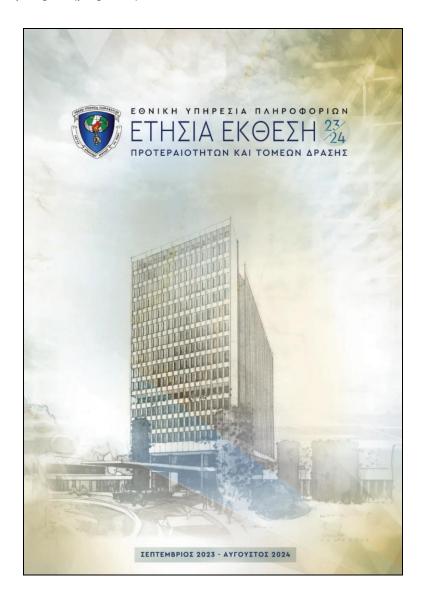
The 2024 ARPFA is a **28 pages** long document, comprising the following parts:

- i. Foreword of the Director (page 5-7).
- ii. EYP in the shadow of two wars (pages 9-10).
- iii. The main threats in the new reality (pages 10-19).

National Intelligence Service. (2024, December 06). Annual Report of Priorities and Fields of Actions of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) 2024 [Press Release (In Greek)]. https://www.nis.gr/el/news/3580
 National Intelligence Service. (2023, November 21). Annual Report of Priorities and Fields of Actions of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) 2023 [Press Release (In Greek)]. https://www.nis.gr/el/news/3579

²⁵ National Intelligence Service. (n.d.). Timeline. https://www.nis.gr/en/agency/historical-background/timeline

- iv. Operational, Technological, Organisational Upgrade and Extroversion (pages 19-24)
 - v. Challenges of a future that has already begun (pages 25-27)
 - vi. Epilogue (page 28).



Picture 6: The 2024 NIS Annual Report of Priorities and Fields of Actions

Source: https://www.nis.gr/el/news/3580

7.3 Key points

Some of the keys points of the strategic document regarding its content are the following:

i. The <u>main fields</u> that the NIS focused on from September 2023 to August 2024, was cybersecurity, counterintelligence, counterterrorism, organised crime, and illegal migration.

- ii. The war in <u>Ukraine</u> and the war in <u>Gaza</u> resulted into an increased on the number of cyberattacks raising the NIS's overall awareness, especially as far as the situation in its neighbouring states are concerned.
- iii. Traditional espionage has nowadays been enhanced by modern means such as <u>cyber espionage</u>, which is best tackled through collaboration with other Greek agencies and actors.
- iv. <u>Terrorism</u> remains one of the main threats to the national security of Greece, not only in the form of terrorist organizations such as *Daesh* and *Al Qaeda* but 'lone wolves' as well.
- v. The illegal <u>migration networks</u> have been adapting to the methods used by the NIS, leading to the need for adopting new ways by the Service.
- vi. As far as <u>organised crime</u> is concerned, NIS focused not only in its international dimension, but on its internal dimension as well that includes money laundering, fraud, corruption of public servants, etc..
- vii. Regarding NIS's reform, the documents emphasises on the Service's efforts to enhance its <u>operational effectiveness</u> through the use of new means and methods of collection and analysis, the enhancement of its workforce, the creation of a unified *Analysis Directorate*, and constant adaptation to the security environment conditions.
- viii. In the context of the worldwide phenomenon of <u>human rights violation</u> such as the communications interception and the fact that NIS is the National INFOSEC Authority and the National TEMPEST Authority, the Service conducted several audits to public institutions in order to ensure the implementation of the respective legislation.

ix. A milestone in NIS's history is also the foundation of the <u>Intelligence and Espionage Academy</u>, in order to provide respective education and training to the personnel of the Service.

- xi. In the context of the Service's extroversion, NIS also <u>declassified several</u> <u>documents</u> regarding the Cyprus Invasion of 1974, while it is working on the creation of a Museum/Visitors Center.
- xii. Moreover, one of the key points of the document is that the NIS is responsible for both homeland and external security, making cooperation with state and non-state actors –such as foreign intelligence and security agencies, the EU and NATO–vital for accomplishing its mission. Thus, NIS in the context of <u>intelligence diplomacy</u>, took part in several intelligence multilateral schemes.
- xiii. As far as the <u>future challenges</u> are concerned, the ARPFA emphasizes on addressing armed conflict, terrorism, violent extremism, organised crime, human trafficking, hybrid threats, Foreign Information, Manipulation and Interference (FIMI), climate change, keeping up with the technological advancement (especially AI), and promoting innovation.

8. Remarks & future considerations

Taking into consideration the content of the intelligence strategic documents that were presented in the paper, it is obvious that <u>intelligence is a vital factor for countering national security threats</u>, as it not only facilitates decision makers in identifying emerging threats and their impact but also spot (foreign and domestic) vulnerabilities.

Second of all, it must be stressed that it <u>having a National Security Strategy is</u> <u>essential for every state</u>, as this type of document defines the context (ends, means, ways, risk analysis) in which every public institution will draw and implement its own strategy, that —being part of the overall Grand (National) Strategy— will complement the implementation of the strategies of the rest institutions.

Third of all, it needs to be noted that <u>national security is not only about military</u> threats, as it includes a variety of policy fields and domains such as the economy, the environment, critical infrastructure, energy, migration, food, information, health, etc. Moreover, one of the most important emerging trends regarding security is the attempt of several actors to <u>gain dominance in non-traditional domains such as space, cyberspace,</u> and the Arctic.

As far as state actors are concerned, the <u>China and Russia are identified as the two</u> <u>most pressing threats to national, regional and international security</u>, as they are involved in a variety of activities regarding the economy, technology, WMD, military, space, cyberspace, and information & intelligence operations, aspiring to change the world order in their favour and gradually transform it to a multipolar model.

It must also be stressed that <u>resilience</u> <u>-especially as far as the cyber domain is concerned-has been identified by many actors as the most vital capacity</u>, as the contemporary security environment of permacrises and polycrises is dominated by various hostile state and non-state actors that use the cyber domain as the main field for conducting malicious activities such as hybrid war, disinformation campaigns, information warfare, etc. which affect the proper functioning of states and undermine their citizens' trust in democratic governance.

Moreover, it seems that <u>most states have begun to cooperate not only with other likeminded states</u>, but with non-state actors such as the academia and the private sector, endorsing the phrase "*If you want to go fast, go alone; if you want to go far, go together*". As far as the cooperation in state level is concerned, one of the most known intelligence cooperation schemes is the *Five Eyes*, an intelligence partnership between the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.²⁶

Another significant conclusion is that <u>the personnel is the most important asset of every intelligence service or agency</u>. Thus, investing in the development of the personnel's

-

²⁶ Australian Government/Australian Signals Directorate. (n.d.). Intelligence partnerships. https://www.asd.gov.au/about/history/asd-stories/2022-03-16-intelligence-partnerships

skills –especially as far as new means and methods of collections and analysis are concerned– through education and training in order for it to be able to cope with the contemporary conditions of the security environment, is an action that will only benefit every agency/service.

Finally, it needs to be underlined that <u>innovation through research and development</u> <u>plays a crucial role in intelligence</u>, as it facilitates the development of new means and methods of information collection and analysis, leading actors to gain *strategic advantage* and achieve *sustainability* in several sectors. To this end, <u>Artificial Intelligence (AI)</u> is not just a multiplier of power but a modern necessity that will define the future distribution of power, as according to the Russian President *Vladimir Putin*:

"Artificial intelligence is the future not only of Russia but of all of mankind [...] There are huge opportunities, but also threats that are difficult to foresee today. Whoever becomes the leader in this sphere will become the ruler of the world [...]".²⁷

9. Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be stressed that the importance of the work of the intelligence & security services must not be measured by its mistakes and failures, but by imagining the level of a state's national security in their absence. Besides, a vast majority of this work is usually not published due to its 'sensitive nature', having as a result the intelligence agencies/services to draw the public's attention only when they fail to accomplish their mission. Fortunately, most decision makers —having access to classified documents and a in some cases daily contact with their personnel— realise that failure is unfortunately a 'part of the job' that cannot be avoided, focusing on the daily 'small successes'. One of these decision makers was the US President Gerald R. Ford, stating on 30 January 1976 during the swearing-in ceremony of George H. W. Bush as Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) that:

²⁷ Gigova, R. (2017, September 02). Who Vladimir Putin thinks will rule the world. *CNN World*. https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/01/world/putin-artificial-intelligence-will-rule-world/index.html

«As every President since World War II, I depend on you as one of America's first lines of defense. Every morning, as a result of your efforts, an intelligence report is delivered to my desk which is complete, concise, perceptive, and responsible. As a result, I am fully aware of the tremendous effort, the tremendous teamwork that goes into it and all of the intelligence reports that I receive that are so vital to the making of sound policy decisions on national security. And let me express my gratitude for this fine work».²⁸



²⁸ Central Intelligence Agency. (2016). *President's Daily Brief: Delivering Intelligence to Nixon and Ford* [Official Document]. CIA's Historical Review Program, 7. https://www.cia.gov/static/Presidents-Daily-Brief-Delivering-Intelligence-to-Nixon-and-Ford.pdf

Bibliography

- Australian Government/Australian Signals Directorate. (n.d.). Intelligence partnerships. https://www.asd.gov.au/about/history/asd-stories/2022-03-16-intelligence-partnerships
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2024, November 25). foreign policy. Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-policy
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2016). *President's Daily Brief: Delivering Intelligence to Nixon and Ford* [Official Document]. CIA's Historical Review Program, 7. https://www.cia.gov/static/Presidents-Daily-Brief-Delivering-Intelligence-to-Nixon-and-Ford.pdf
- GCHQ. (n.d.). Mission (Overview). https://www.gchq.gov.uk/section/mission/overview
- Gigova, R. (2017, September 02). Who Vladimir Putin thinks will rule the world. CNN World. https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/01/world/putin-artificial-intelligence-will-rule-world/index.html
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The Institutional Reform of the Greek National Intelligence Service (NIS) and its First Historical 2023 Annual Report: Threats, Challenges and Future Considerations Regarding the National Security of the Hellenic Republic [Occasional Paper 1/2024]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.35429.58082
- National Cyber Security Centre. (2024, December 03). *NCSC Annual Review 2024*. https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/collection/ncsc-annual-review-2024
- National Cyber Security Centre. (n.d.). About the NCSC. https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/section/about-ncsc/what-we-do
- National Institute of Standards and Technology. (2011, March). Managing Information Security Risk: Organization, Mission, and Information System View, 6. https://nvlpubs.nist.gov/nistpubs/Legacy/SP/nistspecialpublication800-39.pdf

- National Institute of Standards and Technology. (2020, October). Control Baselines for Information Systems and Organizations, 63. https://nvlpubs.nist.gov/nistpubs/SpecialPublications/NIST.SP.800-53B.pdf
- National Intelligence Service. (2023, November 21). Annual Report of Priorities and Fields of Actions of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) 2023 [Press Release (In Greek)]. https://www.nis.gr/el/news/3579
- National Intelligence Service. (2024, December 06). Annual Report of Priorities and Fields of Actions of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) 2024 [Press Release (In Greek)]. https://www.nis.gr/el/news/3580
- National Intelligence Service. (n.d.). Timeline. https://www.nis.gr/en/agency/historical-background/timeline
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (2024, March 08). The IC OSINT Strategy 2024-2026. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/reports-publications/reports-publications-2024/3785-the-ic-osint-strategy-2024-2026
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (2024, March 11). ODNI Releases 2024
 Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community [Press Release].

 https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/press-releases/press-releases-2024-annual-threat-assessment-of-the-u-s-intelligence-community
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (2024, October 24). The ODNI Strategy. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/reports-publications/reports-publications-2024/4009-the-odni-strategy
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community. https://www.intelligence.gov/annual-threat-assessment
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). How the IC works. https://www.intelligence.gov/how-the-ic-works

- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). Members of the IC. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/what-we-do/members-of-the-ic
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). What is intelligence? https://www.dni.gov/index.php/what-we-do/what-is-intelligence
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (n.d.). Who We Are. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/who-we-are
- Pikramenos, K. & Koukakis, G. (2023). National Security: Myths and Reality [In Greek]. Infognomon, 32.
- The Britannica Dictionary. (n.d.). strategy. https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/strategy
- The Britannica Dictionary. (n.d.). security. https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/security
- Wallander, C. & Keohane, R. (2002). Risk, threat, and security institutions. in Keohane, R. (Ed.), Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World. Routledge, 91. https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/486331/mod_resource/content/0/Robert%20Keohane%20Power%20and%20Governance%20in%20a%20Partially%20Globalized%20World.pdf

Author's Published Work

(Chronological order)

- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2019). Επιχειρήσεις υποστήριξης της ειρήνης και διεθνείς οργανισμοί: Η περίπτωση του Κοσόβου. Η Ελλάδα, η Ευρώπη & ο Κόσμος, Τεύχος 13 (Α' Εξάμηνο 2019), 46-58.
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2020). Έχουμε τελικά Συμβούλιο Εθνικής Ασφάλειας;. Η Ελλάδα, η Ευρώπη & ο Κόσμος, Τεύχος 15 (Β' Εξάμηνο 2020), 101-112.
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2022). Συμβούλιο Εθνικής Ασφάλειας: Απόψεις, προτάσεις και προοπτικές σύστασής του στην Ελλάδα [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.72]. Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.15631.66729/1
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2022). Στρατηγική και Εξωτερική Πολιτική: Η Στρατηγική του Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών για το 2022 [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.73]. *Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.33467.08483
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2022). Αποκλειστική Οικονομική Ζώνη: Οι προσπάθειες οριοθέτησής της από τα κράτη της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.77]. Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.31789.36324
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2022). FRONTEX: Η αναβάθμιση του «αφανή» Ευρωπαϊκού Οργανισμού Συνοριοφυλακής και Ακτοφυλακής. Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Στρατηγικών Μελετών. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.13039.71840/1
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2022). Ουκρανία: Ο πόλεμος (και) της πληροφορίας. Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Στρατηγικών Μελετών. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.35144.80641/1
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2022). Προς τα που δείχνει η Στρατηγική Πυξίδα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης; [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.78]. *Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.11656.70406
- Koukakis, G. (2022). The June 29th-30th, 2022 NATO Summit: An assessment of the Alliance's new Strategic Concept and future security considerations [Briefing Note No "1/2022"]. *HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.25917.33763
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2022). Η τριμερής συνεργασία Ελλάδας, Κύπρου & Ισραήλ και οι επιπτώσεις της στην ενεργειακή ασφάλεια της Ελλάδας και της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και τη σταθερότητα στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, στο Τετράδια Γεωπολιτικής Ανάλυσης και Μελετών, Τεύχος 5. Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Στρατηγικών Μελετών. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.19206.45126

- Koukakis, G. (2022). The 2022 NATO Madrid Summit: Background, Key Decisions, and Future Considerations [Briefing Note No "2/2022"]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.30499.32808
- Koukakis, G. (2022). The 2020 EEZ delimitation agreement between Greece & Egypt [Short Comments]. *HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.24965.42725/1
- Koukakis, G. (2022). The trilateral partnership between Greece, Cyprus & Israel: Background, recent developments and future considerations regarding the security environment in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Hellenic Institute for Strategic Studies*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.24533.29927
- Koukakis, G. (2022). How the war in Ukraine is changing the European security environment: European Union's new CSDP mission in Ukraine [Research Paper No.84]. *Center for International Strategic Analyses*,. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.10715.44329
- Koukakis, G. (2022). Establishing the Greek National Security Council: A Comparative Case Study Analysis with the National Security Council of the United States. *Global Security and Intelligence Notes*, 6. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.29309.64481
- Koukakis, G. (2023). International & National Security strategic documents issued in 2022 [Research Paper No.90]. *Center for International Strategic Analyses*. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.26099.60969
- Koukakis, G. (2022). The Evolution of NATO's Strategic Concept. *NRDC-GR HERALD*, Issue 19 (July-December 2022), 34–40.
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Στρατηγική Πυξίδα: Η νέα στρατηγική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης για την ασφάλεια και την άμυνα. Η Ελλάδα, η Ευρώπη & ο Κόσμος, Τεύχος 18 (Α' Εξάμηνο 2023), 55-65.
- Koukakis, G. (2022). The National Security Strategy of the USA: Background, Recent Developments and Future Considerations Regarding the International Security Environment. *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series*, 3(2), 122–132. https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.33792
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Η πορεία ένταξης της Τουρκίας στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση (1999-2022) [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.91]. *Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.29705.72806
- Πικραμένος, Κ. & Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). *Εθνική Ασφάλεια: Μύθοι και Πραγματικότητα*. Εκδόσεις Ινφογνώμων.

- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Η ένταξη της Φινλανδίας στο NATO και το μέλλον της υποψηφιότητας της Σουηδίας [Ερευνητική Εργασία No.92]. Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.22751.53920
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Οι κυρώσεις ως συντελεστές ισχύος ενός κράτους ή οργανισμού [Ερευνητική Εργασίας Νο.94]. *Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.14122.08648
- Koukakis, G. (2023). The Establishment of a National Security Council by the Republic of Cyprus [Short Comments]. *HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.15642.82882
- Koukakis, G. (2023). Resilience: Highlighting its Importance for Security and Development through References to (National) Security Strategic Documents of International Actors. *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series*, 4(1), 77–87. https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.35186
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Το Στρατηγικό Σχέδιο του Ελληνικού Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών για την περίοδο 2023-2026, στο Τετράδια Γεωπολιτικής Ανάλυσης και Μελετών. Τεύχος 6 (Διμερείς διακρατικές συμφωνίες της Ελλάδος που εμπεριέχουν και αμυντική διάσταση). Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Στρατηγικών Μελετών, 10-33. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/373238770 Το Strategiko Schedio tou Ellenikou Ypourgeiou Exoterikon gia ten periodo 2023-2026
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Η Στρατηγική Εταιρική Σχέση για την Άμυνα & την Ασφάλεια μεταξύ Ελλάδας & Γαλλίας: Μία «τεχνοκρατική» προσέγγιση και αποτίμηση του πρώτου έτους ισχύος της, στο Τετράδια Γεωπολιτικής Ανάλυσης και Μελετών. Τεύχος 6 (Διμερείς διακρατικές συμφωνίες της Ελλάδος που εμπεριέχουν και αμυντική διάσταση). Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Στρατηγικών Μελετών, σσ. 75-95. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/373238862 E Strategike Etairike Sche se gia ten Amyna ten Asphaleia metaxy Elladas Gallias Mia technokratike prosengise kai apotimese tou protou etous ischyos tes
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Η προοπτική ολοκλήρωσης της Κοινής Εξωτερικής Πολιτικής και Πολιτικής Ασφάλειας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης μετά την εισβολή της Ρωσίας στην Ουκρανία [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.97]. Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.24551.21925
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Η Στρατηγική Εθνικής Ασφάλειας της Αρμενίας, το Ναγκόρνο-Καραμπάχ (Αρτσάχ) και τα διδάγματα για την εθνική, περιφερειακή και διεθνή ασφάλεια [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.101]. Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.26202.52160
- Koukakis, G. (2023). The 9th Trilateral Summit of Cyprus, Greece and Israel: Türkiye's struggle for power in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Competition between India and China in the Middle East, and the New Era of "Economic Peace" [Occasional Paper 1/2023]. *HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy*. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.18271.84645

- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2023). Ο γεωπολιτικός ανταγωνισμός Δύσης Ανατολής μέσα από τα επίσημα στρατηγικά έγγραφα διεθνών και περιφερειακών δρώντων [Ερευνητική Εργασία Νο.102]. *Κέντρο Διεθνών Στρατηγικών Αναλύσεων*. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.32137.62561
- Koukakis, G. (2023). Permacrises and Polycrises: Outlining the Contemporary Security Environment through References to Strategic Documents of Regional and International Actors. *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series*, 4(2), 55-64. https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.36661
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The Institutional Reform of the Greek National Intelligence Service (NIS) and its First Historical 2023 Annual Report: Threats, Challenges and Future Considerations Regarding the National Security of the Hellenic Republic [Occasional Paper 1/2024]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.35429.58082
- Koukakis, G. (2024). NATO vs Hybrid Threats: The case of Russian disinformation campaign. *NRDC-GR HERALD*, Issue 21 (June-December 2023), 42-48.
- Koukakis, G. (2024). National Security, Foreign Policy, Intelligence, Cybersecurity, National Defence, Maritime Security, Risk Analysis and Foresight Strategic Documents Issued by Regional and International Actors in 2023 [Research Paper No.104]. Center for International Strategic Analyses. https://www.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.11150.13121
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The future status of Greek bilateral relations with Türkiye and Egypt in light of the December 7th, 2023 Athens Declaration between Greece and Türkiye and visit of the Turkish President to Egypt on February 14th, 2024 [Short Comments]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.20138.39361
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2024). Η Εξέλιξη του Στρατηγικού Δόγματος του ΝΑΤΟ και προβληματισμοί για το μέλλον, στο *Τετράδια Γεωπολιτικής Ανάλυσης και Μελετών*. Τεύχος 8 (Ο Στρατός Ξηράς στη Δεκαετία 2021-2030). Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Στρατηγικών Μελετών, 64-85. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/378848610 E Exelixe tou Strategikou Dogmatos tou NATO kai problematismoi gia to mellon
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The Greek-Romanian Relations: Background, Current Status and Future Prospects. *Geostrategic Pulse*, No 294 (January-February 2024), 21–35. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/378971744 The Greek-Romanian Relations Background Current Status and Future Prospects
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The European Union Maritime Security Operation 'EUNAVFOR ASPIDES' in the North-Western Indian Ocean, the Enhanced Role of the Hellenic Republic (Greece), and the Future of Regional Security in the Indo-Pacific. South and South East Asia Security Research Centre Research Note, 3. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.28083.03363

- Koukakis, G. (2024). The First Ever 2024 European Defence Industrial Strategy: Background, Challenges and Future Considerations Regarding the European Security and Defense [Occasional Paper 2/2024]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.27247.44961
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The evolution of the European Union Security Strategy: Towards the establishment of a European Army? [Research Paper No.105]. *Center for International Strategic Analyses*. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.34521.12648
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Navigating through the contemporary Mediterranean security landscape. *Geostrategic Pulse*, No 295 (March-April 2024), 27–39. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/380640148 Navigating through the contemporary Mediterranean security landscape
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Türkiye's decision to turn the Orthodox Christian Churches "Hagia Sophia" and "Chora" into Mosques and its influence to the National Security of Greece [Briefing Note No "1/2024"]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.33468.86404
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Towards a nuclear World War III? Assessing the prospect of the use of nuclear weapons by international and regional actors through references to their strategic documents [Research Paper No.106]. *Center for International Strategic Analyses*. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.12118.05440
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2024). Η Αμυντική Διπλωματία της Ελλάδας: Η ήπια ισχύς της σκληρής ισχύος. Διακλαδική Επιθεώρηση. Τεύχος 59, 28-40. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/382150159 E Amyntike Diplomatia tes Elladas E epia ischys tes skleres ischyos
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Understanding National Security. Part I: The Component of Military Security. *Geostrategic Pulse*, No 296 (May-June 2024), 30–42. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/382210556 Understanding National Security Part I The Component of Military Security
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The first-Ever EU Security & Defence Partnership with Moldova: Enhancing the European security or provoking Russia? [Occasional Paper 3/2024]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.29739.04642
- Κουκάκης Γ. (2024). Η Στρατηγική Θαλάσσιας Ασφάλειας της ΕΕ και η συμβολή της στην περιφερειακή ολοκλήρωση των κρατών της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου. Περιφέρεια, 17(1), 117–128. https://doi.org/10.12681/ri.37293
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The Strategic Importance of NRDC-GR for NATO, Greece and Regional Security. *NRDC-GR HERALD*, 20 Years Anniversary Edition Issue (September 2024), 14-19.

- Koukakis, G. (2024). Understanding National Security Part II: The Component of Economic Security. *Geostrategic Pulse*, No 297 (July-August 2024), 31–46. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/383861884 Understanding National Security Part II The Component of Economic Security
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Understanding National Security Part III: The Component of Energy Security. *Geostrategic Pulse*, No 298 (September-October 2024), 06-24. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/385852138 Understanding National Security Part III The Component of Energy Security
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Greece's Trilateral Partnerships in the Balkans and the Black Sea Region and its Quest for National Security. *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series*, *5*(1), 74–82. https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.38971
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The Greek-Turkish Bilateral Relations Revised: Towards an Era of 'Conflictual Cooperation'?. *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series*, *5*(1), 83–92. https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.38973
- Koukakis, G. (2024). The European Security & Defence at a crossroads: Between survival & ambition [Research Paper No.107]. *Center for International Strategic Analyses*. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.23764.82563
- Koukakis, G. (2025). Sky is Not the Limit: The EU Space Strategy for Security & Defence [Occasional Paper 1/2025]. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy.

 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/387723039 Sky is Not the Limit The EU Space Strategy for Security Defence
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Another BRIC in the Wall (Street): The Expansion of BRICS, the New 'Anti-Western' Currency and the Economic Battle for Power [Short Comments].
 HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy.
 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/386094508 Another BRIC in the Wall
 Street The Expansion of BRICS the New 'Anti-Western' Currency and the Economic Battle for Power
- Koukakis, G. (2024). Understanding National Security Part IV: The Component of Critical National Infrastructure Security. *Geostrategic Pulse*, No 299 (November-December 2024), 39-50. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/388105934 Understanding National Security Part IV The Component of Critical National Infrastructure CNI Security
- Koukakis, G. (2025). The Role of NGOs in Promoting Strategic & Security Studies in Greece: A Case Study of the Academic Landscape in Greece. *International Journal of Non-Profit Sector Empowerment*, 4(1), e39425. https://doi.org/10.12681/npse.39425
- Κουκάκης, Γ. (2025). *Ένοπλες Συγκρούσεις & Εθνική Ασφάλεια στον 21° αιώνα*. Εκδόσεις Ινφογνώμων.