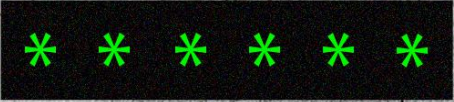




SMALL NON-BLOC STATE:



CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

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INTRODUCTION

This research is the logical continuation of the previous research conducted by Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Vanadzor office and aims to promote and encourage as a topic for public discussion the necessity of developing a new national security strategy of the Republic of Armenia. HCA Vanadzor office, as a human rights organization, is based on the principle that security and human rights are inseparable; and effective, continuous security of the state and its citizens cannot be guaranteed without democratic governance mechanisms - accountable and transparent governance, effective parliamentary oversight, the principle of rule of law (effective and reliable protection of human rights mechanisms, etc.).

The 44-day war unleashed by Azerbaijan and its consequences showed the impact of the absence of the mechanisms outlined above. Just two years after the Velvet Revolution of 2018, the new authorities relied on the security system formed during the previous authorities – during the period of state capture, in order to resist the war, which naturally failed to provide an effective response to security challenges. Although it should be reminded that back in 2016, the four-day war in April showed the ineffectiveness of the defense system formed during the years of systemic corruption, but even that circumstance was not properly assessed by the new authorities. It should be noted that the report of the investigative commission of the RA National Assembly, established in May 2019 for the purpose of studying the circumstances of the April war, was completed only in 2021, after the second Karabakh war.

It is a fact that the second RA security strategy approved at the Security Council meeting in August 2020 cannot be a basis for preventing and facing the new challenges that emerged after the 44-day war of 2020, as well as for making systemic changes. Moreover, the second national security strategy does not even have answers to many new systemic problems of domestic and foreign policy, which threaten the existence of both the Republic of Armenia and Artsakh.

The group of experts involved by HCA Vanadzor office for the implementation of this research has already presented another research to the public¹. The mentioned research showed the limiting influence of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and to a certain extent the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) on solving the current security problems of the Republic of Armenia and ensuring security, as well as the possibilities of strategic cooperation in case of acquiring the status of a non-bloc state. In this paper a number of conceptual approaches are formulated in the context of the future national security strategy, in the directions of foreign policy, regional level,

¹ <https://hcav.am/the-restrictions-of-the-ra-security-system-and-the-possibilities-of-overcoming-them/>

cyber security and internal resource management. The expert group did not give the final answers to all the questions, moreover, such a goal was not even set before the group, because the development of the national security strategy requires more resources - involvement of state bodies, departments, a greater number of experts from different fields and representatives of civil society. However, as a result of many discussions during the implementation of the research, we decided with the experts that we should first justify and present approaches regarding the conceptual basis of the RA national security strategy. An important result of the discussions is that before the development of the national security strategy, it is first of all important to develop and define the conceptual approaches that are the basis for the National Security Strategy, and the presented research is aimed at the elaboration on that conceptual content, the formulation of substantive problems and the ways to solve them.

Another important result of this research is that, in continuation of previous researches, this is another step towards the development of conceptual approaches to the national security of the Republic of Armenia as a small state, in the status of a non-bloc state.

The war unleashed by the Russian Federation against Ukraine was a challenge not only to the international law and international security system formed after the Second World War, but also to the security, if not survival, of small states. If states like Finland and Sweden, being non-bloc states for many years, decided to join NATO to ensure their security, it was only due to their being non-bloc state, which gave them the opportunity to demonstrate the flexibility and maneuverability characteristic of a small state to solve their security problems. As the previous research has shown, being a member of the CSTO military bloc deprives the Republic of Armenia of maneuverability and flexibility to solve its security problems. And if, in the case of Ukraine, joining NATO has reasonable justifications for the purpose of solving its security problems, then taking into account the limited resources and the imperative of solving security problems in the new polarized geopolitical situation, it may be effective for the Republic of Armenia to acquire the status of a non-bloc state.

Presenting the work of the experts, we also expect observations, discussions in the direction of the new national security strategy of the Republic of Armenia, its conceptual basis, from various specialists, experts, state bodies and political powers.

Artur Sakunts
Chairman of HCA Vanadzor

EDUARD ABRAHAMYAN



Author: Dr Eduard Abrahamyan is a political scientist on IR and small states strategies.

He earned his doctoral degree from the University of Leicester (UK) in 2022. In 2010, he received his Candidate of Science in Military History from the Academy of Science of the Republic of Armenia. In 2019-2021 Dr Abrahamyan was a staff Assistant and Advisor to Dr Armen Sarkissian, President of the Republic of Armenia on foreign affairs.

The field of study: The foreign and military strategies of small states and strategic adaptation as well as the asymmetric relationships of the small states with middle and great powers, polarity and regional order, with the particular focus on Eurasia.

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FOREWORD

IDENTIFYING THE SPECIFICS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY IN THE CONTEXT OF SMALL STATES

Based on the goals and specifics of this paper, it is necessary to specify the criteria of which definition of a "small state" is most suitable for researches relating to the national security strategy. In this case, the starting point should be considered not the physical standards of the state (*ceteris paribus*), purely geographical features and material/tangible power capabilities, but the variable of the relativity of measuring the "smallness" of a state.

This means giving preference to the small state criterion that deals with the self-perception, behavioral self-presentation and self-positioning of the country under study in its own strategic environment. In other words, this research is based on the scholarly literature that considers the state's "smallness" not within the framework of its physical parameters, but first of all, to what extent the given country *feels and acts* as a small state, based on its environmental characteristics.

When we act from these starting positions, the question "what kind of small state we are dealing with" is connected with the political maturity of the

political elite and public of the given country, that is, whether or not it is capable of understanding and implementing strategic planning based on the country's geographical location and geopolitical positioning, aimed at the most effective use of material and intellectual resources beyond the classical way of thinking. The problems of having a visible influence of a small state in security (existential), economic and international relations are solved thanks to non-classic solutions, which is proven by the examples of Israel, Estonia, Singapore, Taiwan, UAE, Azerbaijan, Qatar, Finland, Denmark, Rwanda, Uruguay and other successful small states. These states managed to form ambitious agendas through non-classic solutions, strengthen their abilities to form distinctive interests and the will to advance them.

In other words, we consider the "smallness" of the state not only as a social construct, but as a corresponding behavioral feature. It is formulated on the consensus choice of the elite- public of the given state, that is, a choice between the ambition to be a political actor forming an agenda in its environment and projecting influence/power, or as another actor of a "rule-taker" state and "client state." The key reflection of such a choice is the strategy adopted by the given small state in different periods, which in turn allows us to claim that during its political history it can change its status in the hierarchy of states in international relations. Figuratively speaking, the state can become even smaller politically, for example, a micro-state, or reduce its political degree of smallness, positioning itself as a small power in its environment. Thus, choosing the appropriate behavior and role enables the researcher to provide an appropriate qualitative conceptualization of the small state in question.

This research deals with the formulation of the declared strategy provisions, priorities and the formation and maintenance of the state interest arising from it, relying on the intellectual potential of the analytical concept of small states.

SECTION A

THE CONCEPT OF SPECIALIZATION OF SMALL STATES AS A GUIDE TO THE RA STRATEGIC PRIORITY OF COMPREHENSIVE MODERNIZATION

According to scholarly literature, the most successful, stable, secure and politically influential are the small states whose development and security strategies include components of the concept of nation-state specialization². The concept of specialization in international relations is one of the most

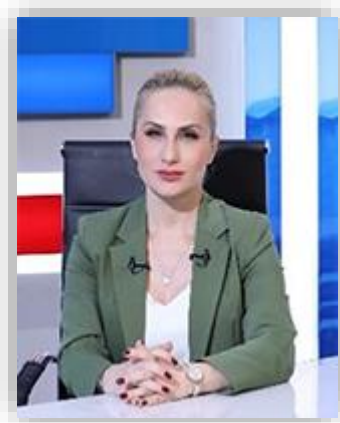
² Bukovskis K., Palkova, A., Bikovs, A. 2021, *Foreign Policy Specialization of Small States: Latvia's Engagement in Central Asia*, Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Volume 21, Issue 2. Pp. 114-129; Herbut, M. 2017. *The Application of Role Theory in Explaining the Policies of Small States*. In: Georgia and Moldova in the Context of Russian Imperialistic Foreign Policy. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, pp. 161-186.

important mechanisms that ensure more competitiveness for small states and increase their influence and ranking. It is also considered a non-classical method of power accumulation through effective management of material and non-material resources of small states, through the capitalization of which it is possible to achieve a stable reputation and an increase in political weight in international relations³. The strategy of specialization of the state, in the case of appropriate foreign political capitalization, provides additional means for political trade, both in relations with great powers (asymmetric relations) and in relations with competing small states (symmetric relations), giving the possibility of increasing the dependence of these countries on the given small state⁴.

³ Long T. 2017. *Small states, great power? Gaining influence through intrinsic, derivative, and collective power*, International Studies Review, Volume 19, Issue 2, pp.185–205.

⁴ Wivel A. 2019. Non-classical methods of the small state bargaining in international politics.

ARMINE MARGARYAN



Author: Armine Margaryan, military-political expert.

Armine served as the advisor to the Secretary of the Security Council of Armenia and later as the Chief of staff. She was an expert in the Department of Arms Control and International Security and Desk Officer for the CIS in Armenia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Armine graduated from the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, and has a master's degree in international relations from Hrachia Acharian University. Then she took non-degree programs organized by the Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP), George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, NATO school, Center for International Trade&Security of The University of Georgia, Clingendael Institute, etc.

Armine gives thematic interviews, lectures and is an author of numerous articles and research papers.

SECTION B

SOME NUANCES OF FOREIGN POLICY CONCEPT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF SMALL STATES

Russia's military aggression against Ukraine has posed a serious challenge to the European and global security, which inevitably affects the formation of approaches to reviewing the global order and the possible participation and appropriate positioning of international political actors in these processes. The return of competitive politics held by global actors by means of force and the policy of establishing spheres of influence threaten the rules of conduct existing in international relations, the viability of political and institutional formats, as well as contribute to the establishment of new dividing lines in the emerging world order.

At the same time, following the 44-day Artsakh war, the collapse of the security architecture of the Republic of Armenia and the regional power balance, Azerbaijan's continued attempts to legitimize the policy of using force and the

threat of force against the Republic of Armenia as part of the toolkit aimed at achieving its strategic goals, and the policy of ethnic cleansing carried out against the people of Nagorno Karabakh pose a serious challenge to the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Armenia and to the peaceful resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

The war unleashed by Russia against Ukraine creates favorable conditions for the activation of risks and challenges to the national security of the Republic of Armenia and the continuous emergence of new threats in the State's immediate strategic environment, which complicates the possible favorable positioning of the Republic of Armenia in the emerging new world order.

Taking into account the above-mentioned, it is in the national security interests of the Republic of Armenia to conduct a conceptual review of the State's foreign policy, aimed at the formation of positions arising from national security interests and priorities in the foreign field and their service by diplomatic means, as well as the formation of capacities for quick and flexible adaptation of foreign policy service tools, along with regional and global military-political developments. The indicator for measuring the effectiveness of the foreign policy to be implemented with this approach is the addressing of the short-term security problems of the Republic of Armenia through application of various diplomatic tools, as well as the formation of favorable systemic conditions in the external field to address the medium and long-term security problems, the long-term viability, defense capability and sustainable development of the State.

AREG KOCHINYAN



Author: Areg Kochinyan, President of "Research Center on Security Policy" NGO.

Areg studied at the Faculty of History of Yerevan State University, receiving a bachelor's degree in 2015 and a master's degree in 2017. In 2017, he also attained a bachelor's degree in "Political Science" at the Faculty of International Relations of the same university. Later, he graduated from the American Institute of Political and Economic Studies of Charles University in Prague and the Diplomatic School of the RA Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Currently, he is studying at the post-graduate course of the chair of World History, Faculty of History, Yerevan State University.

Since 2022, Areg has been the president of "Research Center on Security Policy" NGO. In parallel, since 2022, he has worked at "X-Art" CJSC as the deputy CEO. 2020-2021 Areg worked as a history teacher at the Gazprom Armenia Educational-Sport Complex. 2018-2020 he worked as a press secretary in the RA Security Council. 2017-2018 Areg worked as the main coordinator of social and educational programs and projects in the Development and Investment Fund of Syunik Region of RA. 2016-2018 he served as the president of "Enlight" Public Research Center NGO. 2014-2015 he was a Member of the Presidency of "European Youth Parliament" NGO and chief coordinator of local events and projects. 2013-2016 Areg worked as a program coordinator in "The Future is Yours" NGO.

Areg has appeared in hundreds of television, radio, print and other interviews, being author of numerous articles, columns and analyses. He has participated in over two hundred international and Armenian conferences and educational programs. 2011-2013 he served in RA Armed Forces, having achieved over 20 service awards and the rank of senior lieutenant of the reserve.

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SECTION C

THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS AND COMPONENTS OF THE NATIONAL (STATE) RESILIENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

When considering these issues, the level of resilience of the Republic of Armenia is of primary importance. National resilience is the ability of a state to withstand and recover from various disturbances, crises and challenges, maintaining its basic functions, stability and viability. It includes both internal and external crises - the ability to absorb, adapt and bounce back natural disasters, economic downturns, political conflicts and social disturbances.⁵

National resilience consists of many dimensions and factors, including:

- **social cohesion**
- **economic stability**
- **effective governance and infrastructures**
- **emergency preparedness and response**
- **environmental sustainability**
- **psychological and social stability**⁶

Taking into account the international experience⁷ of the correlation between ensuring security and the establishment of a democratic, legal state, the following factors are important in ensuring the resilience of the Republic of Armenia:

1. Longevity and development of the Republic of Armenia as a democratic, legal, stable and independent state, protection of citizens' all freedoms, work of the systems based on mutual restraints and balances within the government,
2. Longevity and protection of the RA constitutional order,
3. The process of formation and change of the RA authorities through the free, unfettered, transparent and sovereign expression of the people of the Republic of Armenia, taking place through universal, fair and lawful elections,
4. Effective management principles that are constantly implemented: transparency, accountability, participation and efficiency,

⁵ David Omand, 2005, Developing national resilience, London, The RUSI Journal, p.14-18

⁶ Cabinet office of the UK, 2021, The National Resilience Strategy of the United Kingdom, London, chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1001404/Resilience_Strategy_-_Call_for_Evidence.pdf

⁷ Avner Yaniv Ed., 1993, National Security and Democracy in Israel, Colorado USA, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., p. 153-173, 227-231

5. Uncompromising and systematic fight against corruption as a fundamental threat to all spheres.

MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES, ASSETS AND INFRASTRUCTURES IN ENSURING NATIONAL (STATE) RESILIENCE

Due to international conflicts, pandemics and trade and economic wars, there is a threat of disruption of the established international chains of food, energy and other supplies. This threat is even worse in the case of the Republic of Armenia, due to the landlocked country, the blockade by two neighbors, other restrictions and complications of communication with the outside world, and the lack of natural reserves of hydrocarbon energy sources in the territory of the Republic of Armenia. Along with the activation of global and regional conflicts, the hybrid strikes used in their context are also activated. Hybrid strikes aim to damage the state in critical areas. Accordingly, it is in the vital security interests of the Republic of Armenia to ensure the resilience of the following vulnerable sectors:

- Production and import of food products for primary consumption,
- Extraction and import of raw materials necessary for existing and potential productions in the Republic of Armenia,
- Uninterrupted access chains of technologies from foreign markets and locally available technological productions,
- Production capacities, assets and export chains.

ALBERT NERZETYAN



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Albert Nerzetyan graduated from the Department of Political Sciences and International Relations at the University of Toronto in 2014, receiving Honours Bachelor's Degree. Upon graduation, he joined the Armenian army as a junior researcher at the National Defense Research University.

From 2017 - 2020, Albert worked at different government agencies in various capacities, mainly in national security and cybersecurity policy spheres. Over the past three years, Albert transformed into a project management sphere and has managed international donor and private investment projects. Albert's research interests include national security policy, cybersecurity policy, disinformation, and public policy.

Over the past three years, Albert has engaged in project management and managed international donor and private investment projects. In 2022, he received a PMP certificate. Albert's research interests include national security policy, cybersecurity policy, disinformation and public policy.

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SECTION D.

INFORMATION AND CYBER SECURITY RISKS AND THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF THEIR PREVENTION

1.1 Field context

The 44-day war unleashed by Azerbaijan against Artsakh and the COVID-19 pandemic made more visible the vulnerabilities of the cyber and information areas of the Republic of Armenia, the insufficient level of development of the comprehensive state policy in the fields⁸, the lack of national governance, the lack of establishment of the link and interaction between the state-private-public sector.

⁸ According to the latest publication Cybersecurity index 2020 of the United Nations International Telecommunication Union (ITU) Armenia ranked 90, Azerbaijan 40 and Georgia 55.

The cyber and information domain of the Republic of Armenia was continuously attacked by Azerbaijan, which aimed to achieve the following goals:

1) to illegally obtain non-public information, 2) to disrupt the normal operation of important information infrastructures of Armenia, 3) to spread panic in the overall circles of society and 4) to reduce public trust in information infrastructures of Armenia.

1.2 The main challenges of the field

Below are the key challenges:

- The growth of Internet users and the use of ICT technologies.
- The growth of the Internet of Things.
- Society's trust in public institutions.
- Increased number of services of the electronic government platform (e-gov) of the Republic of Armenia.
- Absence of certified bodies providing systematized management of cyber security.
- Lack of a legal framework coordinating the protection of important information infrastructures.
- Lack of cyber security professional education in the Republic of Armenia.
- Low level of digital knowledge of users.
- Insufficient level of international cooperation.

1.3 International Practice

It is an accepted view in international relations that "size matters"⁹ and directly affects the power of a given state. In the scholarly literature on states and their relative power, it was a consensus assumption that large states are better positioned to compete in international relations due to geographic, demographic and economic factors. However, the above assumption is already being revised, taking into account the impact of digital technologies on the relative power of states.¹⁰ Increasing interconnectedness has created new realities for national and international policy, as well as opportunities for smaller states to develop a relatively high degree of influence in the field of

⁹ Sverrir, Steinsson, Baldur Thorhallsson. "Small State Foreign Policy." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Oxford: Oxford University

¹⁰ Bebbler, Robert. 2017. "Cyber Power and Cyber Effectiveness: An Analytic Framework." Comparative Strategy 426-436.

cyber power. The study of the available international practice also confirms the above.

1.4 The main directions of the development of the field of cybersecurity

The degree of digitization of the RA government system, economy, democracy and society will increase year by year, causing new risks and threats. At the basis of the vision of the cyber and information security policy of the Republic of Armenia should be the belief that state investments in the field are aimed at the future of the Republic of Armenia. Therefore, the proposed vision of the field is the concept of "*Digital Security for All*". The digital environment of the Republic of Armenia should be open, accessible, stable and secure¹¹ so that users feel as secure as in the physical world.

2. ENERGY SECURITY RISKS AND THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF THEIR PREVENTION

2.1 The theoretical basis of the development of the energy security field and its constituent parts

Ensuring energy security of the Republic of Armenia is one of the inseparable components of national security. In the field of energy security, the Republic of Armenia must pursue or meet four main directions/criteria: 1) accessibility, 2) availability, 3) energy efficiency and 4) sustainability.

2.2 Field context and the main challenges

Ensuring energy security is one of the vital security interests of the Republic of Armenia, which in turn is based on four basic criteria: accessibility, availability, energy efficiency and stability. Diversification of both energy suppliers and energy infrastructures play a key role in increasing the availability level.

3. LEGAL PROCEDURES NECESSARY TO ENSURE THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

The current National Security Strategy (hereinafter referred to as the NSS) was approved at the Security Council meeting in August of 2020. It should be noted that NSS of 2020 was not adopted/approved by any state body as a legal act, while the NSS of 2007 was approved by the decree of the President of the Republic of Armenia. Basically, the NSS should be a primary strategic document for the government, because the primary task of any government is to ensure the security of the state and the population. Therefore, the NSS should have a higher status than the Government Program and the sectoral

¹¹ Also in accordance with the obligations taken by the The Paris Call for Security in Cyberspace

strategies should be derived from it. Meanwhile, the picture is different now. For example, the police reform strategy adopted by the government's decision has, in fact, a higher legal status than the NSS.

The NSS approved at the Security Council meeting is an internal legal act, which is subordinated to legislative and sub-legislative regulating legal acts¹². In general, internal legal acts are intended to establish rules of conduct within the framework of labor or administrative relations. The NSS is aimed at regulating a group of such relations and a wide range of them that cannot be regulated at the level of an internal legal act. Therefore, it can be concluded that in 2020 the NSS was adopted in violation of the law, as it cannot be an internal legal act by its nature and content. In addition, the NSS, being adopted as an internal legal act, has a priori failed in the implementation and monitoring of its provisions.

The practice of approving the NSS by the Security Council also raises issues from the perspectives of security sector accountability and involvement of the political opposition. According to the Law of the Republic of Armenia "On Regulating/Normative Legal Acts", drafts of other regulating legal acts (including internal legal acts) can be presented for public discussion, but at the discretion of the body which it has drafted. Taking into account the importance of the National Security Strategy for the state and society, the processes of its development and adoption should ensure a high level of legally binding substantive inclusion of society (the 2020 National Security Strategy was not presented for public discussion). On the other hand, since the NSS is one of the most important strategic documents for the state (for instance, the laws on the annual State Budget), the political opposition should get involved and supervise its development, monitoring and accountability at the highest representative level - at the National Assembly.

12 Arlis. 2018. The RA law on Regulating/Normative Legal Acts. March 21. Accessed March 26, 2023. <https://www.arlis.am/documentview.aspx?docID=120733>.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Adopt a non-bloc multi-vector political course and derive from it the declared and deep strategies of the national security of the Republic of Armenia.
- Develop a concept of specialization of the Republic of Armenia based on the mechanisms of national democratic corporatism.
- Have a conceptual review of the foreign policy of the Republic of Armenia based on non-bloc multi-vector policy, the concept of specialization of the State and the declared provisions of National Security and the specifics of deep strategy.
- Develop a separate deep strategy aimed at the relations with Azerbaijan and Turkey or include it in the comprehensive deep national security strategy of the Republic of Armenia.
- Consider the non-bloc status as a means to create a mutually beneficial network of strategic partners by bypassing systemic limitations, to project political power and influence in cooperation with small states and to serve the state interest of the Republic of Armenia in approaches arising from the specifics of the large and small ones, to ensure foreign policy visibility and become a regional actor.
- Put the principle of reciprocity on a conceptual basis in relations with the Russian Federation, both in bilateral and multilateral processes.
- Create clearly formulated and legally defined mechanisms for the guaranteed transferability of the position in case of death or inactivity of the heads of the country, legislative and executive powers.
- Create the constitutional and legislative guarantees necessary for the formation of a capable and strong opposition. Consider the idea of introducing a two-party system as the main mechanism aimed at consolidating opposition forces and forming a powerful second capable opposition).
- Develop a strategy for revising the EEU membership status, simultaneously excluding further intensifying of the Republic of Armenia's involvement in the EEU integration processes.
- In order to meet the needs of the population as long as possible, form the capacity to collect and store strategic resources in issues relating to food, raw materials, energy resources, medicine in the next 10 years.
- Consider the creation, development, protection, diversification and increase in the level of manageability of basic infrastructures as an absolute priority for the organization of national resilience.
- Significantly increase the intake and storage of water from rivers flowing outside the territory of the Republic of Armenia and along the

borders of the Republic of Armenia and from other flowing water basins. In order to achieve that goal, link the development of renewable and green energy sources with complementary and sustainable hybrid and/or storage complexes.

- Adhering to the commitment to increase the level of Lake Sevan by 21 cm per year, take into account the deterioration of the climatic conditions and increase this commitment upon necessity. Start large-scale work to improve the physical, chemical and biological parameters of the lake and restore the natural ecosystem.
- In order to reduce the current level of loss of drinking and irrigation water resources, implement measures: repair of main aqueducts, replacement of open aqueducts flowing through the ground, encouraging the introduction of drip irrigation systems supplied by closed aqueducts, conduct price regulation policy, consistent and uncompromising fight against corruption risks and abuses.
- Develop a strategic approach to the development of information and cybersecurity. Develop and adopt a law on important information infrastructures. Create cyber incident response teams and form a National Cybersecurity Center of the Republic of Armenia. Raise public awareness. Include courses of cyber risks and hygiene in preschool and general education programs.
- Make significant efforts to increase the level of access to energy in the Republic of Armenia. In particular, until 2037 build solar plants connected to 1500 MW network and 500 MW wind plants, extend the operation of the nuclear power station for 10 years, and build a new power unit of the NPP starting from 2027. From the point of view of diversifying the foreign political environment, ensure an increase in Iran-Armenia gas supply amount. Ensure state investments in the field of energy saving, particularly in the direction of increasing the level of energy saving of buildings and constructions.
- Develop a law that will define the body of adopting the National Security Strategy, the procedures of development, supervision and monitoring. Considering the importance of the NSS, it is recommended that NSS be adopted by a body with the highest political involvement - the National Assembly. At the same time, oblige the RA government to submit regular reports to the National Assembly on the performance of the NSS.

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