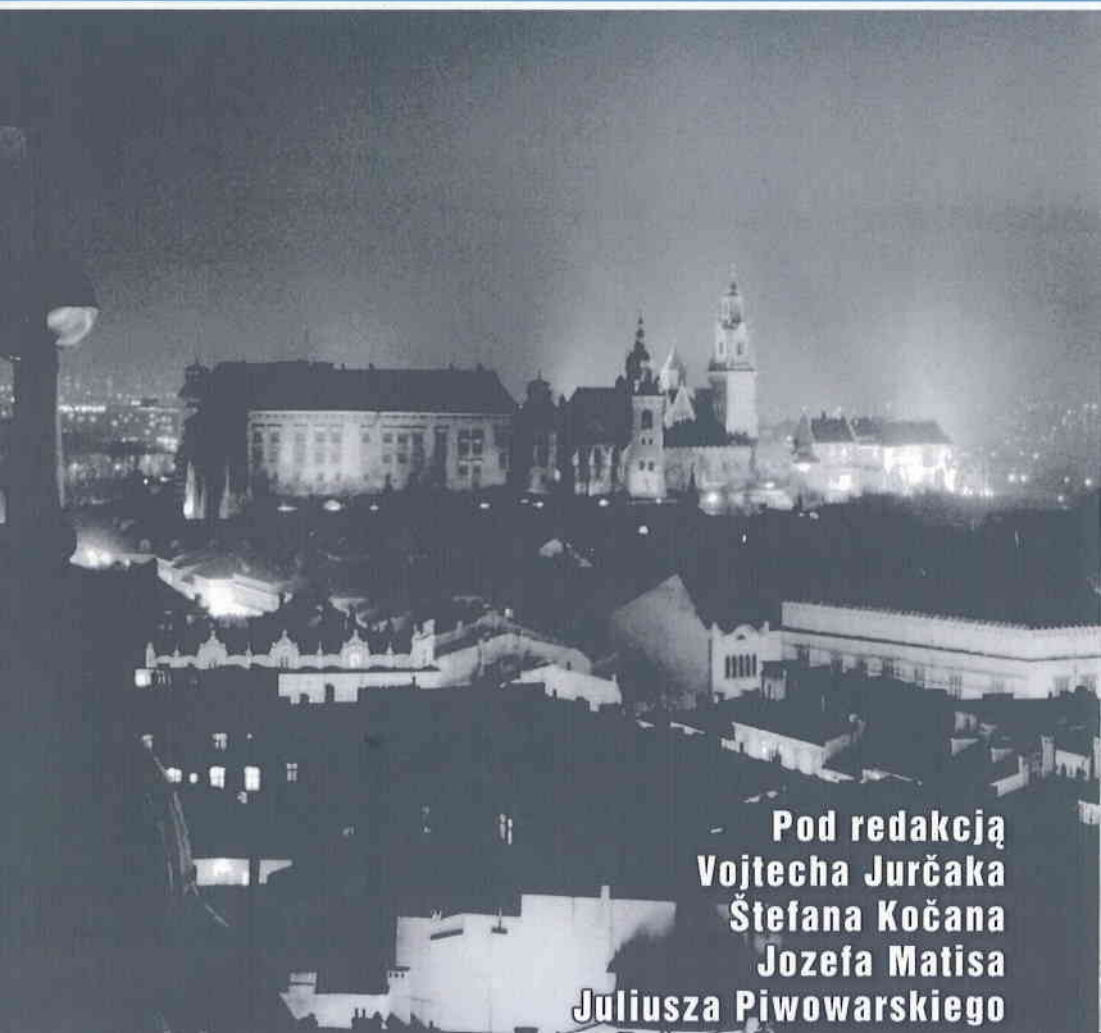




# SECURITY FORUM CRACOW 2012



**Pod redakcją  
Vojtecha Jurčaka  
Štefana Kočana  
Jozefa Matisa  
Juliusza Piwowskiego**

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## **Wstęp**

Monografia niniejsza powstała jako efekt obrad międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej Security Forum Cracow 2012. Konferencja jest planowana jako wydarzenie cykliczne, odbywające się w listopadowym terminie przypadającym na czas obchodów Dnia Niepodległości Polski.

Na konferencyjne nałożyły się także późniejsze spotkania i dyskusje securitologów z Czech, Polski, Słowacji, Serbii, Ukrainy i USA.

Powstaniu monografii patronuje Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego i Indywidualnego „Apeiron” w Krakowie, Eastern European Development Agency oraz European Association for Security.

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Generał Major Jozef Zat'ko JUDr.



## TRANSFORMATION OR SUPPRESSION OF THE STATE-CENTRIC SECURITY APPROACH

**Abstract:** Traditional understanding of security, which is also being named „state-centric approach“ is based on so called „Westphalian“ model of state, as well as protection of its values and interests. In such an approach state remains the only relevant actor of security and all the security-related issues are being observed through role and function of state. Events from the end of 20th century influenced on redefining of positions from which security has been observed. The term of security has been expanded and developed significantly. Thus, nowadays we may discuss on different levels and sectors of security. However, the question is being posed whether or not those new approaches to security have succeeded in overcoming importance and role of state or perhaps its role was just transformed.

**Keywords:** security, state-centric security, subjects of security, levels and sectors of security.

### Introduction

It is beyond suspicion that 20th century and especially its final decades were marked by various events which influenced on different understanding and explanation of many social phenomena. Some new phenomena emerged. Others were transformed while some got new meanings – much different from those previously known. It is hard to mark off all the events that shaped consciousness of mankind in last century. However, observed from aspect of security, two wars that had global dimension, as the period of “the Cold War” (and especially its ending), as well as the informatics revolution deserve to be underlined. Symbolic destruction of the Berlin Wall created an illusion on the end of all the threats which would open an epoch of peace and prosperity. The illusion that Europe and humanity should not fear any more for their safety was a result of the current perception and understanding of security in those days.

Perception of security during the bipolar division of the World, and for many generations before that, was based on the state as its key element. The state, being the main actor of global relations and the only possessor of force was the central point from which security was observed. The state-centric concept observed security as vulnerable from outside or inside, but assuming that internal threats would mainly be stimulated by certain outer interests. Looking deeper at the past, we might notice that military power was the main warrantor of preserving se-

curity. Power of a state and therefore its security used to depend directly from strength and capabilities of military power which was on a nation's disposal. The described understanding of security was mostly focused on values that used to include certain “material dimensions”, as state itself, territory, material goods, physical integrity of persons and similar. Less importance used to be attributed to “nonmaterial values” such as democracy, freedom, religious and ethnic tolerance, human rights and similar<sup>1</sup>. The term of security is nowadays being used in contexts that would be inconceivable before, having no relations with national, collective nor global security. The number of new constructions like “economic security”, “energy security”, “cyber security”, “environment security”, “food security”, “human security” and similar keeps on increasing. It is logical that in the listed contexts security does not have meaning based on state-centric approach and it cannot be achieved by sole use of military force.

Certain scholars who research security and belong to school of “critic security” try to observe it through “three dimensions” or aspects.

- **First dimension** – horizontal, trying to expand the traditional state-centric definition of security and expand it by including all that is being considered as various treats to state, such as economic, environmental, and threats deriving from uncontrolled migration of population,
- **Second dimension** – vertical, overcoming the level of state-centric security and deepening the term of security, including to it other types of referent objects (not only states). Individual security (often called “human security”) is recognized on one side while regional and global security remains on the other side.
- **Third dimension**, located within the state-centric matrix and dealing with possible ways of improvement of state security, supporting cooperation among security actors through general, collective and comprehensive approaches<sup>2</sup>.

Answers to four questions that only seem easy might help us to understand and define security easier:

1. “Who or what is the object of security?”
2. What is the nature of the threat?
3. Who is responsible for security / who takes care of it?
4. Which measures, tools, and methods lead to achievement, preservation and improvement of security?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Љубинка Катић, *Неке импликације еволуције схватања појма безбедности* (Ljubinka Katić, *Some Implications of the evolution of understanding the term of Security*), Годишњак ФБ, Београд, 2008, pp. 175.

<sup>2</sup> According to: Полин Кер, *Развој дијалектичког односа између државоцентричне и људскоцентричне безбедности* (Pauline Kerr, *The Evolving Dialectics Between State-centric and Human-centric Security*), Људска безбедност, Зборник радова, Београд, 2006, pp. 26.

<sup>3</sup> According to: Драган Симић, *Наука о безбедности* (Dragan Simić, *Science on Security*), Службени лист СРЈ, Београд, 2002, pp. 22. Terrif T., *Security Studies Today*, Cambridge: Polity, 1999.

While searching for answers to those questions it is necessary to be precautionous, as different answers are possible, depending of the person that asks. Different answers may be based on differences in civilization values, culture, religion, education, material status and other circumstances.

### Who or what is the object of security?

In state-centric approach to security, the only and exclusive referent object of security was the state or its territory and sovereignty. During 20th century, list of possible objects of security was expanded so that it doesn't include only the state but also some other relevant objects. With creation of supra-national organizations, different blocks and alliance became objects of security, but it was still possible to notice that security of states was standing behind them. Going to another side and descending from national to human security, individual emerged as an object of security. Although relatively new, the term of human security indicated that an individual should be firmly posed to the center of interest of security. Thus individual rights and necessity to defend them became the dominant issue. In concept of human security, there were mentioned "relief of fear" and "relief of scarcity" while human rights are being estimated above public interest or sovereignty of state<sup>4</sup>. Development of human security aims to standardization and development of individual rights of each human being as well as development of tools for protection of the same rights. Each individual is being treated as a relevant value of protection, not only selected minorities usually employed in governmental institutions. Adoption of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction (1997), The United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (2001) as well as establishment of the International Criminal Court (2002) are usually attributed to the concept of human security which has influenced on existence of those activities and adoption of certain decisions<sup>5</sup>.

In the last decade of 20th century, a group of scholars gathered among the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) gave a new direction to security studies. The idea of new approach to security represented expanding the security concept from one dominant to five different aspects of security: to military, political, economic, societal and environmental aspect<sup>6</sup>. Expansion of security to several sectors increased

<sup>4</sup> Индикатори људске безбедности у Србији, извештај за 2004. годину (*Indicators of Human Security in Serbia, Report for 2004*), ФЦО, Београд, 2005, pp. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Герд Оберлајтер, *Људска права и безбедност – две куле* (Gerd Oberleitner, *Human Rights and Security – the Two Towers*, Serbian edition), Људска безбедност, Зборник радова, Београд, 2006, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> In this context military aspect includes relations of military powers. Political aspect means relations of authorities. Economic aspect covers economic relations. Environmental aspect is focused to relations between humans and nature and societal aspect covers relation

the number of security objects as well. Especially interesting is the concept of societal security<sup>7</sup> in which the referent object is not either the state or government or territory, but identity of a certain social group. Thus, the protected value is not the state sovereignty but identity of the community<sup>8</sup>. Although the identity of social groups is most often related to national identity, that does not have to be the case. Conflicts of various religious groups may also be observed as societal relations and religious security may be observed as societal security. From that aspect, identity may be religious, racial or of any other kind.

### What is the nature of threat?

From the aspect of state-centric approach, the basic security threat lies in another state or its military, economic and political power. Increment of military power and realization of national interests of an opposed state is being considered direct threat to values, interests and security of any state. The greatest security threat lies in external armed attack and various forms of internal subversive activities, assisted from outside. Problems like economic, social, environmental, educational, alimentary, physical security of people remain invisible from security aspect. Changing the level from which security is being observed, many issues start being recognized as security issues. Descending from state to human security, the nature of threats changes while their number grows. Human security thus expands the term of human rights in direction of threats that do not come only from states. Poverty, famine, violent break of usual daily life are also being recognized as security threats which gives a new quality to the term of security. In the Report of Human Development of the UNDP from 1994, seven dimensions of security were listed in which threats to human security may appear. Those are: personal security,

of various social groups. Бранка Панић, *Социјетална безбедност – безбедност и идентитет* (Branka Panić, *Societal Security – Security and Identity*), „Безбедност западног Балкана“, април-јун 2009, pp. 30–31.

<sup>7</sup> The difference between social safety and societal security should be noticed. Social safety is related to individuals and its nature is mostly economic. Societal security deals with collectivities, their identities and activities taken to defend that identity.

<sup>8</sup> To help understanding importance of societal security, we took the example of so called "Kosovo issue". In Republic of Serbia, the Strategy of National Defense marks illegal and unilateral proclamation of independent Kosovo as "the greatest threat to security of the Republic of Serbia". Such an attitude is has not been taken only for the fact that the unilaterally proclaimed independence endangers sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. There is also a strong societal dimension of the problem. Great majority of Serbian elites and population feel Kosovo and Metohija as more than just any other part of our national territory (due to its historical, spiritual and symbolic importance). For that reason, the unilateral proclamation of independence and international support to that project are being perceived as a violent robbery of Serbian identity, tradition and history.



security of community, political security, economic security, security of food, health security and environmental security<sup>9</sup>.

Far gone care of state for its own security often may take us to an extreme position and undermine human security. In such cases, human rights and freedom do not be only neglected but also be violated by state. State thus starts committing institutionalized violence<sup>10</sup> for its own safety. Examples of nondemocratic regimes show how human, economic and environmental security may be harmed in the name of strengthening "security of state". Thus one who should build security becomes the one who endangers it.

The Copenhagen approach, which was already mentioned, observes objects of security in different way. It implies a different attitude to the nature of threat. Not only phenomena that endanger safety of state represent security threats. Examples of such threats that were not recognized by the state-centric concept are: nationalism, ethnic or religious conflicts or migrations. Exactly ethic and religious extremism, political turmoil, growth of crime rate, social disunity, expansion of environmental risks and threats economic and social contradiction represent greatest security threats. In modern age exactly those threats that were invisible for state-centric concept, often represent seed from which plant of cruel armed conflicts grow. History records cases that certain countries neglected internal problems taking care about external security, thus enabling crises to culminate and evolve into bloody clashes. Only after such a culmination, problems of that kind become recognizable as security issues as well. Alternative approaches to security threats increase possibility of understanding many causes timely and prevent escalation of violence within a state.

What makes our lives significantly different from some earlier epochs is the process of globalization. It influences all the segments of society, inevitably including security. Globalization has created high level of interdependence and inseparability of human destinies all over the world. Events that happen in certain part of the planet (being positive or negative) quickly reflect to all the other parts of the world. With further advancement of technologies in fields of communication, media and social networks, this process only gets on speed and importance. The ways on which those processes may reflect on security are shown on example of social networks and their role in events related to the "Arab Spring". The role of media and internet was significant in the wave of violence that broke after

<sup>9</sup> Полин Кер, *Развој дијалектичког односа између државоцентричне и људско-центричне безбедности*, Људска безбедност, Зборник радова, Београд, 2006, р. 28.

<sup>10</sup> "Institutionalized violence is *de iure* a legally limited application of force which may be performed by state or non-state actors, within the framework set by Constitution, law and order defined by law. However, in practice of all the political systems, institutionalized violence includes (of course, in very various proportions) implementation of force through execution of power assisted by physical force. It also includes violent intrusion of governmental institutions to various spheres of human existence and use of different coercion measures". Драган Симеуновић, *Политичко насиље* (Dragan Simenunović, *Political Violence*), Радничка штампа, Београд, 1989, р. 84.

publication of the Prophet Mohammad's caricature or the film "Virginity of Moslems". Leaving aside security threats in field of cyber-terrorism and cyber-crime which are being discussed increasingly, we may conclude that modern technologies possess priceless potential for mass recruitment.

### Who is responsible for (who takes care about) security?

In the state-centric concept of security, the state does not represent only the object, but also the subject of security, as the state is one that takes care of security through its tools. The most dominant tool of the state that takes care about its security is the army, while military power is considered proportional to the degree of security of the state and society. Beside the army, state has some other available tools to build and protect security, such as various security-intelligence services, police, justice and diplomacy. Just like the meaning of the term "security" has been expanded, the number of the elements defining that term was expanded as well. Now when we see that states loose monopoly over security issues, many other subjects operate on internal, but also the international scene. Among them we may notice individuals, companies, NGO-s, international organizations etc. Non-state security actors, being armed or not, act increasingly important role in advancement or degradation of security level. Practice has shown so far that most represented feature of internal conflicts has been violation of humanitarian and human rights by armed groups rebel movements, or private militias. Armed groups may differ by nature and performance. They may be armed militia applying methodology of criminal gangs, religious or corporate armies, but certain features connecting all of them are: unified command structure, application of violence in order to achieve projected goals and possession of autonomy from the state control. Death of civilians and destruction of civil infrastructure are not only unwanted, accidental events in armed conflicts any more (so called "collateral damage"), but non-fighters become direct targets of armed non-state actors<sup>11</sup>. Presence of non-state armed actors and their infiltration to civil population causes difficulties in differentiation of fighters and non-fighters which is the basic principle of humanitarian protection. On the other side, non-armed non-state actors may be suitable partners for negotiation on increment of security level in certain regions (especially for individual security), as they fulfill several conditions for such a position:

- being *de facto* governments at territories under their control,
- having nature of military entities which actively participate in combats,

<sup>11</sup> According to: Клод Брудерлајн, *Улога недржавних учесника у изградњи људске безбедности: случај наоружаних група у ратовима унутар држава* (Claude Bruderlein, *Le rôle des intervenants non étatiques dans l'édification de la sécurité humaine: Le cas des groupes armés dans les guerres intra-étatiques*), Људска безбедност, Зборник радова, Београд, 2006, р. 164.



- having role of authorities responsible for protection of humanitarian operations and
- having role of political entities which would be eventual sides in peace negotiation<sup>12</sup>.

For those reasons, value of negotiation with armed groups on humanitarian issues and security building should not be underestimated. Various humanitarian and other non-governmental organizations have much more comfortable position for negotiation of that kind than state organs of any type and level.

Non-governmental organizations advance getting more important role in establishment and construction of security. Their influence is growing both by quantity and quality. Their international network is very developed, covering almost every part of the world. Besides, their practical influence in society becomes more notable and important, especially due to development of modern technology. The more and more experts are being included to their work in various area of social activity. There we may see food specialists, environmentalists, medics, experts for human rights or rights of children, international relations and all the levels of security. Common features of those organizations are great flexibility, readiness to be creative and apply innovative solutions in search for solutions for different situations. Beside the role of possible mediator in negotiation with armed groups, organizations of this kind often participate in solution of problems that other actors don't wish to face with properly. An example of such engagement is contest against AIDS in Africa. It is not rare that NGOs figure as mediators between "common" citizens and political elites in implementation of human rights and freedoms of each individual. Besides, they often take part in solving inter-state disputes, thanks to their transnational organization<sup>13</sup>. Although the positive influence of NGOs is out of suspicion, some critical approach to them still needs to be kept for the fact that themselves (just like institutions of state) are not immune to corruption, different influence of external interest groups and individuals. In Sometimes they may be proper soil for internal arbitrariness of individuals or groups, lack of efficiency and similar ways of conduct that can discredit them as sincere actors of building security process.

Beside already mentioned subjects of security, it is not possible to omit private companies that increasingly get more significant role in security which in previous tradition used to belong to the state exclusively. Most usual and basic classification of private security subjects is division on private military companies and private security companies<sup>14</sup>. The number of private agencies offering services of securing persons, property and business is growing constantly. The end of 20th century brought the expansion of private military companies. Sudden growth of

<sup>12</sup> C. Bruderlein, the same, p. 166.

<sup>13</sup> See more in: Сара Мајкл, *Улога невладиних организација у људској безбедности* (Sarah Michael, *The Role of NGOs in Human Security*), Људска безбедност, Зборник радова, Београд, 2006, p. 193–195.

<sup>14</sup> Some authors amend this classification by adding "mercenaries" as a separated category. Others include even "private detectives" as individuals operating independently.

number of private companies and individuals dealing with military and security issues was partly caused by drastic reduction of military personnel and staff of various security-intelligence services that were founded by the state. After the end of Cold War, a surplus of qualified staff emerged on global labor market. On the other side, the number of weak and failed states used to grow. Companies of this kind were needed there to fulfill the security vacuum and substitute certain security functions of the state. Their role may vary between two extremes. In some cases, they achieve positive influence building security process, while in others they serve powerful individuals and groups, thus increasing lack of security in the entire society and state. Here we have to be aware of the fact that private security subjects do not play same role in strong and weak states.

### **What measures, means and methods help us to reach, preserve and advance security?**

From the aspect of state-centric security concept, use of force is the basic mean to resist foreign military threats or internal violent threats to population and territory. National territory and sovereignty are being protected by military capacities and capability to deter military aggression or to resist it effectively (in case that it happens). Beside military power which is the basic mean of protection, economic power is also considered equally important warranty of state security. In certain way, it is a precondition of military power. Economic power has capability to be transformed into military power. Governments join certain alliances to increase their defensive power. Idea of security derives from the need for power of a state which would overcome the range and destructive potential of threats to which it might be exposed in current time or predictable future. Those threats may endanger a country's territory, sovereignty or foreign-policy interests (when a country develops strategy of deterrence) or its allies. In other case, strategy of expanded deterrence is usually being applied<sup>15</sup>.

"Hard power" is usually a tool to coercion. Its key elements are economic, political and military power. Importance of "soft power" is growing constantly at the same time. Soft power represents capability to achieve desired outcome and influence on other actors by other means. Use of bare force is being avoided while preferable methods are persuasion, development of joint activity plans, promotion of positive attraction etc. Some authors conclude that "hard power pushes events and actors while hard power pulls them"<sup>16</sup>. Ideas, culture, education and institutions of science are among resources that build soft power. In that

<sup>15</sup> Саша Мијалковић, *Национална безбедност – од вестфалског концепта до хладноратовског* (Saša Mijalković, *National Security – From Westphalian Concept to the Post-Cold War*), „Војно дело“ 2/2009, Београд, 2009, p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> Џозеф С. Нај, *Будућност моћи* (Joseph S. Nye, *The future of Power*, Serbian Edition), Архипелаг, Београд, 2012, pp. 40.

context, development of new tools for achievement, preservation and improvement of security should be a long-term goal.

By developing not only public administration and tools of power, but also other segments of society, a state enlarges its potential to keep and increase security. The role of NGOs and media is more visible in our age than ever before. NGOs are often unavoidable in building integrity process, especially if they operate in weak or failed states where they reach local communities easier than governmental institutions do. Public pressure of international range (meaning public accusation or condemnation of certain groups) represents most usually applied tool of NGOs. They use it very successfully, in cooperation with media. Investment in education, science and culture, as well as care over social values like tolerance and understanding, upgrades level of security in society and state. Influence of those tools is much larger in prevention than in sanitation of consequences, which is very important. Better understanding of security issues and education on threats are only some of available tools for building security.

## Conclusion

We witness an age in which the state loses position that it had for several centuries and transfers some of its traditionally monopolized competences to supra-national or non-governmental organizations. Improvement of cross-border police cooperation, establishment of joint armed forces and supra-national security systems are elements of that process. New social motions caused perception of security challenges to be expanded to various levels and sectors<sup>17</sup>, which were not known to the state-centric concept in the past. Such expanding derived a new perception of security challenges, risks and threats. Thus, central points of interest in contemporary world are human being (as individual), state, international community and the entire humanity. Even separated, all the levels of security remain in certain correlation which makes impossible to observe only one independent level, isolated from the others. It is not possible to increase level of human security by attributing exaggerated importance to individuals and leaving the state aside. The state remains a necessary, although not sufficient condition for security of individual. All the security actors inevitably have to be in contact with state and work together with it, searching for tools for protection and preservation of security.

We may conclude that all the levels and sectors of security are closely connected and state still remains the only actor possessing all the necessary capacities (human, material, technical and organizational) for their protection. State still

<sup>17</sup> Levels of security are: individual, national, regional, global, sectors of security are: military, political, social, economic and environmental. See more: Филип Ејдус, *Међународна Безбедност: теорије, сектори и нивои*, (Filip Ejduš, *International security: theory, sectors and levels*) Службени гласник, Београд, 2012.

exists as a subject of international law and foreign relations, although inter-state, internal and transnational security problems keep on existing. In spite of the fact that perception and importance of space and borders in geo-politics have changed, territorial integrity still remains an issue of highest importance for many nations. Rosenau finds that the traditional state-based system becomes less decisive, but still remains unavoidable and powerful. States change, but do not disappear from the scene. In that meaning, sovereignty of states has eroded, but is still being shown in vigorous and persuasive way<sup>18</sup>. Although the state is not the only point of reference from which security may be observed, it still remains an inevitable actor in understanding and defining security.

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<sup>18</sup> According to: Драган Симић, *Наука о безбедности* (Dragan Simić, *Science on Security – Modern Security Approaches*), Београд, 2002, pp. 15, Rosenau, J.N., *The Dynamism of a Turbulent World, World Security*, Third Edition, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, p.18.



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## ZARZĄDZANIE KRYZYSOWE W ZAKRESIE BEZPIECZEŃSTWA WEWNĘTRZNEGO – KLUCZOWE ZADANIA I KOMPETENCJE

### CRISIS MANAGEMENT IN THE FIELD OF INTERNAL SECURITY – THE TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

**Streszczenie:** Bezpieczeństwo jest podstawową potrzebą każdego człowieka, gwarantującą mu rozwój oraz przetrwanie. Nieodzownym elementem bezpieczeństwa są zagrożenia. Aby móc im zapobiegać – należy je badać, analizować, a następnie starać się je przewidywać i im zapobiegać. Bardzo istotną rolę odgrywa zarządzanie kryzysowe, które również występuje na szczeblu lokalnym. Celem pracy jest próba charakterystyki i zdefiniowania: zadań zarządzania kryzysowego realizowanych przez władze samorządowe. W artykule przedstawiono synergię pomiędzy poszczególnymi szczeblami władz samorządowych w Polsce w zakresie bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** bezpieczeństwo, zagrożenie, zarządzanie kryzysowe, samorząd terytorialny, zapobieganie.

**Abstract:** Security is a basic need of every human being, which guarantees him the development and survival. Security's indispensable element is risk. To be able to prevent them – must be studied, analyzed and then we have to try to anticipate and prevent them. Crisis management has a very important role carried out by local authorities. This article presents the synergy between the various levels of local government in Poland in the field of internal security.

**Keywords:** Safety, risk, crisis management, local government, prevention.

### Wprowadzenie

Bezpieczeństwo państwa jest istotnym elementem polityki funkcjonowania każdego kraju na świecie. Zapewnienie poziomu bezpieczeństwa obywatelom jest obowiązkiem państwa, które jako zadanie priorytetowe powinno sobie postawić stworzenie odpowiednich struktur zapewniających ochronę obywatelom prawa. A zatem czy zarządzanie kryzysowe w Polsce – za które odpowiedzialne są władze samorządowe – jest odpowiednio zaplanowane i zorganizowane? Czy poszczególne władze: na poziomie wojewódzkim, powiatowym i gminnym wzajemnie współpracują ze sobą i równomiernie dzielą między sobą obowiązki i odpowiedzialność za zapewnienie poczucia bezpieczeństwa obywatelom?

Monografia niniejsza powstała jako efekt obrad międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej Security Forum Cracow 2012. Konferencja jest planowana jako wydarzenie cykliczne, odbywające się w listopadowym terminie przypadającym na czas obchodów Dnia Niepodległości Polski.

Na konferencyjne nałożyły się także późniejsze spotkania i dyskusje securitologów z Czech, Polski, Słowacji, Serbii, Ukrainy i USA.

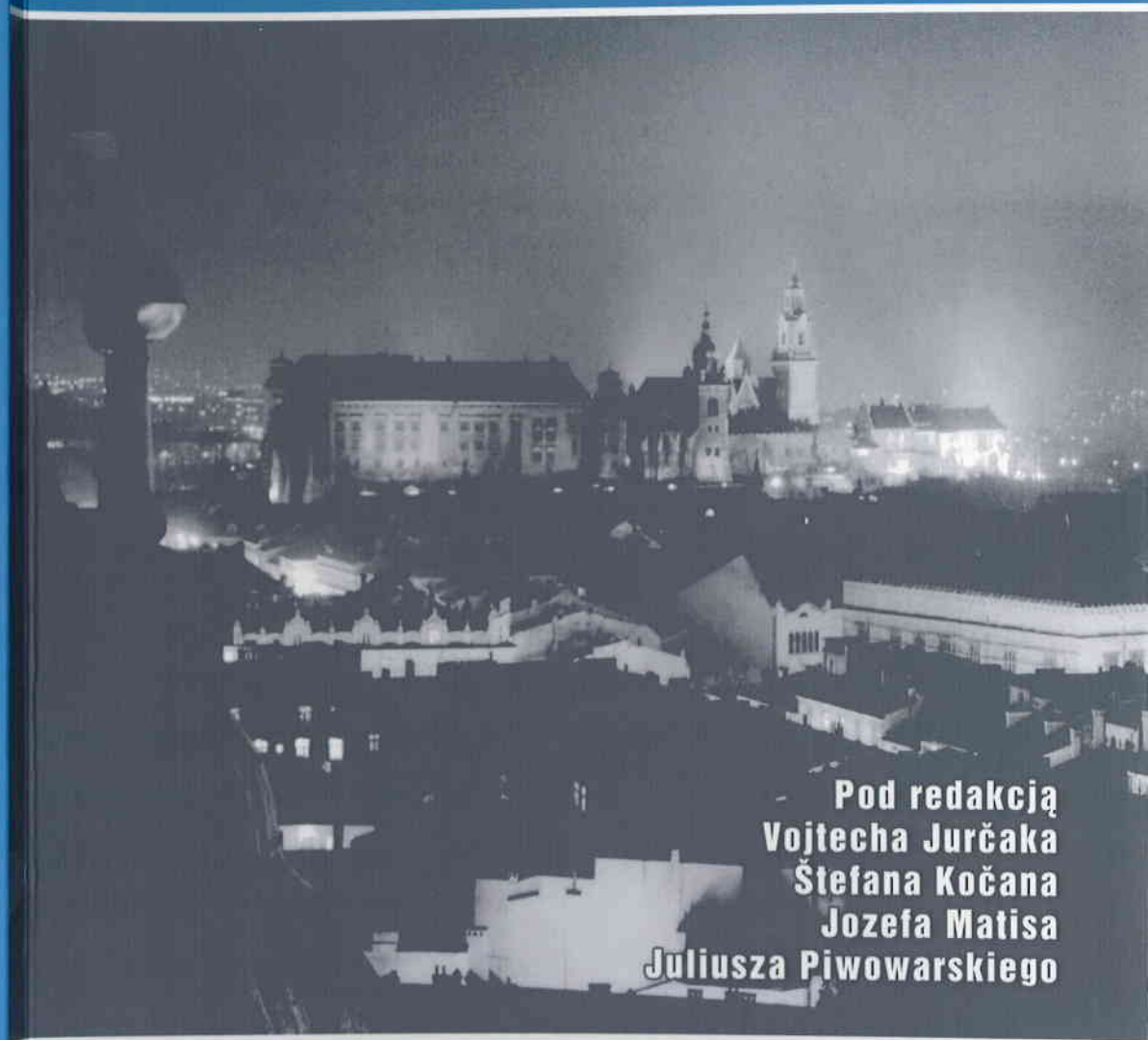
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