



**UNISCI**

**UNIDAD DE  
INVESTIGACIÓN  
SOBRE  
SEGURIDAD Y  
COOPERACIÓN  
INTERNACIONAL**

**RESEARCH  
UNIT ON  
INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY AND  
COOPERATION**

**ISSN 2386-9453**

## **HYBRID WARFARE, CYBERSPACE, AFGHANISTAN, INDONESIA KOSOVO, ISLAMIC STATE, SAHEL, COLOMBIA, EMIGRACIÓN**

- Martin Solik* Instruments of Hybrid Warfare: Dissemination of Pro-Russian Propaganda Narratives Through Populist Politicians in the Slovak Republic
- Dalibor Velký*
- Jan Graf*
- Dibakar De* US-China Rivalry: Constructing Virtual Borders in Cyberspace Through War of Narratives
- NagaLaxmi M Raman*
- Sitakanta Mishra*
- Abdul Wasi Popalzay* A critical analysis of United Nations engagements with the Afghan Taliban (2021–2025)
- Bawa Singh*
- Aprison Mandela* Resilience Factors of Islamic State Supporter Movements in Indonesia: A Mixed-Methods Analysis
- Arthur J. S Runturambi*
- Muhammad Syauquillah*
- Margaretha Hanita*
- Agon Krasniqi* International Diplomacy at the Rambouillet Conference (6 February –18 March 1999)
- Majlinda Misini* Turkish Foreign Policy and the Kosovo War: Discussions on the Kosovo Issue in the Grand National Assembly (1998-1999)
- Ibrahim Gashi*
- Francisco José Marcos* Aproximación a las estrategias y políticas de la Unión Europea en el Sahel: el dilema pendiente de Bruselas
- Deborah Presta Novello* Diálogos con las Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia -AGC-. De clan a ejército ¿paz para todos?
- Germán N. Pataquiva* Multicrimen, Economías Ilícitas y su Impacto en la Gobernanza y Democracia. Casos: Nariño, Cauca y Valle del Cauca.
- Leidy Bedoya* Ready to negotiate? The difficulty of peace talks with the National Liberation Army in Colombia
- Jerónimo Ríos*
- Antonio Marquina* La moción del Ayuntamiento de Jumilla y los planteamientos migratorios de Obispos españoles
- CRITICA DE LIBROS**
- José Elías Esteve* Bermejo Romualdo (2025): La lucha de Israel por su supervivencia tras los criminales ataques terroristas de Hamás.
- Ricardo Ventura* Antonio Marquina (ed) (2025): Global Migration, Mafias, States and Hybrid Warfare

Disponibile on-line:  
Available on-line:  
[www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

## **Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal**

*Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal* es una revista científica de acceso abierto, con sistema de evaluación por pares, sobre Relaciones Internacionales y Seguridad; ambas entendidas en sentido amplio y desde un enfoque multidimensional, abierto a diferentes perspectivas teóricas.

La revista es publicada tres veces al año —enero, mayo y octubre— por la Unidad de Investigación sobre Seguridad y Cooperación Internacional (UNISCI). Todos los números están disponibles de forma gratuita en nuestra página web [www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

El Comité de Redacción acepta colaboraciones en forma de artículos o reseñas de libros. Pueden enviarnos sus propuestas según se indica en las "Instrucciones para autores" que figuran al final de este número, así como en nuestra página web.

*Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal* is an open access, peer-reviewed scientific journal on International Relations and Security; both understood in a broad sense and from a multidimensional approach, open to different theoretical perspectives.

The journal is published three times per year (January, May and October) by the Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation (UNISCI). All the issues are available free of charge at our website [www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

The Editorial Committee accepts contributions of articles or book reviews. Proposals may be sent as indicated in the "Instructions for Authors" that can be found at the back of this issue, as well as at our website.

### **COMITÉ CIENTÍFICO / ADVISORY BOARD**

#### **Mustafa Aydin**

*Professor of International Relations,  
Kadir Has University Rector*

#### **Mely Caballero-Anthony**

*Director of the Non-Traditional Security Center,  
Rajaratnam School of International Studies,  
Singapore*

#### **Terrence Guay**

*Professor of International Business,  
Pennsylvania State University*

#### **Tai Hwan Lee**

*Senior Fellow,  
The Sejong Institute, Seoul*

#### **Miranda Schreuers**

*Chair, Environment and Climate Policy  
TUM School of Governance*

#### **Haksoon Paik**

*Director, Center for North Korean Studies,  
The Sejong Institute, Seoul*

#### **John Ravenhill**

*Professor of International Relations  
University of Waterloo*

#### **Sten Rynning**

*Associate Professor of International Relations and  
Security Studies, University of Southern Denmark*

#### **Dan Tschirgi**

*Professor Emeritus of Political Science,  
The American University in Cairo*

#### **Romualdo Bermejo**

*Chair in Public International Law,  
University of León*

#### **Ralph Emmers**

*Co-Chair  
Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy  
SOAS*

#### **Massimo de Leonardis**

*Professor of History of International Relations,  
Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan  
Chairman of Int. Commission of Military History*

#### **Shantanu Chakrabarti**

*Associate Professor, Institute of Foreign Policy  
Studies, University of Kolkata*

#### **Arvind Kumar**

*Professor and Chairperson,  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University*

#### **Kostas Ifantis**

*Professor of International Relations,  
Panteion University*

#### **Reinhardt Rummel**

*Professor of International Security, Munich  
University*

#### **Leonard C. Sebastian**

*Associate Professor of International Relations,  
Rajaratnam School of International Studies,  
Singapore*

#### **Terry Terriff**

*Chair, Centre for Military and Strategic Studies,  
University of Calgary*

**Alessandro Politi**  
*Strategic & OSINT Analyst*  
*Director of NATO Defence College Foundation*

**Mikael Weissmann**  
*Associate Professor,*  
*Swedish Defense University*

**Edward Halizak**  
*Former Director of the Institute of International*  
*Relations. Warsaw University*

**COMITÉ DE REDACCIÓN / EDITORIAL COMMITTEE**

**DIRECTOR / EDITOR**

**Antonio Marquina**  
*Chair in Security and Cooperation in International Relations, (emeritus)*  
*Complutense University of Madrid*

**SECRETARIO DE REDACCIÓN / EDITORIAL COORDINATOR**

**Gloria Inés Ospina**

**AYUDANTES DE REDACCIÓN / EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS**

**Belén Lara, Mónica Miranzo, Carlos del Río, Patricia Rodríguez,**  
**José Antonio Sainz de la Peña**

## DIRECTORIOS Y BASES DE DATOS / *ABSTRACTING & INDEXING*

CATÁLOGO LATINDEX • COLUMBIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ONLINE (CIAO) • CSA WORLDWIDE POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS • DIALNET • DIFUSIÓN Y CALIDAD EDITORIAL DE LAS REVISTAS ESPAÑOLAS DE HUMANIDADES Y CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y JURÍDICAS (DICE), CSIC • DIRECTORY OF OPEN ACCESS JOURNALS (DOAJ) • GOOGLE SCHOLAR • HOMELAND SECURITY DIGITAL LIBRARY • INDEX ISLAMICUS • INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE LEADERS AND ORGANIZATIONS ONLINE (IGLOO) LIBRARY • INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS • INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY NETWORK (ISN) PUBLISHING HOUSE • INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM REFERENCE CENTER • ISOC — CIENCIAS POLÍTICAS Y SOCIOLOGÍA, CSIC • LANCASTER INDEX TO DEFENCE & INTERNATIONAL SECURITY LITERATURE • NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ADVANCEMENT (NIRA) POLICY RESEARCH WATCH • ONLINE COMPUTER LIBRARY CENTER (OCLC) • SCIRUS • SCOPUS • ULRICH'S PERIODICALS DIRECTORY • WORLDCAT • INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE • POLITICAL SCIENCE COMPLETE • EMERGING SOURCES CITATION INDEX (ESCI) WEB OF SCIENCE (WOS)

La Revista UNISCI, para fomentar el intercambio global del conocimiento, facilita el acceso sin restricciones a sus contenidos desde el momento de su publicación en la presente edición electrónica. Es obligatorio citar su procedencia en cualquier reproducción total o parcial. Todos los contenidos se distribuyen bajo una licencia de uso y distribución Creative Commons Reconocimiento 4.0 (CC BY 4.0). Esta circunstancia ha de hacerse constar expresamente de esta forma cuando sea necesario. La Revista UNISCI es una revista de acceso abierto, lo que significa que todo su contenido está disponible de forma gratuita, sin costo para el usuario o su institución. Los usuarios pueden leer, descargar, copiar, distribuir, imprimir, buscar o enlazar los textos completos de los artículos, así como utilizarlos para cualquier otro propósito lícito, sin necesidad de solicitar permiso previo al editor o al autor. Todo lo anterior se realiza de acuerdo con la definición de acceso abierto de la BOAI. (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.es>)”

La Revista UNISCI se adhiere al Código de conducta y buenas prácticas establecido por el Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (Code of Conduct and Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors y Code of Conduct for Journals Publishers). En cumplimiento de este código, la revista asegurará la calidad científica de las publicaciones y la adecuada respuesta a las necesidades de los lectores y los autores. El código va dirigido a todas las partes implicadas en la gestión y publicación de resultados científicos de la revista, a saber, equipos editoriales, autores y revisores. Los trabajos que no cumplan con estas normas éticas serán descartados

*UNISCI Journal, in order to promote the global exchange of knowledge, facilitates the access to their content without restrictions since the beginning of its publication in this electronic edition. It is compulsory to quote the journal in any reproduction, being total or partial. All articles are distributed under a license for use and distribution, Creative Commons Recognition 4.0 (CC BY 4.0). This circumstance has to be clearly stated in this way when it is necessary. UNISCI Journal is an open access journal, meaning all its content is freely available to users and their institutions. Users can read, download, copy, distribute, print, search or link to full articles, and use them for any lawful purpose without requesting prior permission from the publisher or author. All of the above is in accordance with the BOAI definition of open access. (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.es>).*

*UNISCI Journal abides by the code of conduct and good practices established by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (Code of Conduct and Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors and Code of Conduct for Journals Publishers). In compliance with this code, the journal will ensure the scientific quality of the publications and the appropriate response to the needs of readers and authors. The code is addressed to all parties involved in the management and publication of scientific results in the journal, namely, editorial teams, authors, and reviewers. Articles that do not meet these ethical standards will be discarded.*

© UNISCI, 2025 ISSN 2386-9453

c. Hermanos SanRomán 5

POZUELO 28224 Madrid, Spain

E-mail: [amarqbar45@gmail.com](mailto:amarqbar45@gmail.com) / Web: [www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

Tel.: (+ 34) 91 7155650



## CONTENTS/INDICE

<i>Antonio Marquina</i>	Editorial Note	7
<b>HYBRID WARFARE, CYBERSPACE, AFGHANISTAN, KOSOVO, ISLAMIC STATE, SAHEL, COLOMBIA, EMIGRACIÓN</b>		
<i>Martin Solik</i> <i>Dalibor Velký</i> <i>Jan Graf</i>	Instruments of Hybrid Warfare: Dissemination of Pro-Russian Propaganda Narratives Through Populist Politicians in the Slovak Republic	9
<i>Dibakar De</i> <i>NagaLaxmi M Raman</i> <i>Sitakanta Mishra</i>	US-China Rivalry: Constructing Virtual Borders in Cyberspace Through War of Narratives	35
<i>Abdul Wasi Popalzay</i> <i>Bawa Singh</i>	A critical analysis of United Nations engagements with the Afghan Taliban (2021–2025)	55
<i>Aprison Mandela</i> <i>Arthur J. S Runturambi</i> <i>Muhammad Syauqillah</i> <i>Margaretha Hanita</i>	Resilience Factors of Islamic State Supporter Movements in Indonesia: A Mixed-Methods Analysis	79
<i>Agon Krasniqi</i>	International Diplomacy at the Rambouillet Conference (6 February –18 March 1999)	105
<i>Majlinda Misini</i> <i>Ibrahim Gashi</i>	Turkish Foreign Policy and the Kosovo War: Discussions on the Kosovo Issue in the Grand National Assembly (1998-1999)	133
<i>Francisco José Marcos</i>	Aproximación a las estrategias y políticas de la Unión Europea en el Sahel: el dilema pendiente de Bruselas	163
<i>Deborah Presta Novello</i>	Diálogos con las Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia -AGC-. De clan a ejército ¿paz para todos?	191
<i>Germán N. Pataquiva</i>	Multicrimen, Economías Ilícitas y su Impacto en la Gobernanza y Democracia. Casos: Nariño, Cauca y Valle del Cauca.	215
<i>Leidy Bedoya</i> <i>Jerónimo Ríos</i>	Ready to negotiate? The difficulty of peace talks with the National Liberation Army in Colombia	231
<i>Antonio Marquina</i>	La moción del Ayuntamiento de Jumilla y los planteamientos migratorios de Obispos españoles	263
<b>CRITICA DE LIBROS</b>		
<i>José Elías Esteve</i>	Bermejo Romualdo (2025): La lucha de Israel por su supervivencia tras los criminales ataques terroristas de Hamás.	271
<i>Ricardo Ventura</i>	Antonio Marquina (ed.) (2025): Global Migration, Mafias, States and Hybrid Warfare	277





## ***EDITORIAL NOTE/NOTA EDITORIAL***

**Antonio Marquina<sup>1</sup>**  
*Director, UNISCI*

This issue of the journal analyses various current issues affecting Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as more general topics, such as approaches to emigration in a European context, which are often presented as if they were universally applicable.

With regard to Europe, it contains an initial study of hybrid warfare, which explains how Russia employs populist politicians in Slovakia to disseminate its propaganda narrative. The article focuses on three themes: the justification of the war in Ukraine; the defence of traditional values against a decadent West; and the threat posed by emigration. The authors highlight the contradiction of Russia's policies of using migratory flows as a weapon against European countries.

This theme also emerges to some extent in a second article, which presents the rivalry that exists in cyberspace. The article discusses how various states can take advantage of technological advances by promoting narratives in cyberspace to increase their influence beyond their borders. It also covers the construction of virtual borders and the development of national strategies to exploit this fragmentation.

A third article deals with Afghanistan, a complicated country that is worth studying to gain an understanding of the situation there. It focuses on the work of the United Nations in Afghanistan, examining the organisation's efforts to alleviate poverty and promote humanitarian development, while also defending human rights and the role of women, despite the severe restrictions and rights violations they face. It shows how the UN's objectives and policy of neutrality are limited by neighbouring states that legitimise the Taliban and provide them with resources, thereby undermining the UN's objectives and trivialising international sanctions. Although counterterrorism cooperation is working, the UN's role is being undermined by a lack of coordination between states and the absence of robust mechanisms to ensure compliance with agreements.

The issue of terrorism reappears in the study on Indonesia and the resilience and strength of the Islamic State in this country, which continues to operate through deeply rooted ideological and organizational systems. The rise of intolerance in certain sectors of society, political Islam, and the challenges of deradicalization in Indonesia, as well as social discontent and marginalization, contribute to maintaining this resilience. The article identifies thirteen factors that allow Islamic State networks to endure and advocates for more integrated and preventive counterterrorism strategies that address the underlying ideological, social, and digital frameworks that sustain extremism.

Two other articles focus on key aspects of Kosovo's recent history, offering new insights based on consultations with newly available archival sources. They enable us to gain an understanding of the current state of research from the perspective of Kosovar researchers

---

<sup>1</sup>Antonio Marquina Barrio is Chair in International Security and Cooperation (emeritus) and Director of UNISCI  
E-mail:<amarqbar45@gmail.com>



regarding the events leading up to the 1999 Rambouillet Conference, as well as Turkey's policy during the Kosovo War. While these studies have been refined considerably based on reviewers' comments, they do not appear to be definitive. If documentation on the operations of various states' intelligence services in terms of supporting, training and financing the warring factions becomes available at some point, it may be possible to resolve some of the issues that remain unresolved.

Regarding the study on the Sahel, it is an important contribution to our understanding of the evolution of European policies towards the region, as well as their theoretical and practical inconsistencies. The criticism of the strategies designed and implemented is compelling and supports the arguments that we at UNISCI have always made about the shortcomings of European general and regional strategies since their inception.

Three studies on Colombia highlight the challenges of the ' "Paz Total" plan and the activities of various armed groups. The first study explains why the government has found it difficult to engage in dialogue with the Clan del Golfo, given its remarkable expansion, enormous financial resources and lack of recognised political status. The second study addresses the transformation of the ELN following the 2016 demobilisation of the FARC-EP and assesses the implications of these changes. It concludes that the ELN is not yet structurally prepared for "Paz Total" negotiations. The third study outlines the situation in the departments of Nariño, Cauca and Valle del Cauca, where transnational organised crime is being consolidated at regional and local levels by leaders and figures from various organisations and entities in the public and private sectors. These actors find a wide margin of profitability in the illegal economy. The article provides a detailed description of the main criminal activities and highlights that these lawless actors are already challenging the state's monopoly on force, taxation, and the rule of law. The outlook for the improvement of national and regional stability is clearly worrying.

The issue closes with an informative note analyzing and discussing the approaches to the issue of migration presented by various Spanish bishops in the national debate that arose as a result of the approval by the Jumilla City Council a motion on the defense of Spanish customs and traditions against foreign cultural practices. The note highlights various deficiencies in their argumentation.

Finally, a book review section is also included, in addition to all these studies and analyses.

We would like to thank the authors and reviewers for their dedication and efforts in editing and improving the various studies.