### Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO



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#### **NATO Watch**

conducts independent monitoring and analysis of NATO and aims to increase transparency, stimulate parliamentary engagement and broaden public awareness and participation in a progressive reform agenda within NATO.

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**USA** 

#### **NATO Watch Essay:**

# NATO's new Military Strategy and Space Policy: Why are parliamentarians and the public being kept out of the loop?

By Dr Ian Davis, NATO Watch

On the 22 May 2019, the twenty-nine NATO Chiefs of Defence came together in Brussels to discuss and sign-off on NATO's new Military Strategy. At a press conference on the 28 May, following a meeting of the North Atlantic Council with national security advisers, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg said the alliance would adopt its first space policy in June. Neither document is in the public domain.

#### NATO's new Military Strategy

According to the brief statement released by NATO, the new Military Strategy "marks an important step in adapting the alliance for the increasingly complex security challenges that NATO faces". In his opening remarks Air Chief Marshal Sir Stuart Peach (UK Air Force). Chairman of the NATO Military Committee-the senior military authority alliance—said:

Military Strategy provides overarching guidance, outlining how the alliance effectively deters and defends and helps shape our future plans. It will be a handrail which guides our decision making process and provides coherence to our overall efforts. We cannot predict the future, but this strategy and the strategic thinking that goes with it provided by you gives a level of guidance to what we could do depending on the circumstances presented to us. We'll then give additional guidance on how to go forward as this will become a living document.

In his closing press <u>statement</u> Peach said:

We have, today, agreed a Military Strategy. This is the first time for many years, we have done so and it is part of NATO's adaptation process. NATO adapts. We continue to revise and review the threats we face, as allies. Today, our Alliance faces enduring challenges from all strategic directions; state and nonstate; military forces; and terrorist, cyber and hybrid. Against this background, the NATO Chiefs of Defence decided in 2017 to task the Military Authorities to review our existing strategy.

To create a common understanding of the threats and challenges was developed, and through consensus, this strategy was produced with each member, each ally, being an equal partner. Therefore, we now have that handrail to guide us and to enable us to deliver our core business to defend almost 1 billion people. This works guides our other work and I would particularly like to thank the nations, the staff who have helped this come together today. It brings coherence.

Peach was asked during the <u>Q&A</u> <u>session with journalists</u> after the meeting whether the strategy would be published and if he could provide an outline as to its content. He replied:

We don't intend to publish it, in accordance with long-standing practice within the alliance. And in terms of the outline, the content as you would expect is a traditional military strategy, but in very much a modern format. And we have worked on the document—and it is a document, I can confirm that—but I am not going to go into details as to its content.

Some further details emerged when the Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Joseph Dunford <u>addressed</u> a roundtable discussion at the Brookings Institution on the 29 May. Apparently, the new Military Strategy is due to be approved by the respective defence ministries of the member states in the coming weeks. "It is the first NATO military strategy in decades, ... It clearly articulates the challenges that confront NATO [and] it provides the framework for the various plans that will be in place if deterrence fails", he added.

While details of the new Military Strategy are still unknown, it seems likely that the alliance is simply falling in line with recent updates to US military doctrine. Washington updated its National Security Strategy in 2017, National Defence Strategy (NDS) and Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) in 2018, and Missile Defense Review in early 2019. All of these documents were published in full, with the exception of the US NDS, for which only an unclassified summary was released. NATO's new strategy document is probably just a consolidation of US military doctrine plus some window dressing. However, since it is not publicly available it is impossible to assess (a) how closely it mirrors recent US changes in military doctrine, and (b) whether it diverges from the 2010 Strategic Concept—NATO's recently agreed statement on core values, tasks and principles, the evolving security environment and strategic objectives for the next decade.

#### Following the US lead?

The new US NDS refocused on the possibility of war with China and/or Russia, marking a shift from the last 15 vears' focus on fighting transnational terrorist groups. "Great-power competition—not terrorism—is now the primary focus of US national security", the then US Defense Secretary Jim Mattis <u>said</u> in a speech unveiling the new strategy in January last year. Similarly, at a meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Washington in April that marked the 70th anniversary of the alliance, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo urged allies to work together to confront a wide variety of emerging threats from Russia and China. "We must adapt our alliance to confront emerging threats ... whether that's aggression, Russian uncontrolled migration, cyberattacks, threats to energy security, Chinese strategic competition, including technology and 5G ... [or] many other issues", Pompeo said.

While China is unlikely to feature so prominently in the new NATO Military Strategy, Russia undoubtedly will. Not only has the traditional Russian military threat been actively espoused by senior NATO officials to justify a whole raft of measures to enhance its deterrence and defence posture in recent years, the alliance has also been exploring ways of countering what it sees as Moscow's covert influence destabilization operations. It is unclear to what extent the new NATO Military Strategy will change the balance of the current mix of nuclear, conventional and missile defence capabilities that the collective make-up defence posture.

With regard to nuclear weapons, for example, the new US NPR sets out expanded scenarios for the possible use of nuclear weapons against nonthreats, includina nuclear threats. It also identifies a plan to develop new 'low-yield' warheads for submarine-launched its ballistic missiles and new ground-launched cruise missiles. The US NPR contends that this capability would strengthen nuclear deterrence, while critics argue it would lower the nuclear threshold and increase the risk of nuclear war.

Although the NATO Secretary General has <u>said</u> that the alliance has no intention to deploy new nuclear missiles in Europe following the collapse of the INF Treaty, there are plenty of US (and a few European) voices calling for NATO to deploy new nonstrategic and lower yield nuclear weapons or to adapt nuclear deterrence to play a larger role in NATO's collective defence.

The timing of the announcement of a new NATO Space Policy also suggests that this is a reaction to US-led developments. At his May press conference, Stoltenberg said, "We are now also working on an overarching space policy, another first for NATO. And next month, I expect NATO defence ministers will adopt our new

space policy". He added that NATO also needed to strengthen the resilience of its telecommunication networks, 5G, undersea cables and space assets.

However, the United States was clearly first with its own 'first'. In June 2018, President Trump announced that he had directed the Pentagon to establish a Space Force, describing it as a sixth branch of the US military. It would be the first time the Pentagon has stood up a new service since the Air Force received its independence after World War II. In August, Vice President Mike Pence outlined some of the concrete steps needed to create the US Space Force, which is expected to be vaguely modelled on the US Special Operations Command.

bringing in personnel from all branches. There will also be a Space Development Agency to streamline hardware procurement and innovation.

### Where is the oversight?

Given the importance of

NATO's new Military Strategy and Space Policy—and their likely shaping by US military interests—both documents ought to be subjected to close scrutiny. Oversight mechanisms help to ensure that the right questions are asked about strategy and the objectives of any military preparations before the price becomes too high, both in terms of costly and unnecessary military procurement and in destabilising international relations. While there may be a case for allowing government officials in defence ministries discuss finer points in private, not least to enable consensus building around some of the more contentious issues, the lack of time set aside for

substantive and prior parliamentary discussion of key documents such as these represents woefully inadequate oversight.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, surely it should be a NATOwide norm for any significant policy international treaty document, agreement—that is, one that impinges on human rights and fundamental freedoms. transfers sovereignty, requires the passing of a law, or carries the possibility of the deployment of armed force abroad—to always require from member consent parliaments, thereby giving the people a direct say in the external activities of the state, including key developments within alliances.

> **Parliaments** should have a role in examining all decisions about the negotiation of treaties and multilateral accords. including determination of objectives. negotiating positions, the parameters

within which the national delegation can operate and the final decision as to whether to sign and ratify. This should not be the exclusive reserve of defence ministries and their ministers. Without such certainty of process, NATO policy development lacks authority and credibility. Αt minimum. a a parliamentary mechanism or committee should exist in each member state to consider alliance policy documents, tabled treaties or international instruments.



## News, Commentary and Reports:

### Arms Control & Disarmament: the INF Treaty

February, the United States In announced that it has started the withdraw process to from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear (INF) Treaty, unless Russia destroys a new class of medium-range missiles officials allege noncompliant. Critics warned it could spark a dangerous new arms race with Moscow and a return to the nuclear tensions of the Cold War.

US-Russian discussions in Geneva in January failed to reach a compromise despite Moscow's offer to allow the United States to inspect the disputed missile. The US decision starts a sixmonth countdown to formal treaty withdrawal on 1 August 2019.

The decision had been expected—President Trump warned in October 2018 that he would pull out if Russia didn't comply—and is consistent with his 'America First' strategy, which has already seen the United States pull out of the Iran nuclear deal and the Paris climate accord.

The INF Treaty banned all missiles with a range between 500 and 5,500 kilometres. It protected the European continent from those weapons, and Pershing cruise banned US missiles, which had been deployed by the US and Germany. Since 2014, the United States has accused Russia of violating the treaty, and Washington imposed sanctions intended pressure Russia into compliance. Russia denied violating the treaty but accused Washington of doing so with a missile defence system deployed in Europe.

US officials have also expressed concern that China, anon-signatory to the treaty, is deploying short- and medium-range missiles in Asia that the

US is unable to counter because it is bound by the INF Treaty.

In 2018, the US administration announced plans to develop a low-yield warhead for the Trident D-5 submarine-launched ballistic missile and a nuclear-armed, sea-launched cruise missile, calling those options "important for the preservation of credible deterrence against regional aggression". The Pentagon also could deploy a new ground-launched cruise missile or larger intermediate-range missiles.

In response to the US decision, Russian President Vladimir Putin threatened to aim new hypersonic missiles at the United States if it deploys further missile systems to Europe. NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg announced that NATO is exploring ways to counter Russia's violations of the treaty, while ruling out new deployment of land-based nuclear systems in Europe.

Some NATO allies are uneasy about keeping US missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads on their territory, although Poland may be willing to host US missiles.

In March, Russia also <u>suspended</u> its participation in the INF Treaty "until the US ends its violations of the treaty or until it terminates".

INF treaty can be saved, political will needed for that, NATO chief says, TASS, 26 May 2019

John Feffer, <u>A Farewell to Arms Control?</u> Foreign Policy in Focus, 1 May 2019

Ulrich Kühn, The End of Conventional Arms Control and the Role of US Congress, Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament, 2019

Bruno Hellendorff, <u>Europe in a multipolar missile world - Why the EU and NATO should not try to salvage the INF Treaty</u>, Egmont Paper 106, March 2019

Ulrich Kühn, <u>Between a rock and a hard place: Europe in a post-INF world</u>, The Nonproliferation Review 26, no. 1-2, 4 April 2019

NATO Chief Urges Russia To Comply With INF Treaty, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 1 March 2019

As a Key Arms-Control Treaty Is Set to Die, Russia Threatens to Target U.S. with New Nukes, Popular Mechanics, 21 February 2019

Piotr Buras, <u>State of disunion: Europe, NATO, and disintegrating arms control, ECRF Commentary</u>, 28 February 2019

John Mecklin, <u>How and why the US and Russia should save the INF</u>, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 19 February 2019

Simon Lunn and Nicholas Williams, <u>The Demise of the INF Treaty: What are the consequences for NATO?</u> ELN Policy Brief, February 2019

No movement in Russian missile talks: NATO chief, France 24, 15 February 2019

The Western press has often treated the Russian claim that US missile defense installations have an offensive capability as rhetorical obfuscation. But publicly available information makes it clear that the US Aegis-based systems in Eastern Europe, if equipped with cruise missiles, would indeed violate the INF.

Must Read: Theodore Postol, Russia may have violated the INF Treaty. Here's how the United States appears to have done the same, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 14 February 2019

NATO's rhetoric about no new nuclear missiles in Europe to counter Russia is unclear. Jane's Defence Weekly, 14 February 2019

NATO in search of options to prepare for post-INF world, EuroActiv, 14 February 2019

NATO is getting ready for a future where Russia has a lot more missiles after Trump ditched a landmark treaty, Business Insider, 13 February 2019

Must Read: Reducing the Risks of Conventional Deterrence in Europe Arms Control in the NATO-Russia Contact Zones, OSCE Network, 2018

The United States Remains in Compliance with the INF Treaty, United States Mission

to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Press Release, 8 February 2019

Lincoln Pigman, <u>To Understand the INF</u> <u>Treaty's Demise, Look to the US Republican</u> <u>Party</u>, RUSI Commentary, 8 February 2019

Gustav Gressel, <u>Russia</u>, <u>Germany</u>, <u>and the INF: Will Berlin break its silence?</u> ECFR, 6 February 2019

Russia plans land-based intermediate missiles in two years, The Guardian, 5 February 2019

Russia blames NATO for dismantling INF due to plans to deploy launchers to Poland, TASS, 4 February 2019

Frank Sauer, Artificial Intelligence in the Armed Forces: On the need for regulation regarding autonomy in weapon systems, German Federal Academy for Security Policy, Security Policy Working Paper No. 26/2018

Rebecca Johnson, Who gains from Trump trashing the INF Treaty - Putinand Lockheed Martin!, openDemocray, 3 February 2019

Russia follows US in suspending nuclear deal, The Guardian, 2 February 2019

<u>Donald Trump confirms US withdrawal</u> <u>from INF nuclear treaty</u>, The Guardian, 1 February 2019

Trump's 'terrible' withdrawal from nuke treaty poses three risks to the world: Former NATO chief, Raw Story, 1 February 2019

Timmon Wallis, Why We All Need the INF Treaty, NuclearBan.US, 1 February 2019

Susi Snyder, <u>INF Suspension: Who benefits?</u> PAX, 1 February 2019

NATO Chief Urges Russia to Comply with Missile Pact, Military.com, 31 January 2019

NATO: Russia's new missile lowers bar for the use of nuclear arms, CNBC, 24 January 2019

US to begin nuclear treaty pullout next month after Russia missile talks fail, The Guardian, 16 January 2019

NATO Chief: February Deadline 'Last Chance' for Russia to Comply With INF Treaty, Sputnik, 4 January 2019

#### **Book Review**

Dagomar Degroot, Seeking solutions to Cold War divisions, in the mid-20th century NATO embraced environmentalism, sciencemag, 1 January 2019: Reviewed 'Greening the Alliance: The Diplomacy of NATO's Science and Environmental Initiatives', Simone Turchetti, University of Chicago Press, 2018 - the first book to explain the surprising rise, repeated revision, and possible decline of NATO's environmental research programme.

#### **Climate Change**

Diplomats, military officers and experts gathered at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Czech Republic in May to discuss energy security and future challenges facing NATO. While discussing what the alliance may be up against 70 years from now, some argued that the impacts of climate change are likely to be the main threat.

NATO's Biggest Long-Term Future Threat Is Climate Change, Suggests Expert. Radio Praha, 21 May 2019

#### **Collective Defence**

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) published research in April on what European defence would look if the United States left NATO and did not contribute militarily. The 50page study applies scenario analysis to requirements force generate and the ability of NATO's assesses European member states to meet these requirements.

The study explored two scenarios for the development of events in the absence of financial support from the United States. The first scenario looked at the protection of the global sea lines communication (SLOCs) assumed that the United States had NATO withdrawn from and also abandoned its global maritime presence and protection, not just for its own national interest but also as an international public good. It thus falls to European countries to achieve and

sustain a stable maritime-security environment in European waters and beyond, to enable the free flow of international maritime trade, and to protect global maritime infrastructure. The IISS assessed that European NATO members would have to invest between US\$94 billion and US\$110bn to fill the capability gaps generated by this scenario.

The second scenario dealt with the defence of European NATO territory against a state-level military attack. In this scenario, tensions between Russia and NATO members Lithuania and Poland escalate into war after the US has left NATO. This war results in the Russian occupation of Lithuania and some Polish territory Invoking Article V. the European members of NATO take measures to deter further Russian aggression, and also prepare and assemble forces for a military operation restore Polish and Lithuanian control government over their territories. The IISS assesses that European NATO members would have invest between US\$288bn and US\$357bn to fill the capability gaps generated by this scenario. These investments would establish a NATO Europe force level that would likely allow it to prevail in a limited regional war in Europe against a peer adversary.

If the funding to meet shortfalls were available, the IISS assesses that the recapitalisation across the military domains would take up to 20 years, with some significant progress around the ten- and 15-year marks. The reasons for this are limited production capacity; the time it takes to decide on and then produce equipment and weapons; recruitment and training demands; and the time it takes for new units to reach an operational capability.

Douglas Barrie, Ben Barry, Dr Lucie Béraud-Sudreau, Henry Boyd, Nick Childs and Dr Bastian Giegerich, <u>Defending Europe: scenario-based capability requirements for NATO's European members</u>, IISS, April 2019

Murielle Delaporte, <u>NATO's Strength: A Burden-sharing Success Story</u>, Breaking Defense, 20 March 2019

Can Kasapoğlu, Why and How NATO Should Adapt to a New Mediterranean Security Environment, SWP Comment 2019/C 15, March 2019

Madeleine Moon, <u>NATO's National</u> <u>Resilience Obligations</u>, RUSI Commentary, 15 March 2019

Wolf-Diether Roepke and Hasit Thankey, Resilience: the first line of defence, NATO Review, 27 February 2019

Nato allies offer contributions for Four Thirties Readiness Initiative, Army Technology, 18 February 2019

Paul Taylor, Jan Techau, Julian Lindley-French, Ulrike Franke, Ben Hodges, Paul Cornish, Elisabeth Braw, Claudia Major, Andrew Michta, Andreas Wittkowsky, Stephen Szabo, Anna Wieslander <u>Judy Asks: Is NATO Deterrence a Paper Tiger?</u> Carnegie Europe, 31 January 2019

Jonathan Hill, <u>NATO - ready for anything?</u> NATO Review, 24 January 2019

Sara Bjerg Moller, <u>Drawing the Line on U.S.</u>
<u>Reassurance to Eastern Europe</u>, Lawfare, 6
January 2019

### Cyber Security, Information Warfare & Hybrid Threats

While NATO does not have its own cyber weapons, the alliance established an operations centre in August 2018 at its military hub in Mons, Belgium. Several member states have since offered their cyber capabilities. The new NATO cyber operations centre (CYOC) is expected to be fully staffed by 2023 and able to mount its own cyber attacks.

Although the alliance is still grappling with ground rules for doing so, it appears to be adopting a tough posture. In May, Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg told attendees at the Cyber Defence Pledge conference in London, "We are not limited to respond in cyberspace when we are attacked in cyberspace". NATO members have already "agreed to integrate national"

cyber capabilities or offensive cyber into alliance operations and missions", he said.

In January, Facebook deleted a number of pages on its platform that were operated by Russian news agency Sputnik and promoted anti-NATO sentiment in eastern European countries. In February, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo warned central European states against usina equipment from Chinese telecom giant Huawei, saying it could threaten US cooperation in those countries.

Also in February, new research concluded that social media could be used to not only find and target NATO forces, but also manipulate them. Researchers with NATO's Strategic Communications Center of Excellence used open source data, primarily social media, to successfully identify 150 soldiers, locate multiple battalions, track troop movements, and even convince service members to leave their posts and engage in other behaviour" during "undesirable military exercise.

In April, a French team of security experts emerged the winner of a NATO-backed "live-fire" cybersecurity exercise, Locked Shields, that involved nearly 1,200 cybersecurity experts competing in a red team-blue team engagement to defend a fictional country. The annual event is the world's largest exercise of its kind.

The Tallinn-based NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence launched an interactive web-based resource for legal professionals and students in May, called the Cyber Law Toolkit. The toolkit was launched at the 11th Annual Conference on Cyber Conflict—or CyCon 2019—in Tallinn, Estonia. on 29 May.

An interactive cyber law toolkit launched in Tallinn, Estonian World, 30 May 2019

NATO to integrate offensive cyber capabilities of individual members, Fifth Domain, 29 May 2019

National Security Advisers meet at NATO Headquarters, NATO News Release, 29 May 2019

Patrick Tucker, <u>NATO Getting More</u> <u>Aggressive on Offensive Cyber</u>, Defense One, 24 May 2019

Secretary General gives keynote speech on NATO's adaptation to cyber threats, NATO News Release, 23 May 2019

Ethan Williamson, <u>NATO's Expanding Role in Cybersecurity</u>, Charged Affairs, 13 May 2019

Joel Rogers de Waal, <u>The West Should Weaponise Embarrassment in the New Information Wars</u>, RUSI Commentary, 26 April 2019

<u>France Wins NATO's "Live Fire"</u> <u>Cybersecurity Exercise</u>, Computer Business Review, 17 April 2019

NATO launches cyber-defense drill simulating elections under attack, Fifth Domain, 8 April 2019

NATO team takes part in one of the world's most challenging cyber exercises, NATO News Release, 8 April 2019

Matej Tonin (Slovenia) Rapporteur, Artificial Intelligence: Implications for NATO'S Armed Forces, Draft Report, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Science and Technology Committee, Sub-Committee on Technology Trends and Security, 5 April 2019

Chris Demchak, <u>We Need a NATO/EU for Cyber Defense</u>, Defense One, 24 March 2019

NATO Takes Huawei Security Concerns Seriously: Stoltenberg, Security Week, 15 March 2019

NATO counters cyber threats with network collaboration, Shepherd Media, 25 February 2019

Researchers found and tracked NATO troops and tricked them into disobeying orders for just \$60, Task and Purpose, 19 February 2019

Matt Field, NATO researchers used social media to learn details of a military exercise and manipulate troops. It wasn't very hard to do, The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 19 February 2019

New publication from NATO's Rīga StratCom center on cyber threats, LSM, 18 February 2019

Christopher Porter and Klara Jordan, <u>Don't</u>
<u>Let Cyber Attribution Debates Tear Apart</u>
<u>the NATO Alliance</u>, Lawfare, 14 February
2019

<u>Inside NATO's cyber defence centre, Sky</u> News, 12 February 2019

New NATO hub will gather the Alliance's cyber defenders, NATO News Release, 12 February 2019

Don Lewis, What is NATO really doing in Cyberspace? War on The Rocks, 4 February 2019

Responding to Cognitive Security Challenges, NATO Stratcom COE, January 2019

NATO battles for a place on the emoji keyboard, The National, 29 January 2019

NATO invests \$422K toward a new international cybersecurity team, Concordia, 23 January 2019

Facebook takes down anti-NATO pages linked to Russia, The Hill, 17 January 2019

### Defence Budgets, Procurement and Burden Sharing

burden-sharing The debate that dominated the NATO Summit in July 2018 (see NATO Watch Observatory No. 48) continued to be a key background issue in the first half of 2019. The annual publication by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Military Balance, showed that NATO's 27 European countries fell short of the two per cent target by \$102 billion in 2018, adding that European NATO members would "collectively have had to increase their spending by 38 per cent" to hit the two percent target in 2018.

In May, the NATO Communications and Information (NCI) Agency announced that it is planning to issue bids for or award contracts totalling 1.4 billion Euros in the next 18 months, as follows:

**Satellite communications** (189 million EUR) transmission services for space, ground and control resources to support NATO operations from 2020 to 2034:

Cyber security (129 million EUR) for refreshing and optimizing the security technology for NATO's communications and information systems;

**Deployable Communications and Information Systems** (153.2 million EUR);

Nuclear Command and Control Services (15-to-20 million EUR) to develop software and procure IT equipment, among other things;

Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) functional services (10 million EUR) to develop software, replace certain ageing tools and support command and control of CBRN assets; and

Joint Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (17 million EUR) to provide additional intelligence collecting and sharing capabilities to NATO Commands.

NATO Agency plans for 1.4 billion EUR in upcoming business opportunities, NCI Agency News Release, 20 May 2019

US and NATO Radios Can't Talk to Each Other. The Air Force Wants to Change That, Military.com, 26 April 2019

NATO helps Allies speed up sharing of weapons, NATO News Release, 27 March 2019

Max Bergmann, <u>To strengthen NATO</u>, <u>Congress must help end its reliance on Russian equipment</u>, Defense One, 26 March 2019

NATO to receive first Northrop surveillance drone, years late, Reuters, 18 March 2019

Alliance unity 'more important than ever,' NATO chief says as defense spending rises, Stars and Stripes, 14 March 2019

NATO Allies Like Germany Risk Another Spending Fight With Trump, Bloomberg, 14 March 2019 NATO edges towards Trump's spending demands, Germany lags, Reuters, 14 March 2019

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After NATO Funding Success, Trump Eyes More Defense Money from Allies, CBN News, 12 March 2019

NATO Selects BlackBerry's Encrypted Voice Technology to Secure its Calls, PR Newswire, 12 March 2019

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Steinar Brandslet, <u>Are European NATO</u> states freeloading? Science Nordic, 10 March 2019

Industry conference brings business leaders together to learn about NATO funding opportunities, NATO News Release, 21 February 2019

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Disputes over defence budgets will continue to divide NATO, The Economist, 15 February 2019

<u>Europeans \$100 billion short of NATO</u> <u>spending pledge: study,</u> AFP, 15 February 2019

Jeremy Shapiro, <u>America the Mercenary:</u> <u>Trump's plan to bill NATO</u>, ECFR, 12 February 2019

NATO to receive NASMDEF facility for softkill countermeasures assessment, Jane's Navy International, 4 February 2019

Allies receive new land munitions through NATO project, NATO News Release, 31 January 2019

NATO secures additional SALIS surge capability with Antonov, Janes Defence Weekly, 14 January 2019

Johannes Blum and Niklas Potrafke, <u>Does a Change of Government Influence Compliance with International Agreements?</u>
<u>Empirical Evidence for the NATO Two Percent Target</u>, Defence and Peace Economics, 2019

NATO extends Antonov's SALIS contract, Jane's Defence Weekly, 7 January 2019

#### **Energy Security**

According to the 2018 Brussels Summit Declaration, energy security plays an important role in NATO's common security. A stable and reliable energy supply increases the alliance's political resilience against economic pressure (para 76). While acknowledging these issues primarily the responsibility of national authorities, NATO "will continue regular allied consultations on issues related to energy security" and "refine NATO's role in energy security in accordance established principles guidelines, and continue to develop NATO's capacity to support national authorities in protecting critical infrastructure".

John Bowlus, <u>Energy Conjoins NATO, 70</u> <u>Years Later</u>, Energy Reporters, 11 April 2019

NATO ENSEC COE and JRC held the main planning conference for the flagship Tabletop exercise Coherent Resilience 2019, NATO Energy Security Centre of Excellence, 5 April 2019

Lukas Trakimavičius, <u>NATO's Achilles' Heel:</u>
<u>Power Grids</u>, Real Clear Defense, 9 January 2019

#### **Enlargement & Partnerships**

#### Australia

NATO and Australia are strengthening relations, building on dialogue and cooperation that have been developing since 2005. In a joint political declaration in June 2012, NATO and Australia signalled their commitment to strengthen cooperation, and since February 2013, work is being taken forward through an Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme.

Graeme Dobell, <u>NATO and ANZUS as</u> contrasting cousins, The Strategist, 29 April 2019

#### Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in 1992. This forum for dialogue was succeeded in 1997 by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. Bilateral cooperation began when Azerbaijan joined the Partnership for Peace programme in 1994. Azerbaijan has supported several NATO-led peace-support operations.

Ilgar Gurbanov, <u>Azerbaijan and NATO Mark</u> 25 Years of <u>Partnership</u>, Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume 16, Issue 71, 15 May 2019

25 years of NATO - Azerbaijan partnership: Director General of NATO's International Military Staff visits Azerbaijan, NATO News Release, 23 April 2019

#### Belarus

Belarusian-NATO relations began in 1992, when the country joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, transformed into the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in 1997. In 1995, Belarus joined NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme. The first Individual Partnership Programme with Belarus was endorsed by the NATO Council in July 1997. Since then, the number of annual joint activities the Programme has increased more than six-fold.

Arseny Sivitsky, Not an Enemy: Belarus Seeks Warmer Relations With NATO, Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 16 Issue: 40, 12 March 2019

#### Bosnia Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been a NATO partner, through the NATO Partnership for Peace programme, since 2006.

Admiral Foggo in Sarajevo: NATO committed to a strong partnership with BiH, European Western Balkans, 7 May 2019

NATO and Bosnia and Herzegovina sign agreement on protection of classified information, NATO News Release, 12 March 2019

<u>Director General of the NATO International</u> <u>Military Staff Discusses Regional Stability</u> <u>with Bosnian Officials</u>, NATO News Release, 27 February 2019

Sean Maguire and Ryan Scherba, <u>The Bosnia Boondoggle: This Is Why Sarajevo Can't Join NATO</u>, The National Interest, 13 January 2019

#### Brazil

During a press conference in March with the President of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, President Trump apparently suggested making the South American nation a member of NATO. "I also intend to designate Brazil as a major non-NATO ally or even possibly, if you start thinking about it, maybe a NATO ally," he said. However, this remains an extremely unlikely prospect.

Brazil Isn't Ready for Trump's Invitation to NATO, Bloomberg, 23 March 2019

#### China-NATO relations

NATO has maintained a dialogue with countries that are not part of its partnership frameworks, on an ad-hoc basis, since the 1990s. One such country is China. While there was no mention of China in the 2018 Brussels Summit Declaration, the 2018 US National Defense Strategy cites China as a strategic competitor.

The Trump administration continues to push NATO to address potential threats from China in its day-to-day work in Brussels, as part of a shift in US priorities away from fighting Islamist terrorists and towards a so-called era of great power competition.

David A. Andelman, <u>NATO countries need</u> to stop China from winning the 5G race, CNN, 15 April 2019

Kadri Kaska, Henrik Beckvard and Tomáš Minárik, <u>Huawei</u>, <u>5G and China as a Security Threat</u>, The NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence, 2019

Erik Brattberg, <u>Time for NATO to Talk About China</u>, Carnegie Europe, 25 March 2019

Robbie Gramer, <u>Trump Wants NATO's Eyes</u> on <u>China</u>, Foreign Policy, 20 March 2019

#### Colombia

In May 2018 Colombia became the latest NATO 'partner across the globe'.

Colombia's demining centre joins NATO network, NATO News Release, 18 March 2019

NATO Revises Defense Codification System in Colombia, Dialogo-Americas, 4 January 2019

#### Egypt

Egypt engages with NATO through the Mediterranean Dialogue (see below).

Egyptian Journalists visit NATO HQ, NATO News Release, 8 April 2019

Young Egyptian Diplomats visit NATO HQ, NATO News Release, 22 February 2019

#### **EU-NATO Relations**

Following the signature of the Joint Declaration on NATO-EU cooperation in Warsaw in July 2016, NATO and the EU have been discussing how to expand their joint work, including by bringing more coherence in their respective defence capability development priorities and output. The European Council Conclusions of June 2018 called for further deepening of NATO-EU cooperation. And in July 2018 a new Brussels Joint Declaration was signed by the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Council, and the President of the European Commission.

NATO and the EU signed a further agreement on 10 December 2018 to cooperate in promoting good governance in the defence and security sector. As part of this agreement, the EU will contribute 2 million EUR to the NATO Building Integrity Trust Fund for 2019-2022.

NATO, EU military brass duck the transatlantic bullets flying over PESCO and the EDF, Jane's Defence Weekly, 24 May 2019

NATO and EU discuss defence against hybrid warfare, NATO News Release, 14 March 2019

Jo Coelmont, <u>European Strategic</u> <u>Autonomy: which military level of ambition?</u> Egmont Security Policy Brief, No.109, March 2019

Elie Perot, The art of commitments: NATO, the EU, and the interplay between law and politics within Europe's collective defence architecture, European Security, Vol. 28 No.1, 2019, pp. 40-65

David Herszenhorn, <u>Europe's NATO</u> <u>problem</u>, Politico, 14 February 2019

<u>In Romania, Secretary General praises</u> <u>deepening NATO-EU cooperation,</u> NATO News Release, 30 January 2019

Fabrice Pothier, <u>A European army: can the dream become a reality?</u> IISS Comment, 7 January 2019

Sven Biscop, <u>Fighting for Europe: European</u>
<u>Strategic Autonomy and the Use of Force</u>,
Egmont Paper 103, January 2019

#### **Finland**

Finland joined NATO's Partnership for Peace in 1994 and became a member of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in 1997. Finland is one of NATO's most active partners and has contributed to NATO-led operations and missions in the Balkans and Afghanistan. It is one of five countries that has enhanced opportunities for dialogue and cooperation with NATO.

Pauli Järvenpää, <u>Finland and NATO: So Close, Yet So Far</u>, EESTI – Estonia, 22 April 2019

#### Georgia

A 2008 Bucharest Summit Declaration promised eventual NATO membership for Georgia - a position reiterated at several NATO summits since, and most recently in July 2018.

According to an opinion poll conducted in April by the National Democratic Institute, 77 per cent of Georgians would support their country joining the EU while 74 per cent would support NATO membership – a slight increase compared with a similar poll in January, when support for the EU and NATO were surveyed at 72 per cent and 64

per cent. 53 per cent of NATO supporters in the April poll believed that the alliance would help Georgia preserve its security and 27 per cent said joining NATO would lead to restoration of the country's territorial integrity. The poll also found that Russian military aggression remains the top security concern of Georgians (31 per cent), followed by fear of an occupation of South Ossetia and Abkhazia (11 per cent). Russian propaganda (10 per cent) and terrorism (four per cent).

Georgia: 77% support accession to EU, 74% - to NATO, Jam News, 21 May 2019

Neil Hauer, <u>The West Takes NATO for Granted. One Country Still Wants In</u>, The Atlantic, 3 April 2019

NATO Allied Land Command signs letter of cooperation with Georgia Defence Forces, DVIDS, 31 March 2019

NATO Military Committee visit Georgia in show of continued support, NATO News Release, 29 March 2019

NATO agreed Georgia would join. Why hasn't it happened? PRI, 27 March 2019

NATO's Stoltenberg says Georgia is still on track to eventually join the alliance, New Europe, 27 March 2019

<u>Secretary General visits NATO-Georgia</u> <u>exercise</u>, NATO News Release, 25 March 2019

<u>Joint press conference</u> with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and the Prime Minister of Georgia, Mamuka Bakhtadze, 24 March 2019

Georgian defence minister attends multinational workshop on Non-Commissioned Officers, NATO News Release, 25 March 2019

NATO countries to begin military exercises in Georgia, AA.com, 11 March 2019

NATO and Georgian parliamentarians discuss security in the Black Sea, Georgia's NATO integration, NATO PA News Release, 22 February 2019

<u>Zurabishvili Says Georgia is Ready for Integration into NATO</u>, Georgia Today, 24 January 2019

<u>Secretary General welcomes President of</u> <u>Georgia to NATO</u>, NATO News Release, 23 January 2019

#### Israel

Israel has been a member of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue since it was initiated in 1994 and is developing closer cooperation with the alliance, including maritime partnerships.

IDF Deputy Chief of Staff returns from NATO conference, Jerusalem Post, 24 May 2019

Michael Sieveking, <u>NATO and Israel are</u> right to deepen ties, New Europe, 23 May 2019

IDF Deputy Chief of Staff to take part in NATO Military Committee Meeting, Jerusalem Post, 20 May 2019

Abbas: I Agreed to U.S.-led NATO force in 'Palestine', Jerusalem Post, 24 March 2019

NATO Deputy Secretary General Rose Gottemoeller visits Israel, NATO News Release, 21 January 2019

#### Iordan

NATO supports Jordan in the areas of cyber defence, border security and counter improvised explosive devices (C-IED). In February 2018, NATO launched a Defence Capacity Building Project to enhance Jordan's capacity in national resilience and crisis management.

NATO and United Nations working together to strengthen Jordan's security and defence capacity against terrorist threats, NATO News Release, 6 March 2019

#### Kuwait

Kuwait is a member of NATO's Istanbul Cooperation Initiative and hosts the NATO-ICI Regional Center, which was inaugurated in Kuwait City in 2017. In November 2018, Kuwait inaugurated the offices of its first ever diplomatic mission to NATO.

Young Kuwaiti Diplomats share views with NATO officials during a recent visit at NATO Headquarters, NATO News Release, 12 March 2019

#### Mediterranean Dialogue

NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) was initiated in 1994 by the North Atlantic Council and currently involves seven non-NATO countries in the region: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. The MD aims to contribute to regional security and stability, achieve better mutual understanding.

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, with the 29 Permanent Representatives of the North Atlantic Council marked the 25th anniversary of the Mediterranean Dialogue on 6 May 2019 in Ankara, Turkey. They were joined by the Ambassador of North Macedonia and senior diplomats of the seven nations participating in the partnership forum.

NATO marks 25th anniversary of Mediterranean Dialogue, NATO News Release, 6 May 2019

NATO and the Kingdom of Morocco coorganize a public diplomacy seminar celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Mediterranean Dialogue, NATO News Release, 5 February 2019

#### New Zealand

NATO and New Zealand have been engaged in dialogue and cooperation since 2001. New Zealand is one of a range of countries beyond the Euro-Atlantic area-often referred to as "partners across the globe"—with which NATO is developing relations. Since 2012 work has been taken forward through an Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme.

NATO seeks NZ support for new Iraq training programme, Radio NZ, 26 January 2019

<u>Secretary General: NATO and New Zealand</u> <u>are close partners</u>, NATO News Release, 25 January 2019

#### North Macedonia

Macedonia is set to join NATO as the alliance's 30th member after changing

its name to the Republic of North Macedonia. Agreement on the name change was reached with Greece in 2018. The name dispute between Skopje and Athens dates back to 1991, when Macedonia peacefully broke away from Yugoslavia, declaring its independence under the name Republic of Macedonia. Greece had objected to the name Macedonia, saying it implied territorial claims on the northern Greek region with the same name. Greece had cited the dispute to veto Macedonia's bid to join both NATO and the EU.

On 25 January, Greece's parliament approved the change and in February NATO signed an accession agreement with North Macedonia. Each NATO member state now has to ratify the accession protocol—five have done so to date (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro and Slovenia).

In May, in a presidential runoff, voters Macedonia in North elected government-backed candidate plans to bring the country into NATO under its new name over a rival who had vowed to challenge the name change if elected. Stevo Pendarovski, a joint candidate of the governing Social Democrats and 30 smaller parties, received about 52 per cent of the vote, compared with about 45 per cent for his opponent, Gordana Siljanovska Davkova.

Maxim Samorukov, <u>Double or quits: A Russian approach to North Macedonia and NATO</u>, European Leadership Network, 14 May 2019

North Macedonia's pro-Western candidate wins presidential vote, Reuters, 5 May 2019

<u>Supporter of North Macedonia Name</u> <u>Change Wins Presidency</u>, New York Times, 5 May 2019

Renamed North Macedonia Revisits Row That Opened NATO Path, Bloomberg, 5 May 2019

Dimitar Bechev, <u>The Impact of North Macedonia's Accession to NATO</u>, RUSI Newsbrief, 25 April 2019

Ausrine Armonaite (Lithuania) Rapporteur, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Economics and Security Committee (ESC), Sub-Committee on Transition and Development (ESCTD), The Republic of North Macedonia: Political Change, NATO Accession and Economic Transition, Draft Report, 8 April 2019

After Prespa: Could the North Macedonia name agreement fall apart? ECFR Commentary, 28 March 2019

NATO Secretary General welcomes the Prime Minister Zoran Zaev of North Macedonia, NATO News Release, 20 March 2019

Leaders of the Republic of North Macedonia see NATO accession as key to regional stabilisation and domestic reform, NATO PA News Release, 18 March 2019

Todd Carney, <u>What Does North</u> <u>Macedonia's Name Change Have to Do with</u> NATO? Lawfare, 8 March 2019

Gil Barndollar, <u>Macedonia is set to join</u>
<u>NATO — an alliance that can't fight</u>,
Defense News, 13 February 2019

Macedonia officially changes its name to North Macedonia, The Guardian, 12 February 2019

Maxim Samorukov, <u>Macedonia Joining</u> <u>NATO Is a Self-Inflicted Defeat for Russia</u>, Moscow Times, 10 February 2019

<u>Greece approves protocol for 'North Macedonia' to join NATO with 153 votes, Ekathemerini, 8 February 2019</u>

Leonid Bershidsky, <u>Trump Doesn't Need North Macedonia in NATO</u>, Bloomberg, 7 February 2019

Nato to add Macedonia despite Putin warning, EU Observer, 7 February 2019

Jonathan Katz, Evelyn Farkas and Zhikica Pagovski, <u>The Agreement Over</u> <u>Macedonia's Name Is a Glimmer of Hope in</u> <u>Europe</u>, GMF (Blog), 6 February 2019

Macedonia signs Nato accession agreement, BBC News, 6 February 2019

NATO Allies sign Accession Protocol for the future Republic of North Macedonia, NATO News Release, 6 February 2019

NATO To Sign Accession Pact With Macedonia, Paving Way For Membership, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 2 February 2019

What's in a Name? Membership in NATO, The Cipher Brief, 1 February 2019

James Pardew, <u>Something remarkable just happened in the Balkans</u>, The Hill, 31 January 2019

Greek lawmakers ratify Macedonia name change, clearing way for NATO, EU membership, Defense News, 25 January 2019

NATO intelligence chief visits Skopje for talks on defence reforms, NATO News Release, 21 January 2019

Macedonia approves historical deal with Greece to rename itself North Macedonia, Independent, 13 January 2019

EU and NATO officials congratulate Macedonia on amending the Constitution, Western Balkans, 12 January 2019

Macedonian PM Urges Parliament To Back Name Change, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 9 January 2019

<u>Process of constitutional changes in</u>
<u>Macedonia to enter final phase</u>, Zaev
optimistic, Western Balkans, 4 January
2019

#### Policy

Hal Brands, <u>If NATO Expansion Was a Mistake</u>, <u>Why Hasn't Putin Invaded?</u> Bloomberg, 14 May 2019

NATO Partnership Programmes have witnessed a constant growth in the past two decades. Today the system has become close to unmanageable in terms of administrative burden and oversight—not only with regard to the numbers of partner countries but also when it comes to the types initiatives programmes, and frameworks. funding review and This Working mechanisms. Paper the argues Partnership that Programmes are in need of adaptation and proposes possible steps into that direction

Wolfgang Rudischhauser, <u>Adaptations</u> <u>Needed: NATO Partnership Programmes in the 21st century</u>, German Federal Academy for Security Policy, Security Policy Working Paper No. 11/2019, May 2019

Azita Raji, <u>The Partnership for Peace: A Quiet NATO Success Story</u>, War on the Rocks, 8 April 2019

Secretary General praises NATO's Open Door policy at enlargement anniversary event, NATO News Release, 18 March 2019

Mike Sweeney, <u>NATO Expansion Got Some</u>
<u>Big Things Right</u>, War on the Rocks, 7
March 2019

Matthew Cancian and Mark Cancian, <u>It Is</u> <u>Long Past Time to Stop Expanding NATO</u>, War On The Rocks, 1 March 2019

### Science for Peace and Security Programme

The NATO Science for Peace and Security Programme was created in 1958 to promote the training of scientists, encourage the sharing of knowledge, and build networks of experts.

NATO works on quantum cryptography with Malta, NATO News Release, 16 April 2019

#### Serbia

Unlike other Western Balkan partners, Serbia does not aspire to join NATO. However, the country is deepening its political dialogue and cooperation with the alliance on issues of common interest, such as defence reforms.

<u>Inspired by NATO Bombing, Serbian Artist</u> <u>Turns Trauma into Art,</u> Balkan Insight, 30 May 2019

Serbian president blasts NATO aggression as crime that turned the clock back, TASS, 27 March 2019

20 years on, Serbian victims of NATO bombings feel forgotten, France 24, 21 March 2019

Serbia Just Got More Russian-Made MiG Fighters as Arms Race With NATO-Member Croatia Escalates, TIME, 25 February 2019

#### Sweden

NATO and Sweden actively cooperate in peace and security operations, and the country has been a major contributor to NATO-led operations and missions in the Balkans and Afghanistan. Sweden

joined NATO's Partnership for Peace in 1994 and became a member of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in 1997. Sweden is one of five countries that has enhanced opportunities for dialogue and cooperation with NATO.

A report for the Swedish Parliament concluded in January that Sweden should not join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) "in its present form". Diverse stakeholders have been submitting assessments of the report and the Swedish Government is expected to make an official decision whether to join the TPNW in due course.

Wheels up for airforce exercise in the skies over northern Scandinava, Barents Observer, 26 May 2019

Riina Kaljurand, <u>The Hem and Haw of Sweden's Relationship with NATO</u>, EESTI - Estonia, 22 April 2019

The past decade has seen substantial shifts in Swedish security policy and major change in the domestic debate about NATO. For the first time, all of the right-of-centre "alliance parties" are calling for a full NATO membership, and popular support for NATO has increased. Yet public opinion contains ambiguities and paradoxes complicate the picture. At the same time as support for NATO increased, the public is overwhelmingly for continued military non-alignment.

Karl Ydén, Joakim Berndtsson and Magnus Petersson, Sweden and the issue of NATO membership: exploring a public opinion paradox, Defence Studies, Vol. 19 No.1, 2019, pp.1-18

#### Tunisia

In 2014, 20 years after joining the Mediterranean Dialogue initiative, Tunisia entered a NATO individual partnership and cooperation programme focused on priority areas including counter-terrorism and border security.

Secretary General and Tunisian Foreign Minister take stock of partnership between NATO and Tunisia, NATO News Release, 16 May 2019

NATO trains the Tunisian Navy on maritime simulators, NATO News Release, 22 March 2019

#### Ukraine

It has been 25 years since Ukraine joined NATO's Partnership for Peace programme and Since 2014, in the wake of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, cooperation has been intensified. In January, Ukraine purchased over \$770,000 worth of .50 calibre sniper rifles from Canada, indicating another step in the direction of the Ukrainian military adopting a number of small arms (and ammunition) in common standardized usage with NATO forces.

In March NATO and the European Union condemned Russia's 2014 annexation of Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula five years after Moscow declared the region Russian territory. NATO allies said in a statement that "we strongly condemn this act, which we do not and will not recognize". They also criticized Russia's military buildup in Crimea and alleged abuses rights including "arbitrary detentions, arrest, and torture" against members of the Crimean Tartar community.

Illia Ponomarenko, <u>NATO-Ukraine: Where does relationship stand after 25 years of talks?</u> Kiev Post, 31 May 2019

Zelenskiy team backs continued cooperation with NATO, Kyiv Post, 23 April 2019

Sergey Sukhankin, <u>Ukraine's Thorny Path to</u>
<u>NATO Membership: Mission (im)possible?</u>
EESTI - Estonia, 22 April 2019

Ukrainian Presidential Front-Runner Pledges to hold Referendum on NATO, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 18 April 2019

<u>Ukraine caught in cross-fire as Russia-NATO cooperation curtailed,</u> UNIAN, 17 April 2019

NATO intensifies scientific cooperation with Ukraine, NATO News Release, 11 April 2019

Nikola Mikovic, <u>NATO in the Black Sea: How will Russia Respond?</u> International Policy Digest, 5 April 2019

<u>Cadets from Ukraine's Naval Forces</u> <u>Institute train on NATO mine trawler</u>, Kyiv Post, 27 March 2019

Statement by the North Atlantic Council on Crimea, NATO News Release, 18 March 2019

NATO-Ukraine Commission discusses situation in Crimea, NATO News Release, 6 March 2019

<u>Ukraine expects NATO to provide</u> <u>Membership Action Plan, set date of</u> <u>accession</u>, Ukrinform, 23 February 2019

<u>Ukraine President Signs Constitutional</u>
<u>Amendment On NATO, EU Membership,</u>
Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 19
February 2019

Ukrainian Parliament Passes Constitutional Amendment To Reflect EU, NATO Aspirations, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 7 February 2019

<u>Ukrainian snipers are about to get this</u> <u>powerful new upgrade courtesy of Canada,</u> Military Times, 7 January 2019

#### **UN-NATO** Relations

NATO and the United Nations are building on dialogue and cooperation developed after the end of the Cold War. A structured framework for cooperation was set out in a Joint Declaration agreed in 2008. In March NATO took part in the annual UN Peacekeeping Ministerial Conference in New York. The alliance was represented by Clare Hutchinson, NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security.

NATO participates in UN Peacekeeping Ministerial meeting in New York, NATO News Release, 1 April 2019

#### **Intelligence**

In recent years, NATO has stepped up its efforts in Intelligence by creating an Assistant Secretary General position and a NATO Intelligence Division to better understand the security threats. In March, the NATO Joint Intelligence Security Division and (IISD). conjunction with the Netherlands Intelligence and Defence Security Service, hosted the 20th annual NATO Warning Intelligence Working Group and Symposium, in Amsterdam. Over the course of the three-day event, intelligence practitioners policymakers exchanged views on the diverse threats and challenges currently facing NATO.

NATO and the United Nations mark continued cooperation against terrorism, NATO News Release, 7 May 2019

NATO Nations discuss Warning Intelligence Reform, NATO News Release, 1 April 2019

#### **Maritime Security**

NATO's Maritime Strategy, agreed in 2011, sets out a series of activities that includes collective defence, crisis management, cooperative security and maritime security.

Rowan Allport, <u>Fill the Cracks in NATO's Maritime Strategy</u>, Defense One, 3 January 2019

#### **Military Exercises**

For 2019, a total of 102 NATO exercises are planned; 39 of them are open to partner participation. Allies reported that they will conduct 208 national and multinational exercises. The exercises led by NATO and allies this year include around 25 exercises primarily focused on the land domain. 27 exercises focused on the domain, and 12 exercises focused mainly on maritime operations. Many other exercises train specific functions or skills such as cyber defence, crisis response decision-making, Chemical, Biological, Radiological Nuclear defence, logistics, communications and medical. Military exercises conducted so far in 2019 include:

DYNAMIC MANTA (25 February - 9 March), Italy, Mediterranean Sea - Annual NATO aero-naval exercise aimed at testing submarine warfare and anti-submarine warfare capabilities;

NATO-GEORGIA EXERCISE (18-29 March), Georgia - Second multinational NATO-Georgia exercise, hosted by Georgia and involving more than 20 NATO allies and partners, as well as international humanitarian organisations;

LOCKED SHIELDS (9-11 April), Estonia - One of the world's largest and most complex live-fire cyber defence exercises, hosted annually by the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence:

RAMSTEIN ALLOY 1 (15-17 April), Baltic States - One of three live exercises with Article 5 scenarios and a focus on the Air domain (and include partners Finland and Sweden);

JOINT WARRIOR (22 April - 5 May), UK - A UK-led multinational naval exercise that takes place every two years;

SPRING STORM (29 April - 10 May), Estonia - A large-scale live exercise of the Estonian Defence Forces, with participation from NATO's enhanced Forward Presence and other allied forces (with participation by some 10,000 military personnel in total); and

NOBLE JUMP 19 (24 May – 14 June), NATO HQs and Poland - The first, tabletop phase of this exercise tested the activation, deployment planning and readiness of the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force. The exercise activated the overall NRF and forces moving from their home stations to their points of embarkation. The second, live portion, starting on 1 June, will test the deployment of elements of the VJTF and the role of NATO Force Integration Units.

NATO's Largest Communications and Information Systems Exercise Has Begun, Bulgarian Military, 20 May 2019

US military, allies in Romania stage largestever combined NATO medical exercise, Stars and Stripes, 25 April 2019

Lara Martinho (Portugal) Rapporteur, NATO Exercises - Evolution and Lessons Learned, Draft Report, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Defence and Security Committee, Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities, 9 April 2019

US B-52 bombers conduct training in Europe, NATO News Release, 25 March 2019

Air Force B-52s deploy to England for NATO exercises, Stars and Stripes, 19 March 2019

Thousands to take part in Nato's UK-led Joint Warrior, BBC News, 14 March 2019

NATO's advanced Anti-Submarine Warfare Exercise Dynamic Manta begins in Italy, NATO Allied Maritime Command News Release, 27 February 2019

UK and NATO allies to test crisis response on exercise in Germany, UK Government News Release, 27 February 2019

Thomas Hughes, More than just 'war games,' military exercises require transparency, The Conversation, 22 January 2019

<u>U.S., NATO Assess Lessons of Trident</u> <u>Juncture Exercise</u>, US Department of Defense, 17 January 2019

<u>Dstl tests NATO's War of Words</u>, UK MoD News Release, 17 January 2019 - Specialists in strategic communications were deployed with NATO troops on Exercise Trident Juncture

#### Missile Defence

Major components of NATO missile defence currently include US Navy destroyers fitted with the Aegis missile defence system based in Rota, Spain; and a US-operated land-based system in Romania and Poland known as Aegis Ashore. Other major components include an early warning radar in Turkey. NATO's air command in Ramstein, Germany is the responsible command.

In January, President Trump announced a plan for a major expansion in US

missile defence that will rely on a new generation of space-based sensors. The administration's long-delayed missile defence review called for the expansion of the US network of sensors and interceptors designed to identify and shoot down incoming projectiles from "roque states".

Ships from nine NATO countries took part in live-fire air and missile defence drills off the coast of Scotland in May. Exercise Formidable Shield took place at the UK's Hebrides training range, in the Western Isles of Scotland. A total of 13 ships, 10 aircraft and about 3,300 personnel were involved.

NATO ships start missile defence drill off Scotland, NATO News Release, 8 May 2019

U.S., NATO allies start Formidable Shield exercise in Scotland, UPI.com, 7 May 2019

Nato's Aegis Ashore Romania site to undergo update works, Naval Technology, 15 April 2019

Benjamin Zala, <u>Neither MAD nor Even:</u> <u>Looking beyond Trump's Missile Defense</u> <u>Review</u>, ORG Briefing, February 2019

US plans new space sensors for missile defence against 'rogue states', The Guardian, 17 January 2019

#### **Munich Security Conference**

"Of course, NATO is about cash, capabilities and contributions. But it's also about dignity, decency and dependability. Only if we can unify those aspects can we preserve NATO's cohesion and inner strength".

Ursula von der Leyen, German Defence Minister, Munich Security Conference, 15 February 2019

American Value and European Values, Judy Dempsey, Carnegie Europe, 15 February 2019

Secretary General at Munich Security Conference: "If we stand united we will be ready to face the future.", NATO News Release, 15 February 2019

NATO's internal rifts emerge as powerful subtext at Munich forum, Defense News, 15 February 2019

#### NATO @ 70

The occasion of NATO's 70th birthday was modest: a gathering of foreign ministers in Washington DC in April (see below). The anniversary took place amidst public rifts between the United States and several of the other 28 members on security and trade issues. These included the dispute between the United States and Turkey over the latter's planned purchase of a Russian air defence system (see the 'Turkey' section below), US demands for allies, particularly Germany, to boost defence spending, and a US-Canadian trade disagreement.

Nonetheless, op-ed writers were out in force with a wide range of views describing NATO as 'a bulwark', 'remarkably resilient' and 'the world's most powerful military alliance' to 'obsolete', 'past retirement age', and 'unlawful with serious psychological problems'.

Matthieu Borsboom, <u>This anniversary</u> should remind NATO of its bonds forged in battle, New Europe, 17 May 2019

Caoimhghin Ó Croidheáin, <u>NATO and the</u> <u>Culture of War: Ireland's History of</u> <u>Resistance</u>, Dissident Voice, 9 May 2019

NATO at 70: Bringing its values to the table? Deutsche Welle, 17 April 2019

Margaret Flowers and Kevin B. Zeese, <u>No to NATO: Time To End Aggressive Militarism</u>, anti-War.com, 11 April 2019

Robert Hunter, <u>NATO Came and NATO Went</u>, Lobe Log, 9 April 2019

Gil Barndollar, <u>NATO Is 70 and Past</u> <u>Retirement Age</u>, National Interest, 8 April 2019

Kevin Zeese and Margaret Flowers, <u>No to NATO: Time to end aggressive militarism</u>, Nation of Change, 8 April 2019

Jamie Shea, NATO at 70: an opportunity to recalibrate, NATO Review, 5 April 2019

5 Dark Clouds Hanging Over NATO's 70th Anniversary, NPR, 5 April 2019

Fabrice Pothier, <u>Five challenges that NATO must overcome to stay relevant</u>, IISS, 4 April 2019

Ruben Gallego & Elise Stefanik, <u>Back to the future</u>: <u>NATO at 70</u>, The Hill, 4 April 2019

Jacob Parakilas, <u>Don't Count on NATO to Save Liberal Values</u>, Chatham House, 4 April 2019

Sam Fellman, <u>These are 6 of NATO's worst crises in 70 years as the world's most powerful military alliance</u>, Business Insider, 3 April 2019

Sophia Besch and Ian Bond, <u>NATO at 70:</u> <u>Twilight years or a new dawn?</u> Centre for European Reform, 3 April 2019

Rachel Ellehuus, <u>NATO at 70-Shaping the</u>
<u>Future for the Next 70 Years</u>, CSIS
Commentary, 2 April 2019

Yves Engler, <u>The Anti-Democratic Roots of NATO</u>, Real News, 2 April 2019

Julie Smith, <u>NATO needs solidarity for its</u> 70<sup>th</sup> birthday, Foreign Policy, 2 April 2019

Gustav Gressel, <u>After Crimea: Does NATO</u> <u>have the means to defend Europe?</u> ECFR Commentary, 2 April 2019

Jeremy Shapiro, <u>NATO at 70: Celebration</u> and introspection, ECFR Commentary, 2 April 2019

Jan Oberg, NATO at 70: An unlawful organisation with serious psychological problems, Transnational, 2 April 2019

NATO at 70: From Triumph to Tumult?, GMF Policy Brief 360, 1 April 2019

Karlyn Bowman, NATO at 70: How Strong Is Public Support? Forbes, 1 April 2019

Nick Wadhams and Jonathan Stearns, NATO's Muted 70th Birthday Overshadowed by Skeptic-in-Chief, Bloomberg, 1 April 2019

Stewart Patrick, <u>As NATO Turns 70, the European Security Debate Comes Full Circle</u>, World Politics Review, 1 April 2019

Douglas Macgregor, <u>NATO Is Not Dying. It's a Zombie</u>, National Interest, 31 March 2019

NATO fetes 70 years, but Trump not partying, France 24, 31 March 2019

Dan Runde, <u>The state of NATO is better</u> than you think, The Hill, 29 March 2019

Adam Schiff, <u>At 70, NATO remains a crucial alliance. So why does Trump keep attacking</u> it? Los Angeles Times, 29 March 2019

James Carden, <u>NATO Turns 70</u>, The Nation, 28 March 2019

David Reynolds, <u>NATO in the age of Putin</u> and <u>Trump</u>, <u>New Stateman</u>, 27 March 2019

Strobe Talbot, <u>A brief history of NATO, from Truman to Trump</u>, Brookings, 27 March 2019

Noah Rothman, <u>No. NATO Isn't Dying</u>, Commentary Magazine, 26 March 2019

Fang Xiaozhi, <u>NATO's fate uncertain as it turns 70</u>, China Military Online, 26 March 2019

Brian Cloughley, <u>NATO's Expensive</u> <u>Anniversaries</u>, Counter Punch, 22 March 2019

Hans Binnendijk, <u>5 consequences of a life</u> without NATO, Defense News, 19 March 2019

Daniel Franklin, <u>How is NATO shaping up at</u> 70, The Economist, 14 March 2019

What NATO is doing to keep abreast of new challenges, The Economist, 14 March 2019

Jonathan Ellis Allen, <u>Don't Count NATO Out</u> <u>Just Yet</u>, The National Interest, 21 February 2019

Christina Pazzanese, <u>A spirited defense of NATO as bulwark</u>, The Harvard Gazette, 14 February 2019

Nicholas Burns and Douglas Lute, <u>NATO at Seventy: An Alliance in Crisis</u>, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, February 2019

<u>Leaders Underscore the Importance of NATO</u>, World Economic Forum, 24 January 2019

David Stockman, <u>Trump Derangement</u> <u>Syndrome and the NATO Fetish of the</u> <u>Progressive Left</u>, Anti-War.com, 23 January 2019

Kevin Zeese and Margaret Flowers, <u>Beyond NATO: Time To Break The Silence, End NATO's Militarism</u>, Eurasia Review, 21 January 2019

Ursula von der Leyen, <u>The World Still Needs</u> <u>NATO</u>, New York Times, 18 Jan. 2019

Pat Buchanan, <u>Time to rethink NATO</u>, WND, 17 January 2019

### NATO Defence Ministers Meeting Brussels, 13-14 February 2019

NATO Defence Ministers discussed the INF Treaty, NATO's defence and deterrence posture, NATO's missions and operations, and European cooperation on defence.

NATO Defence Ministers conclude two days of discussions in Brussels, NATO News Release, 15 February 2019

Remarks by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini upon arrival to the NATO Defence Ministers' meeting, EEAS News Release, 14 February 2019

<u>Doorstep statement</u> by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg ahead of the meetings of NATO Defence Ministers in Brussels, 13 February 2019

NATO Defence Ministers meet in Brussels, NATO News Release, 13 February 2019

NATO Defence Ministers to address pressing security challenges, NATO News Release, 12 February 2019

### NATO Foreign Ministers Meeting Brussels, 3-4 April 2019

Foreign Ministers met Washington DC to mark the 70th anniversary of the alliance (see above). NATO's meeting discussed relations with Russia and approved a series of measures aimed at countering Russia in the Black Sea region, includina providing Georgia increased Ukraine with maritime cooperation, patrols and port visits. The Ministers also renewed demands for Russia to end its annexation of Crimea, release Ukrainian sailors and ships it seized in a confrontation last year in the Sea of Azov and respect the INF Treaty (see 'Arms Control & Disarmament' section above).

Ministers also discussed NATO's role in the fight against terrorism and US efforts to seek a political settlement in Afghanistan. "We went into Afghanistan together, and we agree that we will take any decisions on our future presence together", said the NATO Secretary General. Ministers concluded their meeting with a discussion on burden-sharing in the alliance. The Secretary General welcomed progress, including four consecutive years of rising investment in defence. "Since 2016, European allies and Canada have added \$41 billion dollars to their defence spending; by the end of next year, this will rise to \$100 billion", he said.

NATO Foreign Ministers Agree To Enhance Security In Black Sea Region, Eurasia Review, 5 April 2019

NATO Foreign Ministers agree to enhance security in the Black Sea region, NATO News Release, 4 April 2019

<u>Press conference</u> by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg following the first meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Foreign Ministers' session, 4 April 2019

As NATO Envoys Celebrate, Signs of Fracturing From Within, New York Times, 4 April 2019

NATO approves measures to counter Russia amid internal rifts, Military Times, 4 April 2019

NATO marks 70th anniversary with Washington meeting of Foreign Ministers, NATO News Release, 4 April 2019

3 Ways Europe Is Looking at a Fraying NATO, Defense One, 2 April 2019

Foreign Ministers to mark NATO's 70th anniversary, NATO News Release, 1 April 2019

<u>Press conference</u> by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg ahead of the meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers in Washington, D.C. on 3 and 4 April 2019, 1 April 2019

### NATO Military Committee - new Military Strategy

On 22 May 2019, the twenty-nine NATO Chiefs of Defence and invitee North Macedonia met in Brussels for the 181st Military Committee in Chiefs of Defence Session. The Chiefs of Defence came together to discuss and sign-off on NATO's new Military Strategy, which is not publicly available (see essay above). They also discussed the

Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR)'s Area of Responsibility and the development of the Alliance's deterrence and defence posture.

NATO tackles growing Russia, China threat with new military strategy, 30-30-30 plan, Washington Times, 29 May 2019

Obeying Washington? 'New' NATO strategy parrots hawkish US posture, RT, 28 May 2019

NATO Chiefs of Defence discuss future Alliance adaptation, NATO News Release, 22 May 2019

NATO's top military official talks Russia, Turkey and the INF Treaty, Defense News, 22 March 2019

The NATO Military Committee underscores importance of the Transatlantic Bond with visit to Washington, NATO News Release, 15 March 2019

NATO Military Committee visits
Transatlantic Commands, NATO News
Release, 13 March 2019

The NATO Military Committee in Permanent Session welcomes the future Republic of North Macedonia as Invitee, NATO News Release, 12 February 2019

NATO Chiefs of Defence focus on NATO's Readiness and its Deterrence and Defence Posture, NATO News Release, 24 January 2019

<u>Dunford Meets With NATO Defense Chiefs,</u> US Department of Defense, 15 January 2019

#### **NATO Parliamentary Assembly**

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly's Annual Presidential Report released in February, outlining how legislators in member states tackled crucial issues in their 2018 reports, recommendations, and activities. The report highlights the Assembly's work and achievements on the following key topics: The 2018 NATO Summit; Russia's Multifaceted Tackling Challenge: Instability in NATO's Southern Neighbourhood; Burden Sharing and Transatlantic Relations; Modernising Security and Defence; NATO'S Eastern Partners; The Western

Balkans; The High North; North-East Asia; Afghanistan; Strengthening Women's Role in Peace and Security; and Education and Communication about NATO

18th Annual Parliamentary Transatlantic Forum Report, Washington, D.C., 10-12 December 2018, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, February 2019

2018 Annual Presidential Report of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly released, NATO PA News Release, 19 February 2019

NATO Parliamentary Assembly visits NATO, NATO News Release, 18 February 2019

NATO adaptation and enlargement, INF, and relations with EU top agenda for NATO Parliamentarians' annual Brussels meeting, NATO PA News Release, 15 February 2019

#### NATO Summit

The next NATO summit will be held in London on December 3 and 4 as the alliance marks its 70th anniversary. The December summit will be a chance to "address current and emerging security challenges and how NATO continues to invest and adapt to ensure it will remain a pillar of stability in the years ahead", Jens Stoltenberg said in a statement.

Secretary General announces dates for the Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government in London, NATO News Release, 22 May 2019

<u>Donald Trump to visit UK in December for Nato summit</u>, BBC News, 6 December 2019

Secretary General announces NATO Heads of State and Government will meet in London, NATO News Release, 6 February 2019

#### **Nuclear Weapons**

NATO's collective defence strategy is based on a mix of nuclear, conventional and missile defence capabilities. At the 2018 NATO Summit, the alliance continued to argue that its "nuclear arrangements" are fully consistent with the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), while rejecting the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

(TPNW) as being "inconsistent with the alliance's nuclear deterrence policy". Both of these claims remain questionable (see NATO Watch Observatory No.49).

Following the US suspension and withdrawal from the INF Treaty (see 'Arms Control & Disarmament' section above) in February, at least three Green MEPs participated in direct action that breached a security fence at the Kleine Brogel air base in Belgium to protest against its stockpiling of US B-61 nuclear bombs. (Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Turkey host US nuclear weapons as part of NATO's nuclear sharing policy). Michèle Rivasi, the vice-chair of the Green party in the European parliament said that: "When we get over the fence, I want to get to the F-16's runway with a banner calling for a nuclear-free Europe. After that, we will see if the police take us to jail".

Also in February, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), and the wider International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement <u>launched</u> a new global campaign that draws further attention to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of a nuclear war and encourages people to urge their governments to ratify the TPNW.

The number of ratifying states for the TPNW is steadily rising. In April, Panama became the 23rd state to ratify the Treaty—a further 27 states are required to do so before the treaty enters into force. While no NATO member states have signed or ratified the TPNW several cities in NATO member states have committed to the Treaty through a cities appeal by the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). The five latest cities to do so were Zaragoza in Spain, Mainz and Bremen in Germany, Salt Lake City in the United States and Trondheim in Norway. Other major NATO cities that have joined include

Baltimore, Los Angeles and Toronto. Three Councils in the UK have also expressed support for the TPNW. And in Norway 85 per cent of the public in an opinion poll wanted its government to sign the Treaty.

On 11 April, two US Congressmen, Jim McGovern and Earl Blumenauer. introduced the first resolution into the House of Representatives. 'Embracing the Goals and Provisions of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons', that calls on the administration to support the TPNW and make nuclear disarmament a central focus of US national security policy. Although the resolution has no chance of becoming law, Beatrice Fihn, Executive Director of ICAN, said it is "a sign that the TPNW is starting to make an impact on the national security debate in nuclear weapon states".

Harvey M. Sapolsky, <u>Time to Pull US Nuclear</u> <u>Weapons Out of Turkey</u>, Defense One, 17 May 2019

It is also important that NATO has a dialogue with Russia on nuclear issues as part of an effort to take all steps to reduce the risk of nuclear use. One way of doing this would be to reinvigorate dialogue within the NATO-Russia Council (Paragraph 36).

Rising nuclear risk, disarmament and the Nuclear NonProliferation Treaty, UK House of Lords Select Committee on International Relations 7th Report of Session 2017–19 HL Paper 338, 24 April 2019

Nuclear deterrence is not just a dangerous concept on which to base national or international security. It is immoral, undemocratic, and contradictory to human interests, as expressed through common political, scientific, and religious belief systems.

Must Read: James E. Doyle, <u>The inhumanity of nuclear deterrence</u>, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 75 No.2, 2019, pp. 85-91

A New Nuclear Arms Race: As NATO Marks 70th Anniversary, Threat of Nuclear Confrontation Grows, Democracy Now, 8 April 2019

<u>Chairman of NATO Military Committee</u> <u>visits key UK strategic deterrent site</u>, NATO News Release, 29 March 2019

Jeffrey G. Lewis and Bruno Tertrais, <u>The Finger on the Button: The Authority to Use Nuclear Weapons in Nuclear-Armed States</u>, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, CNS Occasional Paper No.45, February 2019

Nick Ritchie, <u>A hegemonic nuclear order:</u> <u>Understanding the Ban Treaty and the power politics of nuclear weapons,</u> Contemporary Security Policy, 31 January 2019

#### **Operations and Missions**

#### **Afghanistan**

NATO wound down combat operations in 2014 and began training and advising Afghan security forces. US forces, which have been in Afghanistan in a counter-terrorism role since 2001, numbered around 15,000 in late 2018, although towards the end of the year. US President Trump ordered the withdrawal of 7,000 US troops. The United States has also been pushing to jump-start an Afghan peace process, but faces a Taliban that is at its strongest since being deposed by a USled military coalition 17 years ago. The Taliban's battlefield successes and territorial gains give it more leverage in talks.

In January, Abdullah Abdullah, the chief executive officer of the Afghan Government, said that an end to the war in Afghanistan remains a "dream" as long as the Taliban refuses to involve the Afghan Government in peace talks. Abdullah's remarks came after the Taliban decided to cancel a fourth round of negotiations due to disputes with US officials about the involvement of Afghan Government officials in the ongoing peace process.

In February, NATO defence ministers weighed the future of the alliance's operation in Afghanistan and debated how best to use its military presence to support political talks aimed at ending the conflict. US plans to reduce the number of forces in Afghanistan will be coordinated with allies, Acting US Defense Secretary Patrick Shanahan told the NATO ministers.

According to the <u>UN mission in Afghanistan</u>, civilian casualties from airstrikes increased by over 60 per cent in 2018 compared to the previous year, with most caused by US airstrikes. And in the <u>first three months of 2019</u>, NATO and pro-government security forces in Afghanistan killed more civilians than the Taliban and other terrorist groups. It is the first time that fatalities caused by security forces in Afghanistan exceeded those caused by the Taliban. At the same time, total casualty numbers fell compared with the previous year.

A report released in April by the US Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) said that both the US military and NATO have stopped producing an assessment that was considered key for measuring progress against the insurgency in Afghanistan. The metric tracked district stability and was previously one of the "most widely cited Afghan security metrics".

In May it was revealed that Germany, a leading donor and member of the NATO-led coalition in Afghanistan, has been talking with the Taliban and the Afghan Government in an effort to restart peace talks.

Germany in push to resurrect Afghan talks with Taliban, Reuters, 26 May 2019

'Tragic accident': US air attack kills 8 policemen in Afghanistan, Al Jazeera, 17 May 2019

Afghan Officials: Airstrikes Kill up to 50 IS Militants, VoA, 4 May 2019

<u>US military ends reporting on security situation in Afghanistan's districts</u>, Long War Journal, 30 April 2019

NATO, Afghan forces kill more civilians than Taliban, Deutsche Welle, 24 April 2019

NATO: Two U.S. Military Personnel Killed In Afghanistan, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 22 March 2019

Sir Nicholas Kay arrives as the new NATO Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan, NATO News Release, 5 March 2019

<u>Defence education experts review progress</u> <u>in Afghanistan</u>, NATO News Release, 5 March 2019

<u>Shanahan: US won't pull troops from</u> <u>Afghanistan without consulting NATO</u>, The Hill, 14 February 2019

Pentagon chief: US will work with NATO on planned Afghanistan troop withdrawal, Military Times, 14 February 2019

NATO Weighs Future of Afghan Mission, Seeks to Support Talks, Military Times, 14 February 2019

Phyllis Bennis, <u>Is the Longest US War Finally Ending?</u> Truthout, 7 February 2019

A New Phase in the Great Game: U.S., Soviets, India, Pakistan vied to shape a new Afghanistan in late 1980s, National Security Archive Briefing Book No. 658, 1 February 2019

Pentagon and NATO chiefs say Taliban talks have been 'encouraging', ABC News, 29 January 2019

NATO, U.S. Officials Encouraged By Afghan Peace Talks After 'Draft Framework' Agreed, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 29 January 2019

The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, 1979: Not Trump's Terrorists, Nor Zbig's Warm Water Ports, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 657, 29 January 2019 - Declassified Documents Show Moscow's Fear of an Afghan Flip, U.S. Diplomat's Meeting with Afghan Leader Helped Put Soviets Over the Edge

*Must Read*: Tom Engelhardt, <u>"The Bleeding Wound": Afghanistan and the Implosion of America</u>, TomDispatch, 24 January 2019

NATO Troops See An Opportunity For Afghan Peace In 2019, Tolo News, 2 January 2019

<u>Top U.S. commander in Afghanistan sees</u> <u>peace opportunity in 2019</u>, Reuters, 1 January 2019

#### Kosovo

Two decades after the withdrawal of Serbian forces, Kosovo's security is still guaranteed by 4,000 NATO troops, known as KFOR. In December 2018, Kosovo's parliament voted to turn its lightly-armed emergency response force into a 5,000-strong professional military. Serbia views this decision as a threat to Kosovo's 120,000-strong ethnic-Serb minority.

Serbia does not recognise Kosovo, which declared independence 10 years ago. For NATO the vote is also problematic. "I regret that the decision to initiate a change of the Kosovo Security Force mandate was made despite the concerns expressed by NATO", said Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg. He warned that the Western military alliance would have to "re-examine the level of NATO's engagement with the Kosovo Security Force". The United States, however, backed the formation of a Kosovan armv.

In March, Kosovo Prime Minister Ramush Haradinaj fired the country's ethnic Serb deputy justice minister after she called NATO's 1999 bombing campaign against Serbia a "planned genocide".

Kosovo PM fires deputy minister over comments about NATO, Reuters, 25 March 2019

Ambassador Kosnett's Message on the 20th Anniversary of NATO's Operation Allied Force, US Embassy Kosovo, 24 March 2019

Operation Allied Force: The NATO Bombing Of Yugoslavia, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 24 March 2019

Brett Wilkins, <u>Killing for Credibility: A Look</u>
<u>Back at the 1999 NATO Air War on Serbia</u>,
AntiWar.com, 23 March 2019

Jasmina Tesanovic, <u>What I Learned When</u>
<u>NATO Bombed Belgrade</u>, Balkan Insight, 23
March 2019

Kosovo grapples with bloody past 20 years, after NATO's first war, NBC News, 22 March 2019

Vesko Garcevic, NATO's Intervention Changed Western-Russian Relations Forever, Balkan Insight, 22 March 2019 Kosovo: disputes continue 20 years after NATO bombing campaign, The Conversation, 22 March 2019

Greta Zarro, <u>'Surrounded by the Fire of War': Remembering NATO's 1999</u>
<u>Aggression in Yugoslavia</u>, The Progressive, 21 March 2019

#### Libya

The NATO-led coalition's military intervention in Libya in 2011, ostensibly to implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973, continues to be a contentious issue. Proponents cite it as an example of the responsibility to protect principle and others accuse NATO of imperialism.

NATO Secretary General calls for end to Libya fighting, NATO News Release, 13 May 2019

NATO chief calls on all sides in Libya to end fighting, Middle East Monitor, 10 April 2019

Fatima Tlis, <u>Did NATO Cause the Crisis in Libya?</u> Polygraph Info, 10 April 2019

Ted Galen Carpenter, How NATO Pushed the U.S. Into the Libya Fiasco, The American Conservative, 21 February 2019 -Obama officials reveal how relentlessly our 'allies' lobbied for this ill-advised regime change war.

#### President Trump and the Transatlantic Bond

The NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and many government officials and commentators across the alliance have articulated the importance of the 'transatlantic bond' and how it has been strengthened in NATO. However, President Trump's nationalistic 'America first' agenda and 'shaking of the NATO tree' suggests that such a bond may only be skin deep and close to breaking point. Repeatedly throughout 2018, for example,

President Trump <u>privately</u> expressed his desire to withdraw from NATO.

With Trump, NATO Chief Tries to Navigate Spending Minefields, New York Times, 2 April 2019

Charles Kupchan, NATO Is Thriving in Spite of Trump, Foreign Affairs, 20 March 2019

Bruce Stokes, <u>For Europe</u>, <u>A Deeply Polarized U.S. Public is a Bigger Challenge than Trump</u>, GMF Transatlantic Take, 1 April 2019

David Goldman, <u>The transatlantic tussle</u> <u>a historical case study on how to handle</u> <u>NATO</u>, War on the Rocks, 18 March 2019

Ted Galen Carpenter, <u>How Will the Growing U.S.-European Split Affect NATO?</u> National Interest, 17 March 2019

Philip Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro, <u>How Trump killed the Atlantic Alliance: And how the next President can restore it</u>, Foreign Affairs, 26 February 2019

Christiane Hoffmann, <u>Europe's Immense</u> <u>Security Challenges in the Age of Trump</u>, Spiegel Online, 22 February 2019

Noah Rothman, <u>Would Republicans Go to</u> <u>War for NATO?</u> Commentary Magazine, 22 February 2019

<u>U.S.-European Relations in the 116th</u> <u>Congress</u>, US Congressional Research Service, 4 February 2019

Alexander Vershbow, <u>Can NATO survive</u> two more years of <u>Donald Trump?</u> The Hill, 21 January 2019

<u>Dem rep: Trump pulling US from NATO</u> <u>would be grounds for impeachment</u>, The Hill, 15 January 2019

GOP reasserts NATO support after report on Trump's wavering, The Hill, 15 January 2019

Trump Discussed Pulling U.S. From NATO, Aides Say Amid New Concerns Over Russia, New York Times, 14 January 2019

Julianne Smith, <u>Transatlantic ties, interrupted</u>, Live Mint, 1 January 2019

#### **Russia-NATO** relations

Relations between Russia and NATO have deteriorated to record post-Cold War lows. Both sides have competing explanations for this. Within the

alliance, there remain disagreements about the nature of the Russian threat and how to respond to it. On 14 April, Curtis General Scaparrotti, outgoing Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) of NATO Allied **Operations** Command General, deplored the broken communication process with Russia and a lack of understanding of "each other's signals". Immediately afterwards. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Grushko <u>denounced</u> the current deadlock with NATO, claiming cooperation had been discontinued and disagreements with NATO were now "even deeper than before".

Kadri Liik, <u>In search of "business not as usual" with Russia</u>, ECFR Commentary, 29 May 2019

Nikolai Sokov, <u>How NATO Could Solve the Suwalki Gap Challenge</u>, National Interest, 1 May 2019

Mathieu Boulègue, <u>Russia and NATO: A Dialogue of Differences</u>, Chatham House, 25 April 2019

Dmitri Trenin, <u>It's Time to Rethink Russia's</u> <u>Foreign Policy Strategy</u>, Carnegie Moscow Center, 25 April 2019

<u>Lavrov says US, EU, NATO declarations</u> <u>won't change Crimea's reunification with</u> <u>Russia, TASS, 23 April 2019</u>

Dave Majumdar, <u>Hell: How Many Millions</u> <u>Would Die In a NATO-Russia War?</u> National Interest, 23 April 2019

Mark Galeotti, <u>Russia and NATO Both Think</u> <u>Time Is on Their Side</u>, Moscow Times, 16 April 2019

Russia Has Ceased 'All' Cooperation With NATO, Foreign Ministry Official Says, Moscow Times, 15 April 2019

NATO-Russia communication plunges - Supreme Allied Commander Europe, Belsat News, 15 April 2019

Analysts warn U.S.-Russia tensions could spiral into armed confrontation, nuclear war, Global News, 14 April 2019

'No NATO country will taunt the Russians' in the Black Sea, France 24, 14 April 2019

Pavel Baev, <u>Russia Sets an Anniversary</u> <u>Ambush for NATO</u>, Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 16 Issue: 49, 8 April 2019

NATO chief calls for confronting Russia in speech to Congress, Politico, 3 April 2019

Dave Majumdar, <u>Europe's Worst Nightmare:</u> <u>Here's What a NATO-Russia War Would Look</u> Like, National Interest, 31 March 2019

One of the distinctive features of the modern Western political narrative with regard to NATO is an almost total misunderstanding of how the alliance is perceived in Russia.

*Must Read*: Ruslan Pukhov, <u>NATO is the obstacle to improving Russian-Western relations</u>, Defense News, 28 March 2019

Ruslan Pukhov, <u>NATO's growing</u> membership, demonization of Putin drive anti-Western policies, Defense News, 28 March 2019

<u>Stealth Hunter: Russia's Deadly S-400 Is</u> <u>Getting Much Closer to NATO's Doorstep</u>, National Interest, 27 March 2019

Michael Hunzeker and Alexander Lanoszka, Threading the Needle Through the Suwałki Gap, EastWest (blog), 26 March 2019

Alex Locke, <u>NATO will lose its next air war</u> to <u>Putin's 'formidable beasts' if it waits for the F-35 to save it</u>, Defense One, 26 March 2019

Blake Stilwell, <u>Russia and NATO just took</u> one step closer to war, We Are The Mighty (blog), 26 March 2019

Cmdr Tony Chavez, <u>US and NATO must stand up to Russian aggression on the seas</u>, The Hill, 23 March 2019

<u>Decades after the end of the cold war,</u> <u>Russia is showing new aggression,</u> The Economist, 14 March 2019

US spy drone base 'fully operational' in Poland, but NATO bemoans 'Russian' military build-up, RT, 8 March 2019

A Dark View of Russia From U.S. NATO Commander, NPR, 7 March 2019

Russia defense chief calls Baltic buildup a response to NATO, Starts and Stripes, 28 February 2019

NATO's steps forcing Russia to take tit-fortat security measures, says defense chief, TASS, 27 February 2019 Pompeo says US must not let Russia 'drive wedge' between NATO allies, Euro News, 12 February 2019

Viljar Veebel, <u>NATO options and dilemmas</u> for deterring Russia in the <u>Baltic States</u>, Defence Studies, Vol. 18 No.2, 2018, pp. 229-251

NATO, Russia Meeting Fails to Resolve Dispute Over Russian Missile, Moscow Times, 25 January 2019

After meeting Russians, NATO chief says 'no real progress' on nuclear treaty, Politico, 25 January 2019

NATO-Russia Council meets in Brussels, NATO News Release, 25 January 2019

<u>Press conference</u> by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg following the meeting of the NATO-Russia Council, 25 January 2019

<u>Could Russia ever join NATO?</u> Debating Europe, 23 January 2019

INF Treaty to be on agenda of Russia-NATO Council meeting, says senior Russian diplomat, TASS, 21 January 2019

NATO, Russian ambassadors to meet on Friday, Reuters, 21 January 2019

Stephen Blank, <u>Message to NATO: Don't forget the Black Sea and the Balkans</u>, The Hill, 20 January 2019

Margarete Klein, Russia's Military Policy in the Post-Soviet Space Aims, Instruments and Perspectives, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik/ German Institute for International and Security Affairs, SWP Research Paper 1, January 2019

### Secretary General's Annual Report

On 14 March, Jens Stoltenberg presented his Annual Report for 2018, his fourth as Secretary General. Later in the month NATO announced that it had extended his mandate for two years, making the former Norwegian premier one of the longest-serving heads of the military alliance. Stoltenberg, assumed office in 2014, will now hold the post until 30 September 2022. Only former Dutch Foreign Affairs Minister Joseph Luns, who spent 13 years in office from 1971, will have served in

the post longer if Stoltenberg sees out his term.

NATO members extend secretary general's term, The Hill, 28 March 2019

North Atlantic Council decides to extend the Secretary General's mandate, NATO News Release, 28 March 2019

The Secretary General's Annual Report, 2018, NATO, March 2019

<u>Secretary General's Annual Report: "NATO:</u> <u>fit for the future"</u>, NATO News Release, 14 March 2019

#### **Special Forces**

In February 2019, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia signed a Letter of Intent (LOI) to establish a Regional Special Operations Component Command (R-SOCC). Partner nation Austria also signed the LOI. This follows an earlier initiative in June 2018, when Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for the creation of a Composite Special Operations Component Command (C-SOCC). Once operational, these two Special Forces Commands are expected to participate in the NATO Response Force and could support NATO operations, as well as other multinational missions.

In April, the official school for the US Special Operations Command released a study, "Support to Resistance: Strategic Purpose and Effectiveness", which covers 47 distinct cases of US special forces trying to intervene in various countries from 1941-2003. It includes the US special forces' role in two NATO interventions: Kosovo (1999) and Serbia (1999-2000).

International Special Training Centre offers elite NATO SOF combat medical course, DVIDS, 1 May 2019

Will Irwin, <u>Support to Resistance: Strategic Purpose and Effectiveness</u>, US Joint Special Operations University, JSOU Report 19-2, April 2019

Troops from 12 countries to take part in special force exercise in Lithuania, The Baltic Times, 1 April 2019

Four Allies and one partner will create a regional Special Forces command, NATO News Release, 13 February 2019

### Transparency, Accountability and Good Governance

Representatives from NATO nations and partner countries gathered in Washington DC in March to discuss how to promote better governance, accountability and transparency in the defence and security sector. They were joined by delegates from international organisations, NGOs and the private sector for the three-day "NATO 2019 Building Integrity Conference", with a focus on the challenges to build capable defence institutions.

NATO Conference discusses the impact of poor governance as a security risk, NATO News Release, 5 March 2019

#### Women, Peace and Security

NATO first published an action plan in 2007 to advance the Women, Peace and Security agenda. In July 2018 a new NATO/EAPC Policy and Action Plan was endorsed by Heads of State and Government at the NATO Summit, and in September 2018 the plan was made public.

NATO Special Envoy for Women, Peace and Security visits Colombia, NATO News Release, 9 May 2019

NATO reaffirms its commitment to combatting conflict-related sexual and gender based violence, NATO News Release, 23 April 2019

Magda Jakubowska, <u>NATO Is Stronger with Women On Board</u>, Visegrad Insights, 8 March 2019

## Security News from NATO Member States:

#### **Albania**

NATO will spend over \$58 million on the first stage of turning the military airport at Kucova into a support base for logistics, training and exercises.

NATO footprint in Albania to grow with construction projects at former Soviet air base, Stars and Stripes, 26 January 2019

#### Belgium

In February, protesters breached a security fence at the Kleine Brogel air base to protest against its stockpiling of US nuclear weapons (see 'nuclear weapons' section above).

Green MEPs occupy Belgian F-16 runway in anti-nuclear protest, The Guardian, 20 February 2019

#### Bulgaria

In January, Bulgaria's Government agreed to start talks with the United States to buy eight new combat aircraft, becoming the latest Eastern European NATO member to meet a call by US President Donald Trump to increase military spending. Prime Minister Boyko Borissov's cabinet will negotiate to buy new Lockheed Martin F-16 Block 70 fighters worth an <u>estimated</u> 1.8 billionlev (\$1 billion).

The Bulgarian Parliament has approved the establishment of a Joint Special Operations Command. It will be directly subordinated to the Chief of Defence of the Bulgarian armed forces, General Andrey Botsev, and will include the existing 68th Special Forces Brigade based in Plovdiv, comprising three battalions. According to Gen Botsev, the new command will commence operations in October this year.

<u>Bulgaria to establish Joint Special</u> <u>Operations Command,</u> Jane's Defence Weekly, 21 May 2019 Lyubomir Monov, <u>NATO Under Pressure</u>, *Journal of Strategic Security* Vol.12, no. 1, 2019, pp. 1-14

NATO Secretary General praises Bulgaria's strategic role in the Black Sea region, NATO News Release, 1 March 2019

<u>Bulgaria Eyes F-16s as NATO's Eastern</u> <u>States Ramp Up Spending</u>, Bloomberg, 9 January 2018

#### Canada

In January, the NATO Secretary General called on China to treat the two Canadian citizens detained in the country "fairly and with due process". Jens Stoltenberg said he was following the situation of the Canadians detained in China in December 2018 "with concern" in his first public comments about the case. The Canadians were detained in apparent retaliation for the arrest of a top Chinese Huawei executive. In May, the two were formally arrested and charged with espionage.

In April, the Canadian House of Commons foreign affairs committee urged the Government to work with NATO to help protect the country's Arctic sovereignty and to determine Russia's military intentions in the region. The study was published shortly after Russia outlined an ambitious plan to increase Russia's Arctic presence, including expanding its fleet of nuclear-powered icebreakers and building new ports and other infrastructure.

Tamara Lorincz, <u>NATO is a wrecking ball</u> and <u>Canada should quit the alliance</u>, The ChronicleHerald, 25 April 2019

Committee calls on Canada to co-operate with NATO to respond to Russia in Arctic, The Star, 10 April 2019

House panel urges Canada to work with NATO to protect Arctic sovereignty, Global News, 10 April 2019

Canada's window to defend the Arctic is closing, MP warns, CBC, 4 April 2019

<u>Group of Reginans protest Canada's involvement in NATO</u>, Regina Leader-Post, 31 March 2019

Yves Engler, Canada and 70th Anniversary of NATO, Dissident Voice, 30 March 2019

Feds to again underspend on new military kit, threatening NATO target, CTV, 4 March 2019

<u>Canada bids for mothballed prototype</u> <u>drone from Germany</u>, Reuters, 20 February 2019

Canada, U.S. must do more to check Russia's military moves in the Arctic, says NORAD chief, CBC, 12 February 2019

<u>Canada echoes NATO, blames Russia for</u> <u>U.S. pullout from nuclear treaty,</u> The Canadian Press, 1 February 2019

NATO chief: China must treat arrested Canadians fairly, The Canadian Press, 31 January 2019

David Pugliese, <u>Nearly three years after</u>
<u>Trudeau's promise, Canadian weapons for</u>
<u>Kurds still sit in a Montreal warehouse</u>,
Ottawa Citizen, 3 January 2019

#### Czech Republic

The Czech Republic celebrated 20 years in NATO having joined the alliance together with Hungary and Poland on 12 March 1999.

Grzegorz Kozłowski, <u>20 years of the Czech</u>
<u>Republic, Hungary and Poland in NATO:</u>
<u>Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow</u>, EESTI Estonia, 22 April 2019

Czechs View NATO and EU as Cornerstones of Peace and Prosperity, VoA, 8 April 2019

20 years of Czechia in NATO: Key moments, Radio Prague, 14 March 2019

Czech PM says defence spending rising to reach NATO target, Reuters, 12 March 2019

Czech Republic marks 20 years as NATO member, assesses new threats, Radio Praha, 11 March 2019

#### Denmark

Denmark will raise its military spending to 1.5 per cent of its GDP in 2023, up from 1.35 per cent planned this year,

the Danish defence minister said in January.

NATO-member Denmark to hike military spending to 1.5 percent of GDP, Reuters, 29 January 2019

#### Estonia

In February, Estonia concluded its investigation into the AMRAAM air-to-air missile launched by a Spanish NATO Baltic Air Policing aircraft on 7 August 2018 in the course of an air exercise in Estonian air space. The investigation found the missile was accidentally fired as a result of the pilot's failure to comply with the safety rules and regulations and not by a systematic error, the Estonian ministry of defence said in a statement. At the end of March, Estonia marked the 15th anniversary of the country's accession to NATO.

From 29 April-17 May, Estonia hosted the annual NATO exercise Spring Storm, a large-scale live exercise of the Estonian Defence Forces, with participation from NATO's enhanced Forward Presence and other Allied forces. This year's training involved approximately 10,000 soldiers and hundreds of combat vehicles and aircraft.

Josh Gold, <u>How Estonia uses Cybersecurity</u> to <u>Strengthen</u> its <u>Position in NATO</u>, International Centre for Defence and Security, 27 May 2019

Spring Storm 2019 NATO exercise goes on in Estonia, Army Recognition, 14 May 2019

<u>"Spring Storm" exercise started in Estonia as part of a plan to "contain" Russia,</u>
Defence Blog, 1 May 2019

NATO accession 15 years ago great unifying event, says prime minister, ERR News, 29 March 2019

Estonia concludes the investigation to the accidental air-to-air missile firing, Estonian World, 25 February 2019

Josh Rubin, <u>NATO Fears That This Town Will</u>
<u>Be the Epicenter of Conflict With Russia</u>,
The Atlantic, 24 January 2019

#### France

On 22 January 2019, Emmanuel Macron and Angela Merkel signed a new treaty on "Franco-German cooperation and integration" in Aachen. Complementing the 1963 Elysée Treaty symbolized the reconciliation between Germany and France in the post-war period, the Aachen Treaty aims to further strengthen the ties between the two countries in the domains of culture. administration. economy. environment, diplomacy and defence.

In April, a <u>leak</u> of classified French defence ministry documents disclosed publicly for the first time the use of French-made weapons in the on-going war in Yemen. French arms, including tanks and laser-guided missile systems, were sold to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. In May, the French Government <u>confirmed</u> a new shipment of weapons to Saudi Arabia. France's Defence Minister Parly refused to identify the types of arms but reaffirmed France's stance that they have been used only for defensive purposes by Saudi Arabia.

<u>European 'Army' Wouldn't Hurt NATO,</u> <u>France's Macron Says</u>, Bloomberg, 24 May 2019

France to deploy hundreds of troops, tanks, on Russia border, Newsweek, 19 April 2019

French minister expresses concern about long-term U.S. commitment to NATO, Reuters, 18 March 2019

<u>France questions if US support for NATO is 'perennial'</u>, France 24, 18 March 2019

Arthur P.B. Laudrain, <u>France's New Offensive Cyber Doctrine</u>, Lawfare, 26 February 2019

Elie Perot, <u>The Aachen Mutual Defence</u> <u>Clause: A Closer Look At The Franco-German Treaty</u>, Egmont Security Policy Brief, No. 105, February 2019

Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer and Martin Quencez, <u>U.S.</u> 'Burden-Shifting' Strategy in Africa Validates France's Ambition for <u>Greater European Strategic Autonomy</u>, GMF Transatlantic Take, 23 January 2019

#### Germany

Germany decided in January to exclude the F-35 from further consideration as a replacement for its ageing Tornado fleet. The German defence ministry said it had decided to acquire either more Eurofighters from Airbus, the European group, or Boeing-made F-18s.

forces would stop communicating with their German colleagues if Berlin uses Chinese firm Huawei for its super-fast 5G telecom US infrastructure, General Curtis Scaparrotti warned in March. "We're about concerned telecommunications backbone being compromised in the sense particularly with 5G, the bandwidth capability and ability to pull data is incredible." Scaparrotti. NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, told the US House Armed Services Committee.

In April, it was reported that Germany's security council, consisting Chancellor Angela Merkel and her chief ministers, approved shipments weapons parts to countries directly involved in the war in Yemen, including Saudi Arabia and the UAE. approvals come two weeks after the German Government extended a ban on arms sales to Saudi Arabia, which was originally put in place after the death of journalist Jamal Khashoggi. That extension, however, made a conditional exception for systems developed jointly with other countries amid concern from France and Britain.

A new <u>survey</u> published in April by German public broadcaster ARD showed that a majority of Germans support the role of NATO, but not the alliance's defence spending target. A slim majority (53 per cent) of Germans "do not support" Germany raising defence spending to reach the NATO target of 2 percent of GDP. Forty-three percent backed the idea.

In May, German news agency dpa reported that the Government is ready to raise its share of NATO's budget by €5 billion (\$5.6 billion) to €47.3 billion this year. The increase would amount to 1.35 per cent of GDP — still a long way off the 2 per cent target. However, the increase would be the biggest for Germany since the end of the Cold War in 1991.

Germany informs NATO of huge defense budget increase: report, Deutsche Welle, 17 May 2019

Germany 'hypocritical' on NATO: US envoy to Germany Richard Grenell, Deutsche Welle, 9 May 2019

Germany Needs a Global Role to Suit Its Size, Bloomberg Editorial, 6 May 2019

Merkel Partners Reject Trump's 'Weapon Fetishism' and NATO Goal, Bloomberg, 3 May 2019

Germany's F-35 fighter rebuff raises questions for Nato partners, Financial Times, 29 April 2019

Germany's low defence spending weakens Nato, FT Editorial, 21 April 2019

German conservative leader blasts SPD over NATO spending target, Reuters, 12 April 2019

Matthew Karnitschnig, <u>NATO's Germany</u> hatefest, Politico, 5 April 2019

Sebastian Sprenger, <u>Germany muddles</u> through another <u>NATO shindig</u>, Defense News, 5 April 2019

Germany split on NATO defense spending target: survey, Deutsche Welle, 4 April 2019

Emma DiNapoli, <u>German Courts Weigh</u> <u>Legal Responsibility for U.S. Drone Strikes</u>, Lawfare, 4 April 2019

Sudha David-Wilp, <u>Could NATO Be the Downfall of Angela Merkel's Government?</u> Foreign Policy, 2 April 2019

If Berlin picks Chinese firm for 5G, NATO will not communicate: US general, France 24, 13 March 2019

Loren Thompson, <u>Germany's Policy Choices</u>
<u>Are Hastening The Decline Of NATO</u>,
Forbes, 4 March 2019

Philipp Lange, <u>Total Defence How Germany</u> should implement a whole-of government <u>national and collective defence</u>, German

Federal Academy for Security Policy, Security Policy Working Paper No. 2/2018

Germany rebukes Trump over criticism of Nato spending, The Guardian, 15 February 2019

John Louth, <u>Germany Calling: The Bundeswehr</u>, <u>Acquisition and a Broken Narrative</u>, RUSI Commentary, 13 February 2019

Germany 'not spending enough' on defense, US ambassador says, Deutsche Welle, 10 February 2019

Hans Binnendijk and Jim Townsend, German F-35 decision sacrifices NATO capability for Franco-German industrial cooperation, Defense News, 8 February 2019

Germany plans military spending hike, but is it enough to appease NATO?, Deutsche Welle, 6 February 2019

<u>Germany reassures NATO on defense</u> <u>spending target: report,</u> Reuters, 6 February 2019

NATO Chief: Germany must continue to raise defense budget, Reuters, 6 February 2019

Germany could miss even reduced NATO defense spending goal: document, Reuters, 4 February 2019

Germany pledges €110 million to boost NATO battalion infrastructure in Lithuania, Defense Post, 4 February 2019

<u>Germany misses key NATO defense</u> <u>spending deadline,</u> Stars and Stripes, 1 February 2019

Josef Janning, <u>Crunch time: Germany and Europe after Mattis</u>, ECFR Commentary, 10 January 2019

Germany to lead Nato's very high readiness joint task force, Army Technology, 7 January 2019

Germany steps up to lead NATO high readiness force, NATO News Release, 1 January 2019

#### Hungary

In February, Rose Gottemoeller, NATO's deputy secretary general, said that NATO expresses solidarity with Hungary in the dispute over Ukraine's 2018 education law that limits the use

of the Hungarian language. "In the Brussels Declaration and the in assessment of Ukraine's Annual Programme, all allies urge Ukraine to fully implement the recommendations Venice Commission," of the Gottemoeller added. The deputy secretary general's statement came after a meeting with Hungarian foreign minister Péter Szijjártó and defence minister Tibor Benkő in Budapest.

The Hungarian government has continued to block talks between NATO and Ukraine following a newly-adopted Ukrainian law limiting the use of minority languages. Passed by Ukraine's parliament on 25 April the law makes the use of the Ukrainian language compulsory for all citizens, except for private conversations and religious ceremonies.

Melissa Hooper and Gregory Feifer, <u>Trump</u>
<u>Is Letting Orban Walk All Over the United</u>
<u>States</u>, Foreign Policy, 11 May 2019

Hungary to block Ukraine NATO bid over language law, Emerging Europe, 29 April 2019

Jonathan Katz, <u>NATO Interests and Democratic Values at Stake in Trump-Orbán Meeting</u>, GMF, 13 May 2019

NATO supports Hungary over Ukraine's education law, UNIAN, 26 February 2019

Joerg Forbrig, <u>Hungary and Poland: What Next for Europe's "Illiberal Vanguard"?</u> GMF, 31 January 2019

<u>Hungary's NATO membership is an</u> <u>exceptional and unique issue</u>, Hungary Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 January 2019

#### Iceland

While the only NATO member without armed forces and defence ministry, Iceland is investing in new defence and security capabilities and sending more personnel to NATO structures and missions. US forces, having left Iceland in 2006, are now returning on a rotational basis to enhance the monitoring of the so-called Greenland-Iceland-UK gap. A network of US and Icelandic assets—including Boeing P8

maritime patrol aircraft, coast guard vessels, helicopters and radars—monitor the increased Russian aerial and submarine activity in the region.

In a BBC interview in May, Iceland's Prime Minister Katrín Jakobsdóttir said she does not believe Iceland should be a member of NATO, but that her government would follow the country's existing national security policy of which NATO membership was a "cornerstone". She said this was a "compromise" with her coalition partners. Ms Jakobsdóttir became Iceland's prime minister after her Left-Green Movement secured a coalition deal in 2017.

<u>Iceland Foreign Minister Praises NATO</u>
<u>Support Against Russian Intrusions,</u>
<u>Chinese Exploration,</u> USNI News, 24 May 2019

<u>Iceland's Role in Transatlantic Security</u> <u>Growing</u>, NATO Parliamentary Assembly News Release, 14 May 2019

<u>Iceland's Green PM Jakobsdóttir on Nato</u> <u>membership, BBC News, 7 May 2019</u>

#### Italy

A NATO Centre of Excellence for Security Force Assistance (SFA) opened in Cesano, Italy, in late March. The SFA Centre, with personnel mainly from Italy, has the task of contributing to the development and testing of concepts, doctrines, lessons learned in theatres and to standardization of capability within the alliance in the SFA sector, especially in relation to operations in the South and East. The Centre was formally established on 13 December 2017 and achieved NATO accreditation in December 2018.

<u>Italian Eurofighters to enhance Air Policing</u> <u>capabilities over Romania</u>, NATO Air Command News Release, 29 April 2019

Helle Dale, <u>Hungary Is Key to Shoring Up NATO Alliance</u>, The Daily Signal, 19 April 2019

The opening ceremony of the NATO Centre for Security Force Assistance in Cesano, Esercito News Release, 28 March 2019

Maria Elena Gutierrez, <u>Italian Foreign</u>
<u>Policy: The More Things Change, The More</u>
<u>They Stay The Same</u>, GMF Transatlantic
Take, 25 February 2019

<u>Italy could be about to challenge Trump</u> <u>over NATO spending</u>, CNBC, 11 February 2019

#### Latvia

The multinational battle group in Latvia is based at Camp Ādaži. It is led by Canada and consists of approximately 1,400 soldiers from Albania, the Czech Republic, Italy, Canada, Montenegro, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain who perform rotational duties in Latvia by participating in training with Latvia's own National Armed Forces.

Well-prepared and locally invested: Interview with commander of NATO's Latvia-based battle group, LVW, 25 February 2019

<u>Latvia to host new NATO HQ</u>, Emerging Europe, 18 February 2019

Having a say in global matters: 15 years since Latvia joined the EU and NATO, LSM, 3 January 2019

#### Lithuania

NATO's multinational battlegroup in Lithuania took part in exercise Eager Leopard in Pabrade in April. The exercise mobilised around 650 troops, including Czech, Dutch, German and Norwegian forces. It provided an opportunity for the battlegroup to enhance its readiness, testing its ability to deploy troops and equipment.

NATO battlegroup exercises in Lithuania, NATO News Release, 23 April 2019

NATO forces conduct cold weather training in Lithuania, NATO News Release, 18 February 2019

#### Montenegro

In May, a court in Montenegro handed five-year jail terms to two pro-Russian opposition politicians for trying to topple the government in October 2016. The court also found 12 others guilty, including two Russians, allegedly secret agents, tried in absentia. Prosecutors said the plotters had Kremlin support to assassinate then-Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic and block NATO accession. Russia has called the coup inquiry absurd.

Montenegro jails 'Russian coup plot' leaders, BBC News, 9 May 2019

NATO Secretary General: Montenegro is a valued Ally building stability in the Western Balkans, NATO News Release, 6 March 2019

#### Norway

In March, the Norwegian Defence Minister said that the country has electronic proof that Russian forces disrupted global positioning system signals during recent NATO war games and demanded an explanation from its eastern neighbour.

NATO trains for Russian invasion in Norway, CBS News, 24 April 2019

Norway says it proved Russian GPS interference during NATO exercises, Reuters, 18 March 2019

Norway accuses Russia of jamming its military systems, Defense News, 8 March 2019

Norwegian Foreign Minister Admits to Letting Libya Down After NATO Campaign, Sputnik, 11 January 2019

#### **Poland**

Poland is an important contributor to NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence (eFP) on the eastern and southern flank and to NATO's tailored Forward Presence (tFP). It is one of the host countries, it delegates troops to one of the eFP groups, and it hosts a multinational division headquarters in the city of Elblag, which has the task of coordinating the activities of all eFP groups.

In January, Poland's internal affairs minister called for the EU and NATO to take a "joint stance" on Huawei after an

employee of the Chinese telecommunications equipment maker was arrested on spying charges.

In March it was announced US defence officials have made an offer permanently station US troops in Poland. The Polish Government had previously offered to contribute at least \$2 billion, and perhaps more, to the potential base. In the meantime, it was announced that a \$260 million storage facility for US military equipment, including armoured vehicles. ammunition and weapons to arm a full brigade, would be established in Powidz, some 200 kilometres west of Warsaw. The funding for the facility will from the NATO Security come Investment Programme (NSIP), to which all 29 alliance members contribute.

NATO Holds a Major Air Defence Exercise in Poland: Tobruq Legacy-19, Defence 24, 30 May 2019

Charlie Gao, <u>Poland's Tried to 'Merge'</u> <u>Russian and NATO Tanks. How Did It Work</u> <u>Out?</u> National Interest, 25 May 2019

David Axe, <u>Poland Will be Getting the F-35.</u> <u>Here's Why That's Big News</u>, National Interest, 23 April 2019

Sebastian Sprenger and Matthew Bodner, As NATO banks on Poland, is the country becoming the new face of a nervous Europe? Defense News, 7 April 2019

Bogdan Klich, <u>NATO's Stoltenberg Paradox</u>, Project Syndicate, 5 April 2019

Adam Bielan, <u>Poland's Place in NATO and the European Union</u>, The National Interest, 4 April 2019

NATO foots bill for massive US combat depot in Poland, Defense News, 28 March 2019

NATO confirms it is planning to build an installation for the American army in Poland, Brussels Times, 24 March 2019

NATO Confirms Plans For \$260 Million U.S. Storage Site In Poland, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 24 March 2019

Michael Peck, <u>Want to Stop Russia from Invading the Baltic States? Turn Poland Into a Military Powerhouse</u>, National Interest, 23 March 2019

NATO Plans Facility in Poland to Store U.S. Military Equipment, Wall street Journal, 22 March 2019

Prepare to man Fort Trump? US has made Poland a 'very serious robust offer' for base, Military Times, 13 March 2019

<u>Poland celebrates 20 years of NATO membership</u>, Business Standard, 5 March 2019

Paul Taylor, <u>Poland's Short-Sighted Military</u> <u>Dependence on the United States</u>, Carnegie Europe, 12 February 2019

<u>Poland calls for 'joint' EU-Nato stance on Huawei after spying arrest</u>, The Guardian, 13 January 2019

Will Sending More U.S. Troops to Poland Really Deter Russia?, National Interest, 2 January 2019

#### Spain

In February, a US appeal for NATO allies to fill the void left by its imminent withdrawal from Syria was dismissed by Spain's foreign minister. Spain's Josep Borrell said at a briefing in Munich, "Spain and the majority of countries aren't prepared to step in for the US after a withdrawal that was decided in a unilateral way, by surprise".

<u>Spain Dismisses U.S. Appeal for NATO Allies to Fill the Void Left in Syria, Time, 16 February 2019</u>

#### **Turkey**

Turkey's planned acquisition of the S-400 anti-aircraft missile system from Russia (at a cost of \$2.5 billion) has strained an already tense relationship with the United States. Because of concerns that the Russian system could pose security risks if integrated with NATO systems, US officials have been Turkey warning that could sanctioned and expelled from the F-35 programme if it takes delivery of the S-400 system. Turkey is set to buy 100 F-35As from the United States and Turkish companies are also part of the programme's industrial base. With the United States tabling an alternative

\$3.5 billion Patriot missile defence system, the deal with Russia could yet be cancelled and the pivot to Moscow (as witnessed by increased Turkish-Russian cooperation in Syria) put on hold.

In January, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declined to provide any assurances that Turkey would refrain from targeting Kurdish forces in Syria if the United States withdraws its troops. Twitter. President On threatened to "devastate" Turkev economically should it attack Kurdish partners in Syria following US withdrawal and urged Turkey to create a 20-mile safe zone. Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu responded that nothing could be achieved by threatening Turkey and that strategic partners should refrain from communicating with each other over social media.

In April, the United States cancelled equipment transfers to Turkey related to Turkey's purchase of F-35 aircraft, in response to Turkey's purchase of Russian surface-to-air missile systems. If the purchase goes ahead it could trigger US sanctions under Adversaries Countering America's Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA). Neither carrots nor sticks has so far compelled Erdogan to change course, however.

In early May US lawmakers announced a bill to bar the sale of the F-35 to Turkey if Ankara buys the Russian system. The House bill came days after the Turkish President reportedly discussed with US President Donald Trump a Turkish proposal to establish a joint committee over Turkey's plans to purchase the S-400.

Melik Kaylan, <u>Why Turkey's President</u> <u>Erdogan Wants Those Russian Missiles</u>, Forbes, 30 May 2019

şaban Kardaş, <u>Turkey's S400 vs. F35</u> <u>Conundrum and its Deepening Strategic</u> <u>Partnership with Russia</u>, GMF, On Turkey No.9, 28 May 2019 Kiliç Buğra Kanat, <u>The function of NATO for Turkey</u>, Daily Sabah, 24 May 2019

<u>US threatens to impose sanctions on NATO ally Turkey</u>, Deutsche Welle, 24 May 2019

Aaron Stein, <u>The day after S-400: the Turkish-American relationship will get worse</u>, War on the Rocks, 23 May 2019

David Phillips, <u>It is time to review Turkey's</u> NATO membership, Ahval, 20 May 2019

Burhanettin Duran, <u>NATO in crisis</u>, Daily Sabah, 8 May 2019

NATO Allies stand with Turkey: Secretary General Stoltenberg, NATO News Release, 6 May 2019

NATO allies stand in solidarity with Turkey. Secretary-General Stoltenberg says, Daily Sabah, 5 May 2019

<u>Turkey not distancing itself from NATO</u> with <u>Russian missiles deal: minister</u>, Reuters, 5 May 2019

<u>Lawmakers offer bill to block F-35 for</u> <u>Turkey</u>, Defense News, 3 May 2019

Merve Tahiroglu and Greg Everett, Ankara's realignment with Russia will cost Turkey more than it thinks, The Hill, 29 April 2019

Tarik Oğuzlu, <u>NATO's image in the eyes of Turkey</u>, Daily Sabah, 27 April 2019

H. Ankin Unver, <u>Russia Has Won the Information War in Turkey</u>, Foreign Policy, 21 April 2019

<u>Turkey: US Didn't Respond to Offer to Check S-400 Anti-Aircraft Missile Systems,</u> Military.com, 20 April 2019

<u>Turkey is 'taking into account' NATO concerns over S-400</u>, Al Jazeera, 19 April 2019

Soner Gagaptay, <u>The Turkish rupture could cause a fissure in NATO</u>, The Hill, 16 April 2019

<u>Turkey says buying Russian defense system</u> <u>should not trigger U.S. sanctions</u>, Reuters, 15 April 2019

Vladimir Frolov, <u>Our Man in NATO: Why Putin Lucked Out With Recep Erdogan</u>, Moscow Times, 15 April 2019

Kadri Tastan and Tobias Kutschka, <u>The Implications of Eastern Mediterranean Gas for Turkey</u>, GMF, 15 April 2019

Turkey has much to demand back from NATO: Academic, Hurriyet Daily News, 15 April 2019

Barçin Yinanç, <u>Turkey and allies need to decouple NATO and the US</u>, Hurriyet Daily News, 11 April 2019

Burhanettin Duran, NATO at 70 and the S-400 dispute, Daily Sabah, 8 April 2019

Sumantra Maitra, <u>Turkey is NATO's biggest problem, Not Trump</u>, The Federalist, 5 April 2019

NATO commander nominee: Turkey 'should not get the F-35' if it buys Russian defense system, The Hill, 2 April 2019

How Will Turkey's Purchase of Russia's S-400 Air Defense System Affect Ties with NATO?, Carnegie Middle East Center, 21 March 2019

Burhanettin Duran, <u>Turkey's S-400 deal: A challenge to NATO?</u> Daily Sabah, 10 March 2019

Erdoğan: Purchasing S-400 not related to NATO, F-35, Hurriyet Daily News, 10 March 2019

<u>Turkey says in Patriot missile talks with U.S.</u>, EuroNews, 1 March 2019

Erdogan: NATO gives arms to 'terrorists' but not to Turkey, Al Jazeera, 18 February 2019

David Graeber, <u>America's Kurdish allies risk</u> <u>being wiped out - by Nato</u>, The Guardian, 1 February 2019

<u>"Physical buffer zone" needed in northern</u> <u>Syria - former NATO supreme commander,</u> Ahval, 12 January 2019

Şaban Kardaş, <u>The Domestic-Regional</u> <u>Nexus in Turkey's Counterterrorism Policy</u>, GMF On Turkey, No.8, 8 January 2019

Trump Administration Offers Turkey Patriot Missiles So It Won't Buy Weapons System From Russia: Reports, Newsweek, 3 January 2019

#### **United Kingdom**

A <u>report</u> by the UK House of Lords international relations select committee said ministers are not making independent checks to see if arms supplied by the UK to Saudi Arabia are being used in breach of the

law, but is instead relying on inadequate investigations by the Saudis, its allies in the war. The allparty Lords committee said that the UK is on "the wrong side of the law" by sanctioning arms exports to Saudi Arabia for the war in Yemen and should suspend some of the export licences.

In April, the Court of Appeal in London considered the legality of continuing UK arms sales to Saudi as part of a case brought by the Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT). The case follows a 2017 High Court judgement that permitted the continued export of arms to Saudi Arabia.

Every defence study agrees that Britain primarily needs to be defended from technological and robotic warfare. For soldiers, it needs a core army, trained and equipped for emergency deployment, but nothing beyond what is required by any other European state. As for Williamson's idea that Britain's role is to police "Asia and the Caribbean", has this been cleared with the Americans, let alone the citizens of those countries?

Simon Jenkins, <u>British 'lethality'? Gavin</u> <u>Williamson's brain has gone absent without leave</u>, The Guardian, 11 February 2019

Also in April, Britain's parliamentary financial watchdog, the National Audit Office's (NAO), published a report on the Ministry of Defence's snail-like progress on de-fuelling and retired dismantling the country's nuclear submarines. It reveals a long history of failure resulting in 20 retired submarines being kept in storage at Rosyth and Devonport, including the original Polaris boats which left service in the 1980s. The MoD does not know how long disposal will take or what it will cost.

New Defence Secretary Penny Mordaunt spoke at the NATO Cyber Defence Pledge Conference in London in May where she announced £22 million of funding for new Army cyber centres.

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg praised the UK for maintaining continuous at-sea a nuclear deterrent for 50 years in a letter to Prime Minister Theresa May. "In NATO, we appreciate this enormous commitment to our shared security by generations of Royal Navy submariners and their families, by scores of dedicated support personnel in the United Kingdom's Armed Forces and Civil Service, and by partners in industry", the Secretary General said. At least one Royal Navy submarine carrying nuclear missiles has been on undersea patrol at all times since April 1969. This mission, called Operation Relentless, is the longest sustained military operation ever undertaken by the UK.

Hunt: Britain Has Helped 16 NATO Allies Tackle Russia Hacking Attempts, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 23 May 2019

Cyber innovation at the forefront of UK's approach to modern warfare, UK MoD Press Release, 22 May 2019

NATO Secretary General marks 50 years of UK submarine nuclear deterrent, NATO News Release, 21 May 2019

NATO chief warns Britain over Huawei risk, France 24, 14 May 2019

Sidharth Kaushal, <u>A Critical Enabler for Power Projection: Options for a UK Missile Defence Capability in an Age of Escalation Control</u>, RUSI Occasional Paper, May 2019

Leslie Vinjamuri and Jason Naselli, <u>Brexit</u> <u>Makes NATO Even More Important</u>, Brink News, 15 April 2019

Trevor Taylor, <u>Nearly Forgotten but not Gone: The Legacy of the UK's Retired Nuclear Submarines</u>, RUSI Commentary, 5 April 2019

Hans Kundnani, <u>To Preserve NATO</u>, <u>Britain</u> <u>Must Help Reinvent It</u>, Chatham House, 1 April 2019

<u>CND marks NATO birthday with '70 years too many' protest at London HQ</u>, CND News Release, 29 March 2019

<u>'Serious' questions over SAS involvement in</u> <u>Yemen war</u>, The Guardian, 27 March 2019 Euan Carss, <u>Brexit bravado: Can the UK build a new continental coalition?</u> ECFR Commentary, 11 March 2019

<u>Defence Secretary announces £11million</u> <u>boost to chemical defences</u>, UK Government News Release, 3 March 2019

<u>Defence Secretary Announces £235 Million</u> <u>Submarine Nuclear Propulsion Deal</u>, UK Government News Release, 25 February 2019

<u>Defence in Global Britain</u>, Speech by Defence Secretary Gavin Williamson, RUSI, 11 February 2019

<u>Brexit could boost UK's military standing,</u> <u>says defence secretary</u>, The Guardian, 11 February 2019

John Hemmings, <u>Charting Britain's Moves</u> in the South China Sea, RUSI Commentary, 6 February 2019

Must Read: David Dodwell, Britain's naval ambitions to once again rule the waves are laughable at best and make no sense at all, South China Morning Post, 6 January 2019

#### **United States**

In January, US national security adviser John Bolton said the United States will not withdraw troops from Syria until the Islamic State is defeated and Turkey provides assurances it will not strike Kurdish fighters, contradicting President Trump's announcement in December 2018 of a rapid withdrawal.

The Trump in January, released administration its longawaited Missile Defense Review (MDR), which seeks to adapt US missile defence policy, posture, and programmes the strategic to environment of great power 'missile competition (see defence' section above).

Amid renewed concerns over President Trump's commitment to NATO, the US House of Representatives voted 357-22 in support of the NATO Support Act, which states the "sense of Congress" that the president "shall not withdraw the United States from NATO". It also states that "the policy of the United States" is to remain in NATO, to reject

efforts to withdraw from NATO, and to work with and support NATO. In February, the US House of Representatives voted to end US military assistance for Saudi Arabia's war in Yemen. The 248-to-177 vote will pressure the Republican-controlled Senate to respond.

An opinion poll in March found that a majority of Americans believe both NATO and the United Nations are necessary and relevant entities. Seventy-seven per cent believed NATO should be maintained and 66 per cent said the UN plays a necessary role in the world, despite President Trump questioning the need for both entities.

Also in March, President Donald Trump rolled back an Obama-era policy that required the government to publicly report on the number of civilians killed in airstrikes outside of conventional warzones. This means, that the official death toll from CIA strikes in places like Yemen and Pakistan will no longer be made public. The figures previously released were often much lower than independent estimates. but release was still seen as a significant step towards greater transparency on operations often characterised by their opacity.

A study published in March found links between drone strikes and additional suicide attacks in Pakistan. The United States, UK and other NATO countries have emphasised drone strikes as a primary weapon of war and counter terrorism in several countries. In Pakistan, during 2011-18 there were 199 confirmed drone strikes and 182 suicide bombings. Each drone strike in Pakistan caused an average of 20 deaths and 48 injuries. The findings from this study appear to show that the two are linked, with drones strikes associated with a rise in suicide attacks.

The United States signed the Arms Trade Treaty in 2013 under President Barack Obama but never ratified it. President Trump announced at the National Rifle Association's annual meeting in April that it will "revoke the effect of America's signature from this badly misguided Treaty". The Treaty regulates international trade in conventional arms and seeks to prevent and eradicate illicit trade and diversion of conventional arms.

surely there's something to be said for building a new agreement or alliance in Europe that would be less driven by military concerns, less dependent on American money and weaponry and troops, and more inclusive toward Russia

W. J. Astore, <u>Trump Questions NATO:</u> <u>The Horror!</u> Bracing Views, 17 January 2019

There are at least 10 separate pots of money dedicated to fighting wars, preparing for yet more wars, and dealing with the consequences of wars already fought....

.... So, our final annual tally for war, preparations for war, and the impact of war comes to more than \$1.25 trillion - more than double the Pentagon's base budget.

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...the Constitution should be amended to prohibit suspending, terminating or withdrawing from treaties that have been ratified by the Senate without first obtaining a two-thirds vote of the Senate approving the president's request. President Trump abandoned or threatened to abandon so many critical treaty relationships that this check on his power, and that his successors. has become imperative for national security.

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### IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

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#### FINAL WORD

Robert Green served for twenty years in the British Royal Navy from 1962-82. He flew in Buccaneer nuclear strike aircraft and then anti-submarine helicopters equipped with nuclear depth-bombs. Commander Green chaired the UK affiliate of the World Court Project (1991-2004), an international citizen campaign which led to the International Court of Justice judgment in 1996 that the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be illegal. A new edition of his 2010 book, Security without Nuclear Deterrence, was published in 2018 by Spokesman Books. This is an extract article, The new nuclear from his deterrence and disarmament crisis, Open Democracy, 3 April 2019.

"...the principal guardians of nuclear deterrence—the western group comprising the US, UK and France—have struggled to provide intellectual coherence as endless adjustments to the theory and doctrine were made to accommodate the latest expansion of the nuclear arms race it had unleashed. Uncritical repetition by posturing political leaders. careerist experts and mainstream media of simplistic soundbites gave it the aura of a state religion, to the point where it echoed the fable of the emperor with no clothes.

Nuclear deterrence is based upon a crazy premise: that nuclear war can be made less probable by making it more probable. Worse, it is bedevilled by two insurmountable contradictions:

- A rational leader cannot make a credible nuclear threat against an adversary capable of an invulnerable retaliatory 'second strike'.
- Yet a second strike would be no more than posthumous revenge.

Moreover, unlike conventional war, following nuclear war—amid millions of dead and untreatable survivors, radioactive poisoning and apocalyptic destruction—the smoke alone from firestorms over cities in a nuclear war in South Asia would blot out the sun around the entire northern hemisphere, causing massive crop failure and global famine."