

## Heidelberg National Model United Nations Conference 2018:

### Welcome to the 2018 Heidelberg NATO Summit

Dear Delegates,

We would like to welcome you to the 2018 Heidelberg NATO summit in the framework of the 2018 Heidelberg National Model United Nations.

This summit is one of the most important ones NATO has organized. Recently, there has been discord between NATO members and the Alliance no longer seems as strong as it once was. In addition, it is face with a number of new and growing threats. Be it the aggression of Russia to the east, the threat of radical terrorism at home and abroad or the invisible but omnipresent threat of cyber-attacks, they all call for a strong and capable NATO to defend its citizens. It is up to you to restore NATO to its full strength, once again making it an actor to be reckoned with on the international stage.

This study guide should serve as an overview and an introduction to our debate. IT is important that you have a good understanding of your countries general position, to ensure the debate flows smoothly. The debate will centre on a multitude of issues, thus be sure to research the position of your country on each of them. Although this is a NATO summit, the debate will be held according to the MUN rules of procedure.

We are very much looking forward to the conference. We are sure this weekend will be an exceptional experience for all of you, with interesting debates, great speeches, and of course meeting delegates from different backgrounds.

We are looking forward to meeting you all!

Best,

Your chairs Thomas Palm and Leonhard Küntzle

## 2. Overview of the Summit

Unlike ministerial meetings, NATO summits are called upon and held on an as needed basis depending on the evolving political or security situation, with the primary purpose of providing the North Atlantic Council – which comprises of the different heads of state and governments of NATO member countries – the opportunity to discuss agenda items of high political and strategic significance. Examples include, but are not limited to, the introduction of new policy, the invitation of new members into the alliance, the launch of major initiatives, and reinforcing external partnerships. As such, these summits are important junctures in the alliance’s decision-making process.

Every summit is held in a NATO member country, and is chaired by the NATO Secretary General who as of 2014 is currently Jens Stoltenberg. Furthermore, since its inception there have been a total of 27 NATO summits. Normally, each summit only involves member countries, however on occasion the meetings are convened in other formats. For example, a summit could include head of state or government ministers of countries belonging to the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, the NATO-Russia Council, the NATO-Ukraine Commission, and the NATO-Georgia Commission. However, countries contributing to a NATO-led operation, as was the case for ISAF-contributing countries during the 2010 summit in Lisbon, or top representatives from international organisations such as the European Union (EU) or the United Nations, may be invited to participate as well.

All decisions taken at summit meetings are typically communicated via declarations and communiques that are publicly issued. Normally, declarations and communiques are adopted unanimously. However, the keep in the spirit of MUN and debating, this committee will be set up in a MUN matter. Specifically, this means the final document will be in form of a resolution and will only require a simple majority to pass.

## 3. The History and Structure of NATO

The beginning of the Cold War was marked by the perceived growth in threat posed by the Soviet Union (USSR) towards the West. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1948, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France and the United Kingdom signed the Treaty of Brussels, a mutual defence treaty against the Soviet Union, and the precursor to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). However, following the Berlin blockade and the Czechoslovakia coup d’état in 1948, it



was soon realised that the parties initially involved in the treaty of Brussels were too weak to military counter the might of the USSR. European leaders met and entered talks with U.S. defence and diplomatic officials, exploring a new and unprecedented framework for further military association. This resulted in the North Atlantic Treaty, which was signed by U.S. President Harry S. Truman in April 1949, and included not only the U.S. and the original members of the Treaty of Brussels, but also Canada, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. In the words of the first NATO Secretary General Lord Ismay, the alliance's goal was initially *"to keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down"* however the organisation has heavily evolved since then, with its primary goal *"to guarantee the freedom and security of its members through political and military means"*;

**POLITICAL:** NATO promotes democratic values and enables members to consult and cooperate on defence and security-related issues to solve problems, build trust and, in the long run, prevent conflict

**MILITARY:** NATO is committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes. If diplomatic efforts fail, it has the military power to undertake crisis-management operations. These are carried out under the collective defence clause of NATO's founding treaty - Article 5 of the Washington Treaty or under a United Nations mandate, alone or in cooperation with other countries and international organisations.

Source: <https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html>

#### Box 1 – Article 5

Article 5 is one of the key articles of the North Atlantic Treaty and one of the cornerstones of NATO. It reads as follows:

*"The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.*

*Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security."*

The essence of Article 5 is collective defence, namely that an attack against one NATO member is considered an attack against all NATO members.

Over the course of time, from the initial 12 signatories, NATO has undergone 7 rounds of enlargement, taking in 17 new members, bringing the total tally to its current 29 independent member countries (Montenegro being the latest addition, having joined in June 2017). Provided that a set of prerequisites are met as outlined in the Membership Action Plan (MAP), new members are invited to join upon the unanimous agreement of all existing allies. This is stipulated by article 10 of the founding treaty. See below for a summary of prerequisites:

- Must be geographically located within Europe.
- Must be a democracy
- Must be capable and willing to contribute to the security of the Euro-Atlantic area.

Source: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/nato\\_countries.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/nato_countries.htm)

### Box 2 – Members of NATO

The map below shows the current members of NATO as well as various partners through different mechanisms.



The structure of NATO comprises primarily of two branches; (1) civilian and (2) military. The civilian arm consists firstly of the NATO headquarters in Brussels, which functions as a political and administrative centre for the alliance, and is also the permanent home of the

North Atlantic Council – the alliance’s highest political decision-making body. Secondly, it also consists of each member state’s national delegation to NATO, headed by an ambassador or permanent representative, which allows and facilitates the alliance to take collective decisions and actions. The work of the above two are in turn supported by an array of international staff (IS) whose primary function is to provide advice, guidance and administrative support, and carries out work such as producing policy papers, and reports.

- NATO Headquarters
- Permanent Representatives and National Delegations
- International Staff (IS)

The IS function liaises closely with the military arm of the alliance, which comprises of firstly the Military Committee, NATO’s highest military authority, and the International Military Staff (IMS) which acts as the executive body of MC and is its primary source of strategic and military advice, as well as staff support. It is the IMS’ responsibility to ensure that any decisions on military matters are implemented by the appropriate bodies. The IMS is headed by a Director General, who is typically at the level of a three star general.

Secondly, the military arm comprises of two strategic command structures; (1) the Allied Command Operations (ACO) and (2) the Allied Command Transformation (ACT). The ACO, whose mission is *to prepare for, plan, and conduct military operations in order to meet Alliance political objectives*, is headed by the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) who continues to be a U.S. four star general since its inception, and is headquartered at its base Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Mons, Belgium. On the other hand, the ACT was only formed back in 2003, and was created to lead military transformation projects, such as using new concepts, in order to improve the alliance’s military effectiveness. Both structures are given guidance by the Military Committee.

- The Military Committee
- International Military Staff (IMS)
- Allied Command Operations (ACO)
- Allied Command Transformations (ACT)

Overall, the organisation is headed by the NATO secretary general who is responsible for coordinating the working of the alliance, and chairs the North Atlantic Council and other major committees, with the notable exception of the NATO Military Committee – which is chaired by the Chairman of the NATO Military Committee. Although there is nothing to preclude an American or Canadian from becoming the general secretary, because the SACEUR is traditionally an American, the secretary general has traditionally been a European. The current secretary general is Jens Stoltenberg, the former prime minister of Norway.

Source: <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/structure.htm>

## 4. The Topic

### 4.1 The Future of NATO

The fall of the Iron Curtain marked a turning point in the history of NATO. With its primary objective as a counterforce to the eastern bloc no longer relevant and a military attack on one of its members highly unlikely, NATO has to adapt to the changing circumstances. The times when the lines between friends and enemies were clear have passed. Nowadays, over 70 years after its foundation, the alliance is faced with a multitude of vague and diffuse threats such as terrorism, cyberwarfare, nationalism and global power shifts.

Unconditional cooperation between allies is viewed more and more sceptical, with more and more states putting national interests first. The United States, previously proclaimed by many to be the “Leader of the Free World”, has become a less reliable partner to turn to with the election of Donald Trump. At the same time, Russia has acted more aggressively in recent years, from the annexation of Crimea to spreading disinformation and propaganda on the internet. Europe and the United States have seen a rise in radical Islamic terrorism, an evil that has plagued many middle eastern, African and western Asian countries as well.

These novel threats have forced NATO to act and adapt. The above mentioned topics have been dominating the agendas of recent NATO summits. The 2014 summit in Wales, described by US Admiral James Stavridis and former NATO Supreme Allied Commander as the most important one since the fall of the Berlin Wall, was the first to be held after the Russian annexation of Crimea. The Summit ended with the Wales Summit Declaration. In the declaration, the members of NATO committed among other things to spending 2% of their GDP on their military. Despite this, by 2015 NATO defence spending fell once again, with only 5 out of 28 members reaching the goal. A further pledge to reach the goal in the communiqué of the 2016 Warsaw summit did not significantly change the situation.

The last summit was an extraordinary one in many ways. It was held in Brussels in 2017, marking a change from the usual biennial cycle. The reason for that was the inauguration of the new NATO headquarters. In addition to the administrative differences, the 2017 summit was the first NATO summit of the new US president Donald Trump. With his arrival, the tone got significantly rougher. In his opening speech, President Trump failed to mention Article 5, against the advice of his advisors and speech writers. Furthermore, Donald Trump had openly played with the idea of leaving NATO prior to the summit. Although this did not turn out to be the case, the US demanded its allies to live up to the 2% commitment that had pledged to over the years.

Despite the recent quarrels and disagreements between its members, NATO has shown that it is still a functioning and strong military alliance. Since the illegal annexation of Crimea by Russia and in light of the brutal attacks by the so called Islamic State, NATO has

implemented the biggest increase in collective defence since the Cold War. It has tripled the size of the NATO Response Force, and established a 5 000 soldier strong Spearhead Force.

Nonetheless, many members still lag behind their commitments. In its current state, NATO is over reliant on US military force. When the US however is no longer the anchor of stability it used to be and less willing to provide a guarantee, NATO faces an existential crisis. While none of the members have an interest in disbanding the alliance, a new strategy has to be developed to ensure NATO will be a strong, capable and respected organization in the future.

### Box 3 – NATO Enlargement

Currently, NATO has 29 Members, as mentioned above the last country to join was Montenegro in 2017. Currently, two countries have a Membership Action Plan, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, NATO has entered into phases of intensified dialogue with both Georgia and Ukraine. These dialogues have been viewed with criticism though, and according to some observers are what led to Russian Aggression in the two countries. Against this background, any future enlargement activity should be reviewed critically during this summit.

The aim of this summit is nothing less than to design a strategic plan for the future of NATO. To ensure NATO will remain an effective alliance, the following topics should be discussed:

- Revision of the 2% goal
- A strategy for Cyber defence
- The cooperation between NATO and the EU
- A strategy towards Russia
- A strategy for development

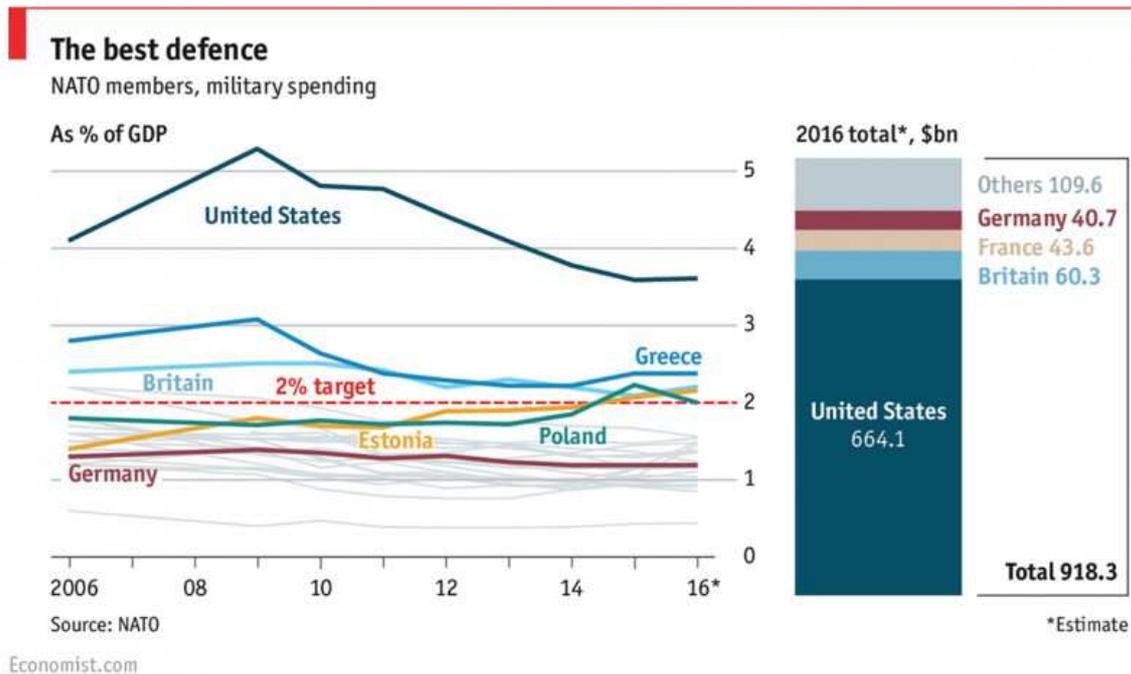
A detailed overview of each topic is provided on the next pages.

## 4.2 Defence Expenditure - 2% Goal

### History and setting

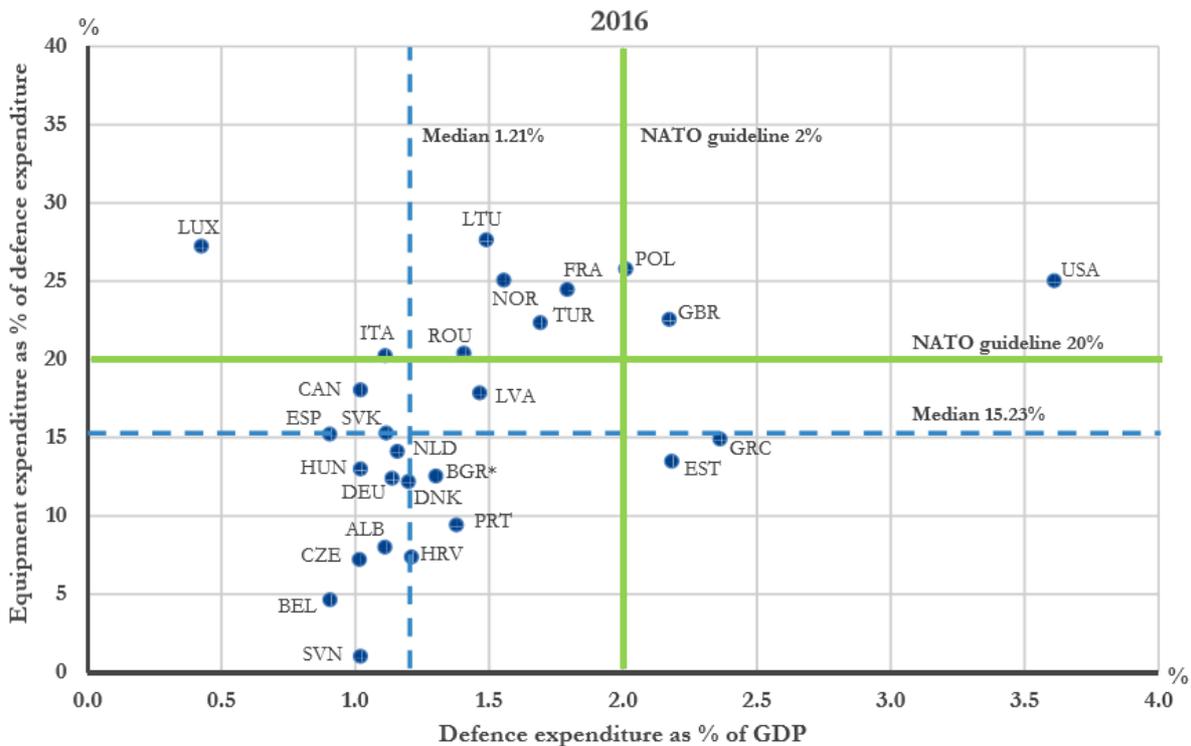
Since 1963, NATO has been publishing an annual compendium of financial and economic data for all member countries, forming a basis of comparison of the defence efforts undertaken by the respective member states based on a common definition of defence expenditure. According to the latest data published, only 5 NATO members are meeting the 2% goal on defence expenditure agreed upon in 2006: Estonia (2.2%), Greece (2.4%), Poland (2%), the UK (2.2%), and the US (3.6%). Getting NATO allies to spend more on defence has been one of US President Donald Trump's consistent foreign policy proposals since being elected, however such gripes are hardly new. Previous US presidents are understood to have voiced concern over the perceived military "free-riding" by European NATO allies. Having spent nearly double the agreed level, it may be that the United States has a point in noting

that its commitment is disproportionately large. According to *The Economist* (February, 2017), Germany which is understood to have the highest degree of fiscal manoeuvrability relative to any other NATO country, spent only 1.2% of its GDP to defence.



#### Points for discussion

Proponents of an increase in defence spending have argued that more money would not only allow member states to appropriately take responsibility over their share of the common defence, but would also allow member states to defend themselves without having to rely excessively on other NATO states. An example of this is the recently presented Polish strategy review. Titled “Concept of Defence of the Republic of Poland”, it looked to increase Polish defence expenditures nearly twofold in order to achieve “self-sufficiency” and minimise its need to rely on the thousands of US and other NATO troops already stationed in Poland and the wider region.



However critics of such initiatives and increased defence spending argue that a perfect correlation between defence expenditure and military effectiveness/capability does not necessarily exist. In other words, a member state that spends 2% on defence is not necessarily two times more effective as a defence partner that spends only 1%. In addition to this, critics have also argued that the defence challenges faced by NATO are evolving, with for example terrorism growing significantly as a threat over the past couple of years. Such challenges may be better addressed through spending on international aid rather than on a build-up of military capabilities. Moreover, the recent conflict in Ukraine have also highlighted the drastically changing nature of warfare, with elements such as disinformation and deception being effectively used by the separatist forces in Eastern Ukraine as well as by the pro-Russian forces in Crimea.

In light of the above, the following should be considered:

- **Why should there be a 2% goal on defence expenditure?** Is increased defence expenditure still relevant or appropriate given the changing nature of warfare and threats faced by NATO members?
- **How could the definition of defence expenditure be revised to take into account other expenditures that contribute to the security of NATO members?** Should there be a revision on how NATO defines defence expenditure?

## 4.3 Cyber Defence

### History and Setting

During the 2014 Wales Summit, the members of NATO endorsed a new cyber defence strategy alongside a new action plan to implement cyber defence measures. In the same year, NATO launched a partnership with the private sector, to boost cooperation and better implement its cyber defence objectives. Two years later, at the Warsaw summit 2016, NATO defence ministers took another ground-breaking step, adding the cyberspace as a fourth domain after sea, land and air. The members pledged to enhance national cyber security measures as a matter of priority. The most recent developments are the approval of a Cyber Defence Plan and a roadmap on how to structure the cyberspace as an operational field as well as the decision to create a new Cyber Operations Centre within the NATO Command structure.



NATO policy on cyber defence is implemented by the technical, political and military authorities of NATO member states while the North Atlantic Council (NAC) provides a general oversight, led by the Cyber Defence Committee.

Since the field of cyber defence knows no borders, NATO cooperates with partner countries as well as international organizations such as the EU, UN and the OSCE in the field. In February 2016, NATO and the EU signed a Technical Agreement on Cyber Defence, further deepening their cooperation.

### Points of Discussion

The recent developments have shown that NATO recognizes cyber defence as an important area that requires action. Cyber threats are evolving rapidly, becoming more sophisticated and damaging. Over the past years, cyber-attacks have grown rapidly. According to the US government, in 2016 around 4000 ransomware attacks occurred daily, a 300% increase from 2016. While this statistic concerns only ransomware and includes all types of targets, it gives a glimpse at the size of the issue.

At the current speed, NATO developments are not keeping up with the rapidly and constantly changing settings. It took NATO until 2014 to adopt a strategy on cyber defence, and to this day, the advancement relies solely on the efforts of the members, with little to no central initiative. While the recognition of the cyberspace as a fourth domain presents an important step forwards, many issues remain unclear. Two key issues stand to debate:

- **What exactly constitutes a cyber-attack?** In light of the cyberspace being recognized as a fourth domain, a cyber-attack would, if deemed as an attack of another country, trigger article 5. For article 5 to be triggered, it is of utmost importance to define a cyber-attack. Would a breach of the intranet of a government body, such as that of the Bundestag, be considered an attack? An active meddling in an election campaign? A shutdown of a power plant?
- **Does cyber security spending fall under the 2% goal?** Since the cyberspace is recognized as a fourth domain, spending on cyber defence needs to be examined in the context of the 2% goal. Would a complete renewal of IT security of local public administrations fall under the 2% goal? What about at a national level? What constitutes basic security and what military spending?

The threat of cyber-attacks is growing with each day, NATO cannot afford to lag behind in this area. Delegates will need to address all the issues mentioned above to find a sensible solution and ensure NATO remains a strong and capable alliance.

## 4.4 NATO and EU

### History and Setting

With the signature of the Maastricht Treaty of the EU in 1992 and the subsequent establishment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy a first milestone in the cooperation between NATO and the EU is reached. In 1996, NATO leaders decide to build a European Security and Defence Identity, to strengthen the European Position as a counterpart to the US. In the following years, both inner EU military cooperation as well as cooperation between the EU and NATO increased. After a first formal NATO-EU meeting in 2001, the two organisations develop a joint strategy for the western Balkans in 2003. In the same year, the first joint crisis management exercise is implemented. At the same time, Germany, France and the United Kingdom decide to deepen military cooperation by launching EU rapid reaction units composed of joint battle groups. The most recent developments include the setup of a NATO-EU Technical Arrangement on Cyber Defence as well as a declaration at the 2016 summit in Warsaw affirming the strategic partnership and deepening cooperation in areas such as countering hybrid threats, operational cooperation, cyber security and defence; and military exercises. In December of this year, three new area of cooperation were added during a meeting of NATO foreign ministers with the High Representative of the Union: military mobility, information sharing in the fight against terrorism, and promoting women's role in peace and security.

NATO and EU have 22 countries in common. The only country not to participate in NATO-EU meetings is Cyprus, as it does not have a partnership agreement with NATO. The basis for NATO-EU cooperation is the NATO-EU Declaration on European Defence and Security Policy from 2002. The so-called "Berlin Plus" agreements from 2003 regulate the cooperation in

crisis management and EU-led operations. NATO and EU representatives meet regularly and permanent military liaison arrangements have been established.



### Points of Discussion

Recently, the EU has shown unprecedented activism in the field of military and defence. With the talk of a European Army, most notably the push of French president Emmanuel Macron and the launch of the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), the EU is on the way of establishing itself as a significant military actor in the world. In the future, what might have previously been handled under NATO mechanisms might be then be implemented under an EU lead. Currently, NATO is on a path of closer and closer cooperation with the EU, with joint actions on issues such as trafficking and piracy and in countries such as Afghanistan, Kosovo and Sudan. NATO needs to decide whether to continue on this path, which may lead to a diminishing of its importance. Issues to be addressed are:

- **Should NATO support a military proliferation of the EU?** With the scepticism of the new US president towards NATO, the EU would profit from being less dependent on the US for military support. However, some EU Member States and Turkey, a NATO member, have seen their relationship deteriorate in the past. Most recently, the Turkish president has quarrelled with German politicians and questioned the border

with Greece? An increased autonomy of the EU may lead to tensions in this field and NATO would alienate a key partner.

- **How should a separate EU army be treated?** If the EU does establish its own army, it would be important to define its status within NATO. As some EU countries are NATO member states, would the army be part of NATO as well? Would it be a separate entity, with which a new partnership would have to be forged?

NATO will have to closely follow the developments within the EU and decide whether to actively support the process. It will have to ensure, that it does not become obsolete if the EU becomes self-sufficient and the United States decides to revert to its ancient isolationist ways.

## 4.5 Russia

### History and setting



Since the end of the Cold War, for over two decades NATO has strived to build a working partnership with Russia particularly in relation to areas of common interest such as arms control. However, cooperation between the two parties have been suspended to a significant degree in response to Russia's recent and ongoing military intervention in Ukraine. Moreover, NATO has expressed concern over *"Russia's continued destabilising pattern of military activities and aggressive rhetoric, which goes well beyond Ukraine"*. Although there have been persistently strong disagreements between NATO and Russia, NATO have voiced its desire to not seek confrontation, and to pose no threat to Russia.

However, although channels of political dialogue remain open, NATO have responded to the changing security climate in the Euro-Atlantic area by enhancing its defence posture and deterrence by implementing The Readiness Action Plan. This involves enlarging the existing NATO Response Force from 13,000 to 40,000 troops, prepositioning heavy equipment as well as deploying four multinational battalions to the Baltics and Poland among other things<sup>1</sup>.

Moreover, although NATO-Ukraine relations date back to the early 1990s, in the wake of the Ukraine-Russia conflict involving Crimea and the Luhansk/Donetsk regions, cooperation has intensified in areas such as capability and capacity building. Following the Minsk Agreements, NATO allies have pledged to support the Ukrainian government's efforts to introduce reforms to address Ukrainian aspirations to see their country firmly anchored among other European democracies.

#### Points for discussion

While the recent measures undertaken by NATO as part of the Readiness Action Plan have helped to improve its defence capabilities, as well as moved to reassure NATO members particularly the Baltics and Poland, concerns have been voiced over the wider implications of NATO's response. Critics have pointed out that NATO's response amounts to an arms build-up and risks escalating tensions rather than helping to finding a peaceful solution to the issues at hand.

Furthermore, concerns have also been voiced with regards to NATO's stance towards Ukraine, and the support it has pledged to what is essentially a non-NATO member country. An alliance which was originally intended to preserve the security of the involved member states, was becoming involved in a conflict outside its remit, risking further tensions with Russia and some have argued that this should not be the case.

In light of the above, the following should be considered:

- **What Russia-strategy should NATO pursue in relation to the changing security environment?** Should this involve deploying more resources to counter the perceived threat? Should the NATO take the first step towards decreasing hostilities?
- **Should the NATO pursue further cooperation with Ukraine?** Should NATO act to better guarantee its national integrity?

## 4.6 Development

### History and Setting

Despite being a military alliance, NATO has also been involved in development activities. The issue was revived in 2012, NATO explores the linkages between economic development and security. The idea behind this is that properly targeted development aid could be able to

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<sup>1</sup> A battalion typically consists of roughly 300 to 1,200 soldiers.

ensure peaceful development and decrease conflict, thus decreasing the need for military intervention and unnecessary loss of civilian life. Many members of NATO are countries that are large development aid donors. NATO researches the economic linkages of peace and security, aiming to gain a clearer understanding of how to shape a safer world.

Apart from general research, NATO takes concrete action against human trafficking and provides medical support, primarily during disaster relief. In the framework of NATO's mission in Afghanistan, it aims to support Afghan Development by recognizing the link between maintaining stability and strengthening economic development. NATO implements its NATO Afghan First Policy, which is developed by NATO's Economic Committee together with its Senior Research Board. Furthermore it works closely with Afghan Authorities, providing assistance and training and thus supporting the path towards a more stable environment.

#### Points of Discussion

The link between security and economic development is evident and recognized by NATO. This led the German Foreign Minister to recently propose to include spending on development aid in the 2% goal of spending. The argumentation was that it was unrealistic for Germany to reach the 2% goal in the near future and the development aid contributed to building peace and security just as military power did.

This advance was rebuffed by Secretary General Stoltenberg however. While he agreed that both development aid and economic cooperation are important tools in stabilizing a region, he remarked that they were entirely different from military expenditure. He further stated that both issues are important, and that there should not be an either/or scenario. Countries should rather focus on supporting both development and security.

Despite the clear message of the Secretary General, this issue is not fully off the table. With the discussion of a new strategy for NATO, development aid needs to remain in the focus. Delegates should consider:

- **Can development aid be considered a substitute of military spending?** Should NATO do more in the field of development? Or should the alliance stay true to its original military purpose?

## 6. Links and Further Research

### General

[www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NATO>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18023383>

2%

[https://www.nato.int/nato\\_static\\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\\_2017\\_03/20170313\\_170313-pr2017-045.pdf](https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2017_03/20170313_170313-pr2017-045.pdf)

### Cyber Defence

[https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_78170.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_78170.htm)

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### Russia

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### EU

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### Development

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