

# Europese Veiligheid in de schaduw van München: terug naar 1938?

Oisterwijk  
27 januari 2026

Prof Dr Frans Osinga





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IDEAS

# AMERICA VS. THE WORLD

President Trump wants to return to the 19th century's international order. He will leave America less prosperous—and the whole world less secure.

By Robert Kagan


FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# War Unbound

## Gaza, Ukraine, and the Breakdown of International Law

Oona A. Hathaway

War Unbound



# Trump's Year of Anarchy

## *The Unconstrained Presidency and the End of American Primacy*

DANIEL W. DREZNER AND ELIZABETH N. SAUNDERS

January 20, 2026



DANIEL W. DREZNER  
Dean, International  
School, University  
of Virginia

ELIZABETH N. SAUNDERS  
Professor, Columbian  
School of Arts and


# Trump's territorial ambition: new imperialism or a case of the emperor's new clothes?

Julian Borger

Sat 10 Jun 2026 07:00 CET

Share

Trump's attack on Venezuela suggests expansionism is under way but some argue it is simply standard US foreign policy stripped of hypocrisy



!! High risk of US attack on Iran in the next 24 hours. Iran has already closed its airspace to UAVs and private planes.

'All options on the table': US boosts presence in Middle East as Iran strike remains possibility

Netanyahu on Sunday convened several ministers within the senior defense echelon to discuss recent developments in the region. Israeli officials believe that a "US strike on Iran is still an option."



**NATO Opposes a Separate EU Army: Rutte Calls for More Weapons for Ukraine**  
NATO Secretary General Mark Rutte warned about the risks of creating a separate European army. He urged allies to increase military assistance to ...

31m ago 10.29 CET

**Finland warns about Russia's continuing hybrid activities in region**

Separately, Finland's military intelligence has warned about the continuing hybrid activity by **Russia** and the worsening security situation in the Baltic, with Russia "preparing to strengthen its military presence in the vicinity of the Finnish border" when its resources allow for that.

# Europe can't defend itself without the US, NATO's Rutte warns

The EU should stop dreaming of creating a European pillar to continue to build ties with the U.S. despite Trump, the al general said.

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THE TIMES

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## Germany prepares for Russia to attack Nato in two years

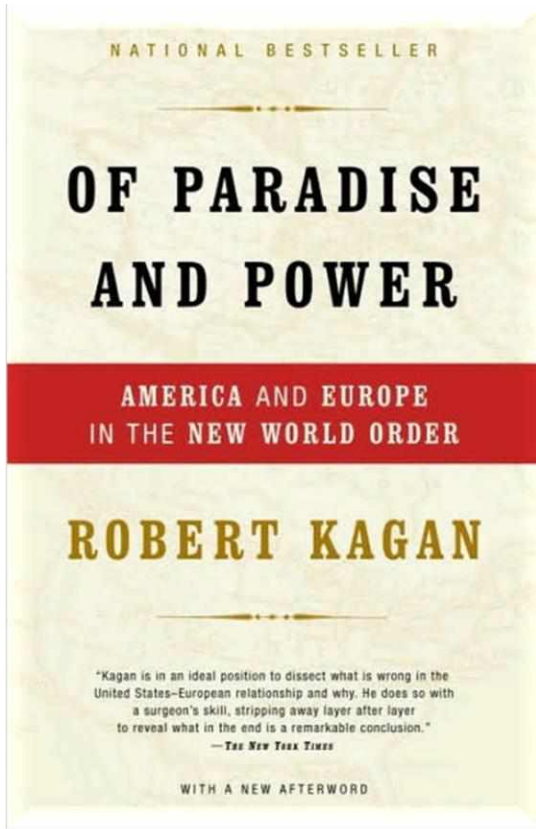
Every West German once knew what to do in case of conflict. Lieutenant General Gerald Funke is devising a similar strategy for the era of cyberattacks and drones



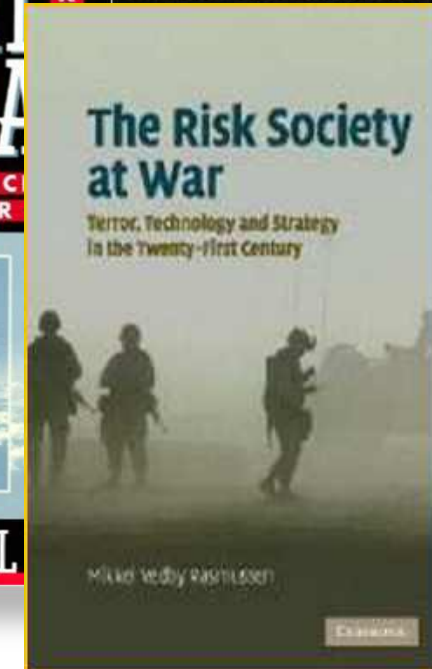
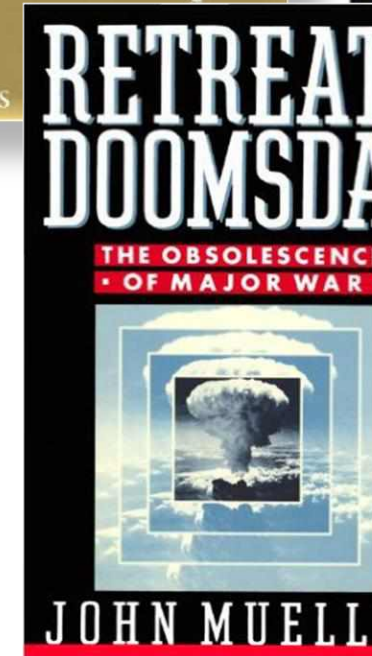
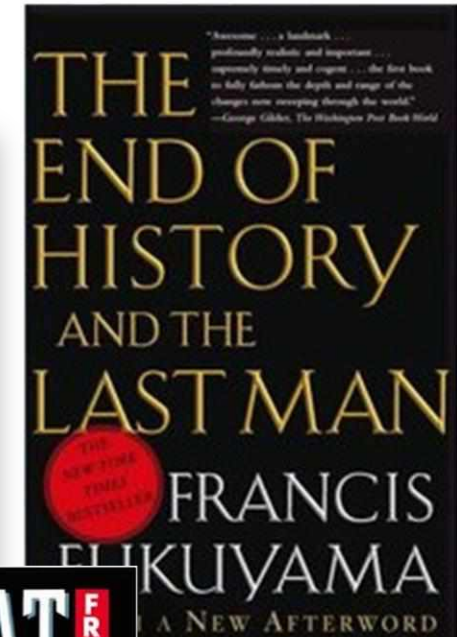
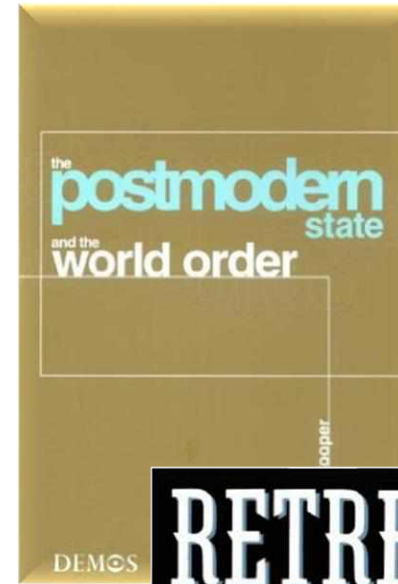
German troops are training to respond in the event of an attack, with more drills in modern warfare  
MINDAUGAS / AP



# European Security Policy 1990-2014



- Post modern/multilateralism
- Cooperation & Soft power
- Universal appeal of liberalism
- Democratic peace thesis
- War is weakness
- Crisis management
- Risk prevention
- Normative/legitimizing function of Int'l orgs
- 11/9/89 Berlin Wall defining moment
- Humanitarian values & human security
- Wars of choice & Casualty aversion
- Humane Warfare

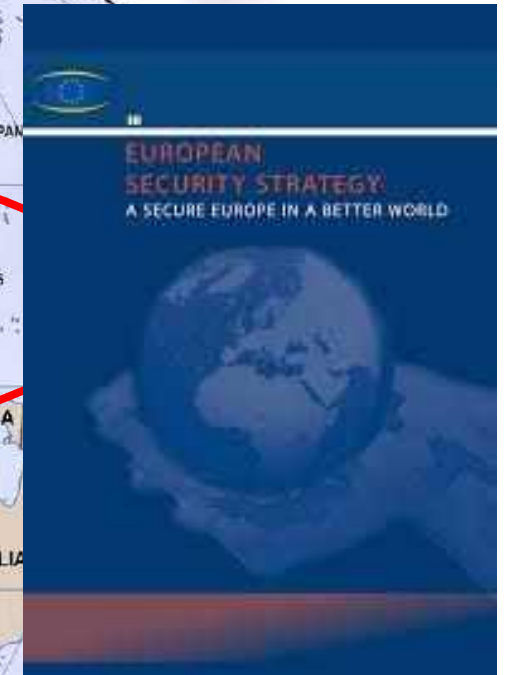




'In an era of globalization, distant threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand'

'To develop a culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary robust intervention'

**Tyranny**  
**Failed states**  
**Terrorism**  
**Technology**  
**Crime**

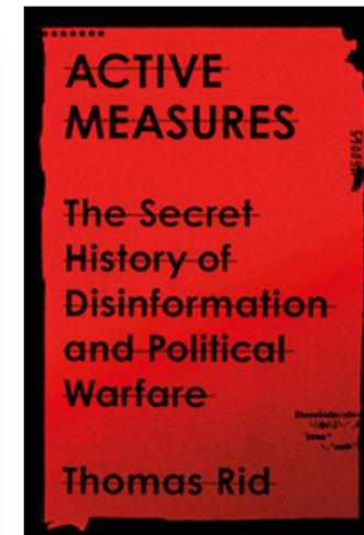
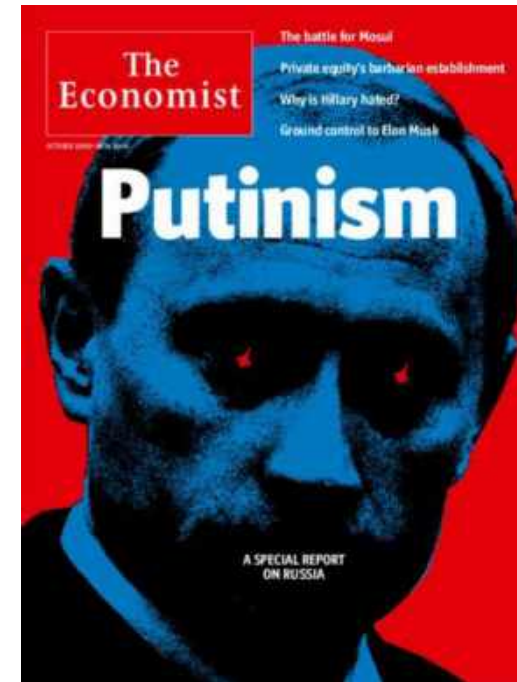


'A ring of well-governed countries'

'The first line of defence will often be abroad'

## 2014: The shock of the old

- Great Power Competition re-emerges
- China re-asserts itself as peer competitor
- Russia: Anti-western/Anti-liberal
- Narrative of fabricated mythological identity
- Return of buffer zone
- Restore prestige as superpower
- Power & fear as currency
- Weak & divided western response







# Trump Discussed Pulling U.S. From NATO, Aides Say Amid New Concerns Over Russia

The New York Times



President Trump with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, left, and the national security adviser, John R. Bolton, at the NATO summit meeting in Brussels last year. Mr. Trump's threats to withdraw from the alliance had sent officials scrambling to prevent the annual gathering from turning into a disaster. Doug Mills/The New York Times

**Survival**  
Global Politics and Strategy

ISSN: 0039-6338 (Print) 1468-2699 (Online) journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/bsur20>

## NATO, A2/AD and the Kaliningrad Challenge

Stephan Frühling & Guillaume Lasconjarias

**Survival**  
Global Politics and Strategy

ISSN: 0039-6338 (Print) 1468-2699 (Online) journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/bsur20>

## Facing Russia: Conventional Defence and Deterrence in Europe

Elbridge Colby & Jonathan Solomon

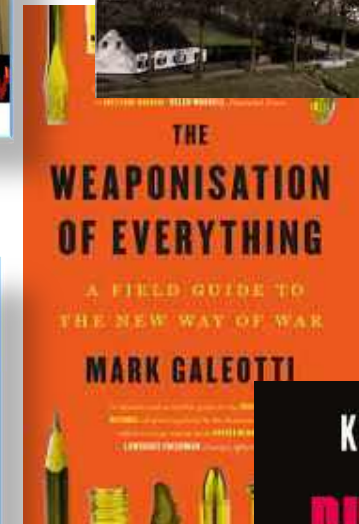


‘As currently postured, NATO cannot successfully defend the territory of its most exposed members’,

David A. Shlapak and Michael Johnson, *Reinforcing Deterrence on NATO’s Eastern Flank: Wargaming the Defense of the Baltics*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2016, p.1.



- Massive disinformation campaigns,
- using social media to control the political narrative or to radicalise,
- Political intimidation, bribery
- supporting criminal groups,
- funding anti-EU movements,
- inciting social unrest
- Create crisis atmosphere
- Cyber attacks on critical infrastructure
- Military show of force
- Target & exploit democratic values, principles, institutions, & cohesion





# The hard problem of Soft cyber

- Induce distrust
  - in government institutions
  - in functioning of society
  - in media
- Intimidate public debate (troll armies)
- Influence global media/gain moral high ground

## Trump lashes out against US news outlets defending press freedom

Senate declared 'the press is not the enemy' in non-binding resolution after the president called media 'the opposition party'

- The Guardian view on the press and Trump: speaking truth to power

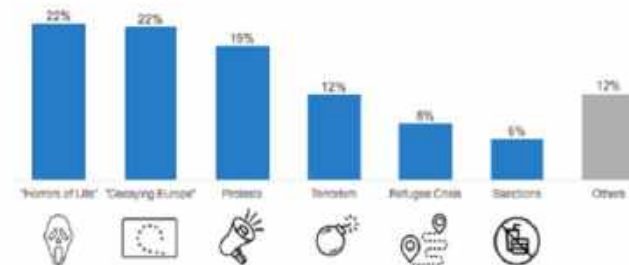


▲ The many times Donald Trump has attacked the media - video

Donald Trump has lashed out against hundreds of US newspapers that published editorials on Thursday defending press freedom and denouncing his constant attacks on the media.

## 6 main narratives about EU on RU TV

- 88% of all negative coverage may be divided into six main narratives



1. Convince Russian population never to accept European liberal values, not today nor tomorrow;
2. Prepare Russian population for potential conflicts with the West and motivate its citizens to take over weak and divided Europe;
3. Increase the awareness that if Russia would not resist, Europe will impose its "toxic" values.

There is an emphasis in Russian news programs on dehumanizing the average European. He/She is depicted as a strange, depraved, unfair human being. Therefore, the European way of life comes as a threat to Russians and public opinion is fine-tuned to embrace the idea that Russia has the right to bring order to Europe in the name of self-preservation.

## Implementation of the Russian Federation's "hybrid policy"



BINTEL's Infographics



## •Construction of exclusive identities,

- Nationalism, referring to mythological past
- designation of the Other; stereotyping, dehumanisation,
- designation of the Other as the 'enemy';
- the creation of a sense of victimhood and grievance;

## •Normalizing violence

- justification and sometimes the necessity of violence against the Other.
- the destruction of old norms of tolerance, ethical behaviour and peaceful conflict management

## •Unreality & undermining democratic & state institutions

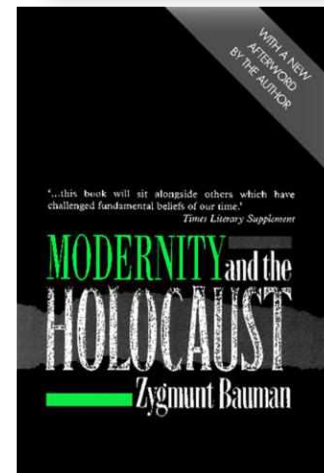
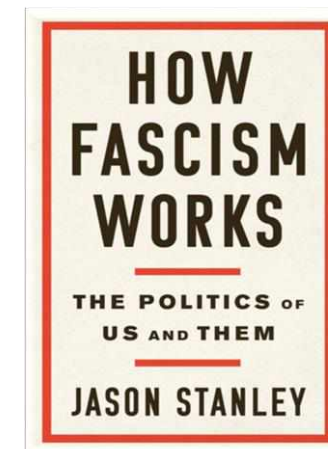
- truth is what power says; distrust towards liberal sources of authority (media, universities, experts);
- propagating lies without consequences; spreading conspiracy theories



The ideal subject of totalitarian rule is not the convinced Nazi or the dedicated communist, but people for whom the distinction between fact and fiction, true and false, no longer exists.

— Hannah Arendt —

AZ QUOTES





We need a  
the wider  
beyond the  
which has  
questioned  
terrorism a



Europe. This is what our citizens deserve, this  
ts. We live in times of existential crisis, wit  
union. Our Union is under threat. Our European  
precedented peace, prosper  
the European security or  
plague North Africa and



## Om Sverige angrips krävs motståndskraft

Vi måste kunna stå emot olika slags angrepp mot vårt land. Redan i dag sker attacker mot viktiga it-system och försök att påverka oss med falsk information. Vi kan också påverkas av konflikter i närområdet. Möjliga angrepp kan vara:

- Cyberattacker som slår ut viktiga it-system.
- Sabotage av infrastruktur (till exempel vägar, broar, flygplatser, järnvägar, elledningar och kärnkraftverk).
- Terrorattentat som drabbar många människor eller viktiga verksamheter.
- Försök att påverka Sveriges beslutsfattare eller invånare.
- Avskurna transporter som ger brist på livsmedel och andra varor.
- Militära angrepp, exempelvis flyganfall, robotattacker eller andra krigshandlingar.

Om Sverige blir angripet av ett annat land kommer vi aldrig att ge upp. Alla uppgifter om att motståndet ska upphöra är falska.

## Höjd beredskap

För att stärka Sveriges möjligheter att försvara sig kan regeringen besluta om höjd beredskap. De fredstida lagarna gäller, men vid höjd beredskap kan även andra lagar användas. Staten kan exempelvis ta över privat egendom som är särskilt viktigt för totalförsvaret.

Vid höjd beredskap ska hela samhället kraftsamla för att möta en angripare och för att se till att det viktigaste fungerar. Vid höjd beredskap kan du bli inkallad för att hjälpa till på olika sätt.

Information om höjd beredskap får du genom radio och TV. Sveriges Radio P4 är beredskapskanal.

Trump administration sanctions Russian spies, trolls over U.S. election interference, cyber attacks



Threat of Russian cyber reprisal puts UK finance, power and water on high alert



Sweden distributes 'be prepared for war' leaflet to all 4.8m homes

Defence pamphlet shows how population can prepare in event of attack and contribute to country's 'total defence'

Om Sverige angrips krävs motståndskraft

Höjd beredskap

For all svenska beborare utdelades en broschyr som visar hur befolkningen kan förbereda sig för en attack och bidra till landets 'totala försvar'.

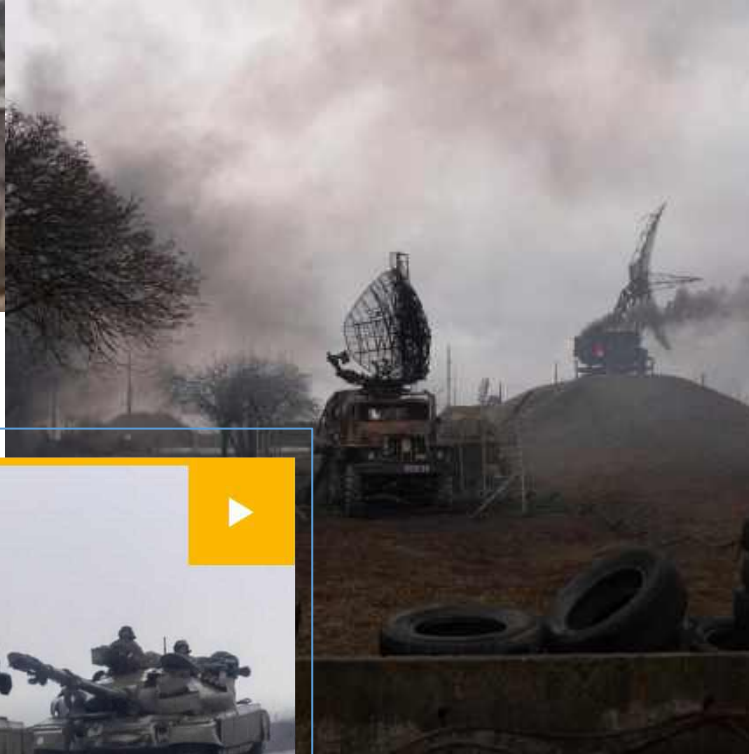







**24/02/22**  
**War in Europe**  
**year 1**  
**we should not have been**  
**surprised**



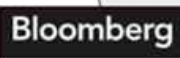


VIDEO 01:11  
**Russian troops advance through Ukraine**


**Russia launched an unprecedented invasion of its neighbor Ukraine on Thursday, with military assaults on several key Ukrainian cities including its capital, Kyiv.**




OPINION  
Opinions | Russia-Ukraine war  
**No, Russia will not invade Ukraine**  
A large-scale military operation does not fit into M...  
benefit calculus.




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Politics  
**Western Allies See Kyiv Falling to Russian Army Within Hours**  
■ Ukraine's air defenses have been eliminated, official says  
■ Putin may plan to replace Ukraine's leader with puppet regime




Last Updated: 25. Feb 2022, 8:31 pm GMT-5  
[Live Coverage Feed](#)  
25. Feb 2022, 9:21 pm ★  
**White House: Kyiv Falling to Russia Is a 'Real Possibility'**  
By Andrew Restuccia




Watch TV  
**Gen. Milley says Kyiv could fall within 72 hours if Russia decides to invade Ukraine: sources**  
within 72 hours if a full-scale  
aine occurs



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**Kiev 'could fall to Russians within hours as Ukraine air defences eliminated'**

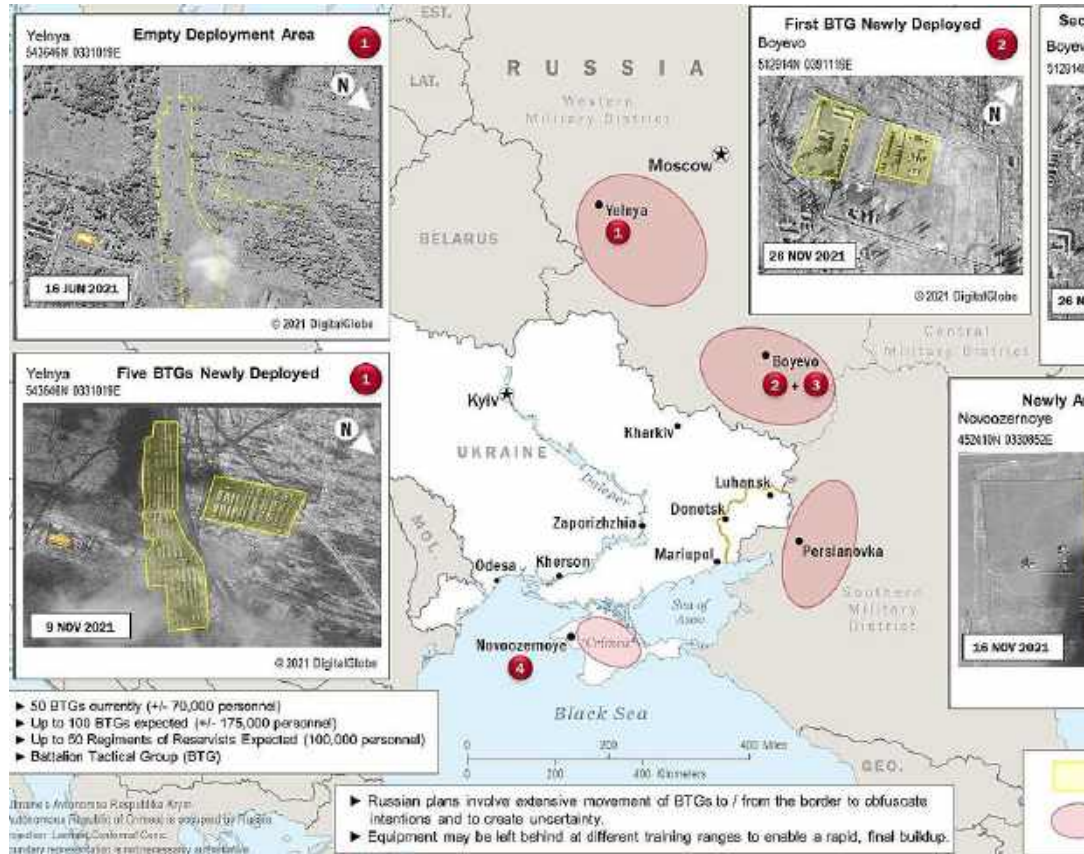


Audio Live TV Log In  
**US concerned Kyiv could fall to Russia within days, sources familiar with intel say**  
By Jim Sciutto and Katie Bo Williams, CNN  
3 minute read · Updated 9:40 AM EST, Fri February 25, 2022



The West's Weapons Won't Make Any Difference to Ukraine  
U.S. military equipment wouldn't realistically help Ukrainians—or intimidate Putin.

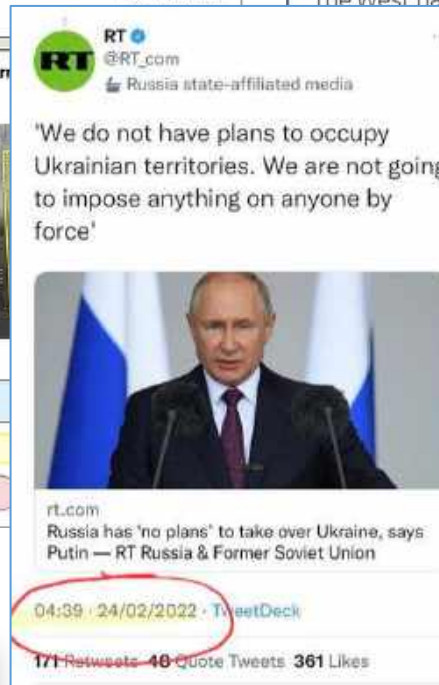
# We should not have been surprised



'purely defensive' and 'not a threat' as Western leaders warn invasion imminent

Road to war: U.S. struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion

The West has said Russia is likely to invade Ukraine, carrying out planned military operations



US says Russian invasion of Ukraine could come at any time

New US intelligence suggests Russia could attack Ukraine before the end of the Olympics next week. The news comes after the US and European nations told their nationals to leave the country.

## Russia Denies Ukraine Invasion Plans While Stocking Up on Blood Supplies

BY JUSTIN KLAWANS ON 2/17/22 AT 6:49 PM EST



# Strategic errors of the West

- Bad assessment of mind set of authoritarian regimes
- Excluding military support made Putin's strategic considerations easier
- Deep divisions among European states
- Economics trumped security considerations
- de-escalation as default policy
- Putin deterred the West, or was it self-deterrence

US says Russian invasion of Ukraine could come at any time

New US intelligence suggests Russia could attack Ukraine before the end of the Olympics next week. The news comes after the US and European nations told their nationals to leave the country.

Monkey Cage • Analysis

**NATO can't send troops to Ukraine. Here is what it will probably do instead.**

The security and defense of alliance members that border Russia and Ukraine will be a top priority.



By invitation: Russia and Ukraine  
Lithuania's prime minister, Ingrida Simonyte, says Russia's invasion was predictable

The West was too greedy for Russian money and too delusional in its negotiations with a pathological liar



Mar 2nd 2022  
ALL THIS was bound to happen. Vladimir Putin's war on Chechnya did not serve as a wake-up call for the West in 1999. Neither did the Kremlin's cyber-assault on Estonia in 2007, its war on Georgia in 2008, the illegal annexation of Crimea, nor the start of its military aggression against Ukraine in 2014—all of which Russia denies. Numerous, blatant assassinations of "inconvenient" witnesses, opponents and journalists rang alarm bells, especially when carried out on European soil. But Western leaders pressed the snooze button time and again.

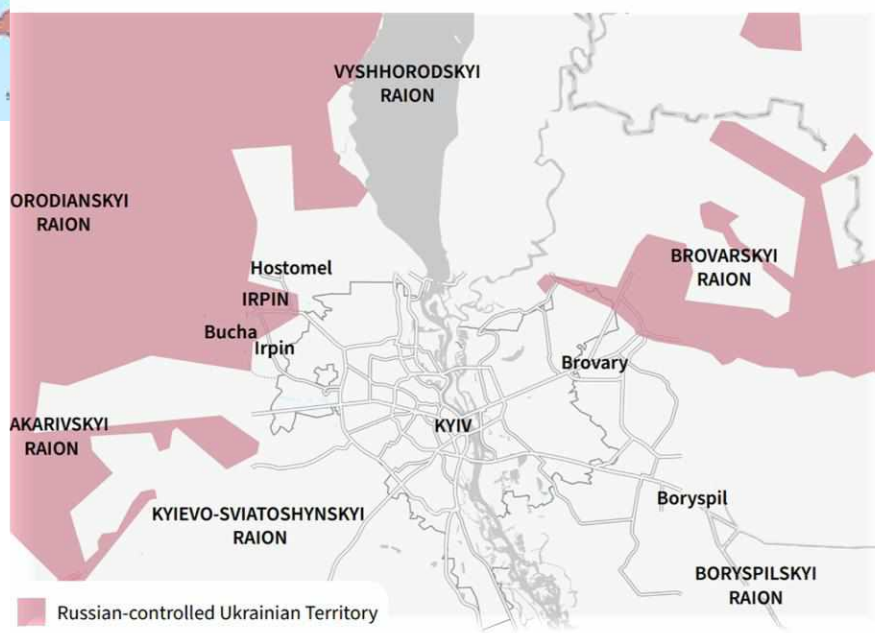


# Putin nearly succeeded

Figure 3: Map of Ukraine on 27 February



Figure 2: Map of Kyiv on 24 March



- 10-day war plan: focus = Kyiv
- Speed of maneuver
- Too fast for timely western response
- Decapitate pol & mil leadership
- Defeat Ukrainian military

**Putin threatens West with 'consequences greater than any you have faced in history' if it intervenes in his invasion of Ukraine**

Mia Jankowicz Feb 24, 2022, 5:11 AM



Russian President Vladimir Putin giving his speech announcing the invasion of Ukraine. Kremlin

## Military strength before Russia's invasion

	Ukraine	Russia
		
<b>Troops</b>	<b>1,096,600</b>	<b>2,900,000</b>
Active 	196,600	900,000
Reserve* 	900,000	2,000,000
Main battle tanks 	987	3,417
Combat aircraft 	124	1,391
Attack helicopters 	57	407
Armoured personnel carriers 	831	7,272
Artillery 	1,818	5,899

\*Note: reserve includes people who have had military service within 5 years

Source: Military Balance 2022

BBC



# Putin's Strategic Errors

- Underestimated speed of Western coordinated multidimensional response
  - Unprecedented sanctions regime
  - Increasing Western military support
- Gambled on early Blitzkrieg style coup of Kyiv
- Overestimated own military capabilities
  - Flawed combined arms operations
  - Fails to achieve air superiority
- No preparations for long war
- 4-front war with low troop density
- Underestimated Ukraine

“The failure to destroy Ukraine’s modest air defenses was one of the most significant blunders of the war, foiling Russia’s mighty air force early on.” (NYT)



Russia's spies misread Ukraine and misled Kremlin as war loomed



Battle for Kyiv: Ukrainian valor, Russian blunders combined to save the capital



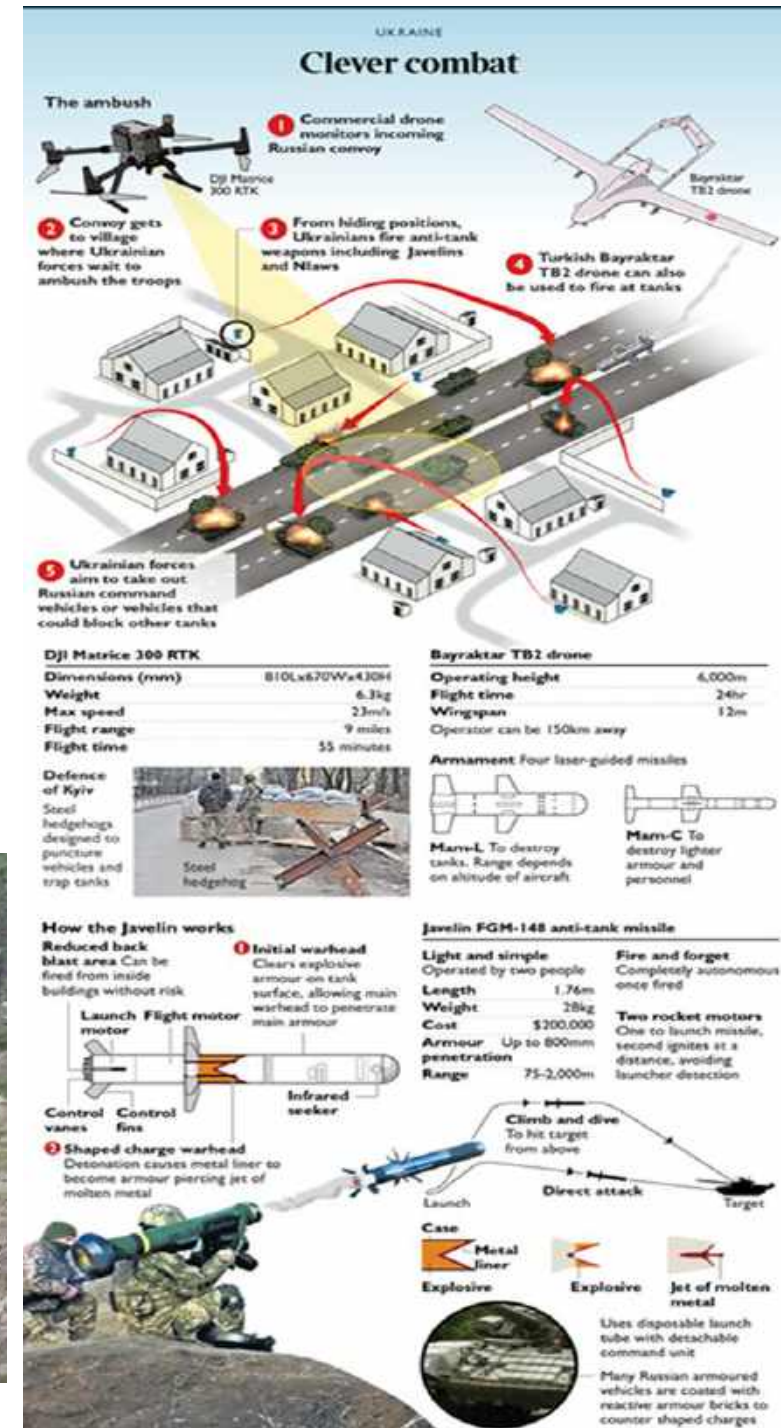
# Effective Ukrainian defence

- Strategy is not to lose, gain time, impose costs on RU
- Avoid decisive armored battles in open terrain
- Inundation, Urban defence & woods favor defender
- Mobile battalions & Spec Ops teams
  - “roaming interior lines”, dispersed, negate clear frontline
  - Hit & run strikes against convoys, focus on SSV, fuel trucks,
- Use of drones, AT, Stingers, SA-300, Migs, Massive art’y
- Zelensky unifies the nation and the West
- Initiate mobilization

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, a former TV actor, has posted videos nearly every day to his 1.1 million-subscriber [Telegram channel](#), allowing him to quickly undermine the kinds of false-flag operations and



Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky posted a video Feb. 25 in which the leader said he was among those who are continuing to defend Kyiv. (The Washington Post)







## April 9: Retreat from Kyiv, end of “special operation”

- Massive losses: week 1 2000 casualties, 88 fighters/heli
- towards 2 front attrition war
- Slow expansion of south & eastern controlled areas
- Lack of Ukr air power allows RU to slowly mass force around cities
- Lack of RU air dominance allow Ukr movements
- South: horrific Grozny-type siege tactics & urban warfare
- Massive civilian casualties: Bucha, Irpin, Mariupol



## Russia intensifies attacks on railways, taking aim at Ukraine's lifeline to the outside world



By Ivana Kottasová, Petro Zadorozhnyy and Lauren Said-Moorhouse, CNN  
Updated 11:04 AM EDT, Tue May 10, 2022





EUROPE

# Biden confirms U.S. is sending advanced rocket systems to Ukraine

By Rachel Pannett and John Hudson

Updated June 1, 2022 at 8:56 a.m. EDT | Published May 31, 2022 at 9:56 p.m. EDT



EUROPE

## A race against time in Ukraine as Russia advances, West sends weapons

By Liz Sly and Catherine Belton

May 5, 2022 at 6:38 p.m. EDT



1:21 PM - Jun 23, 2022



# Summer 2022

- Intense RU art'y barrages: 30000/day
- Ukr: Explicit Focus on south
  - Kherson strategic city for Ukr & RU
  - Warning for Russia
  - Forces RU to divert troops to south
  - Eases pressure on Donbas front
  - Demonstrate effective use of Western weapons
  - Show success
  - Motivate home front

June 4, 2022  
11:59 AM GMT+2  
Last Updated 23 days  
ago

Europe

**Russia must not be humiliated despite Putin's 'historic' mistake, Macron says**

Reuters

## Ukraine war must end with liberation of Crimea – Zelensky

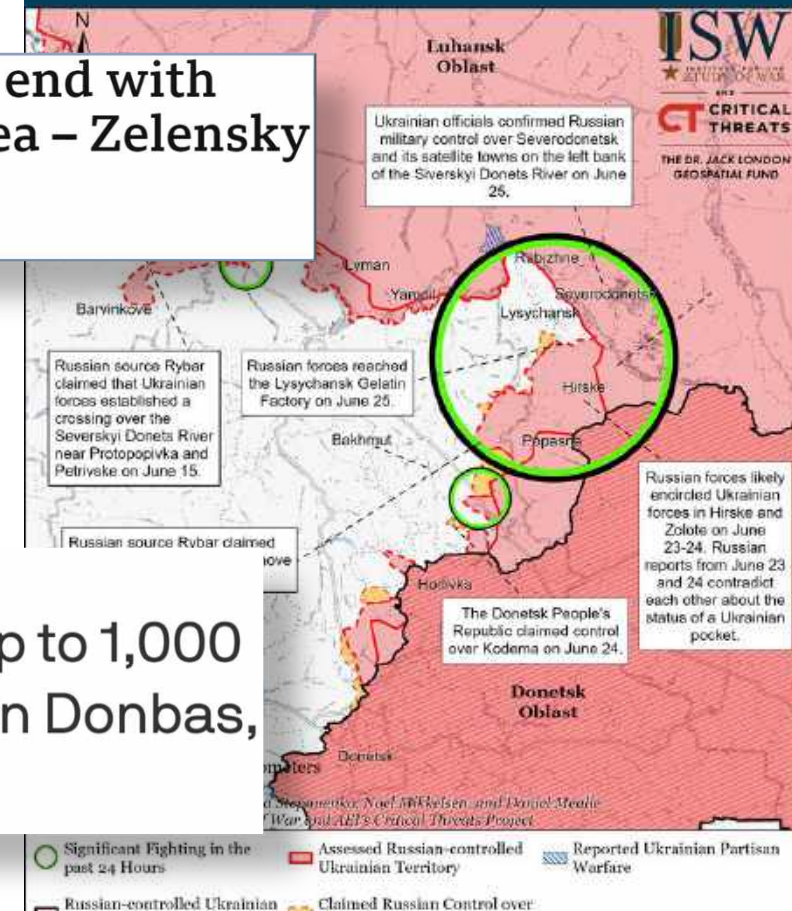
By Francesca Gillett  
BBC News

10 August · Comments

Jun 15, 2022 - World

Ukraine suffering up to 1,000 casualties per day in Donbas, official says

## Assessed Control of Terrain Around Luhansk as of June 26, 2022, 3:00 PM ET

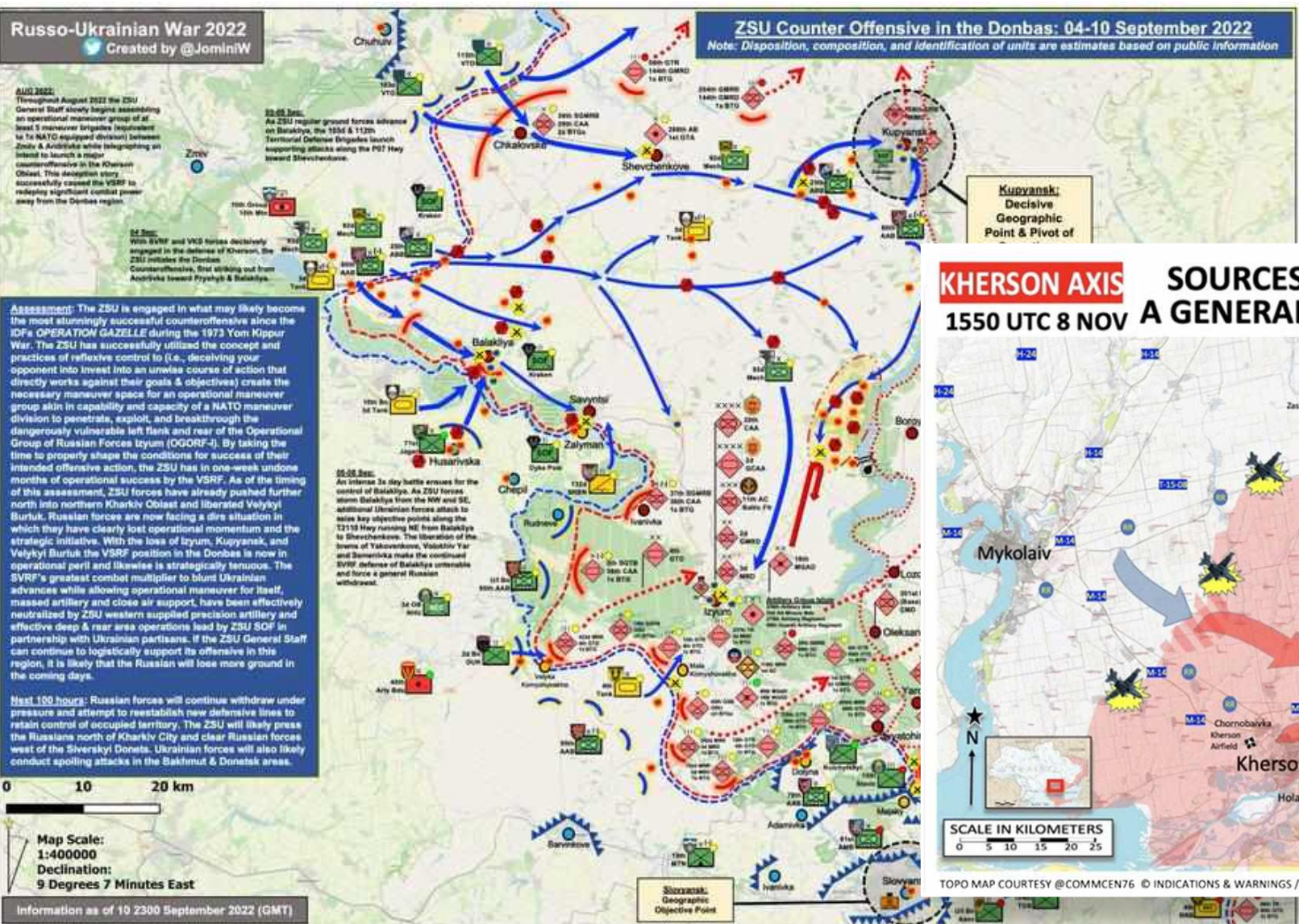


## Fall of Severodonetsk is Russia's biggest victory since Mariupol

*Fall of city after weeks of street fighting transforms the battlefield in the east of Ukraine to Moscow's advantage.*



# Sept-Nov 2022: Liberation of Kharkiv & Kherson



## KHERSON AXIS

1550 UTC 8 NOV

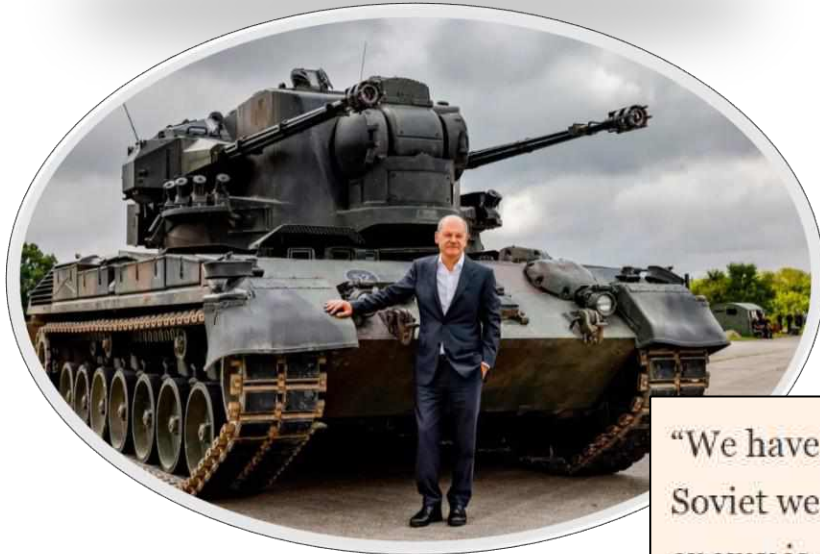
**SOURCES REPORT THAT RU COMMAND HAS ORDERED A GENERAL WITHDRAWAL FROM NORTH BANK POSITIONS**





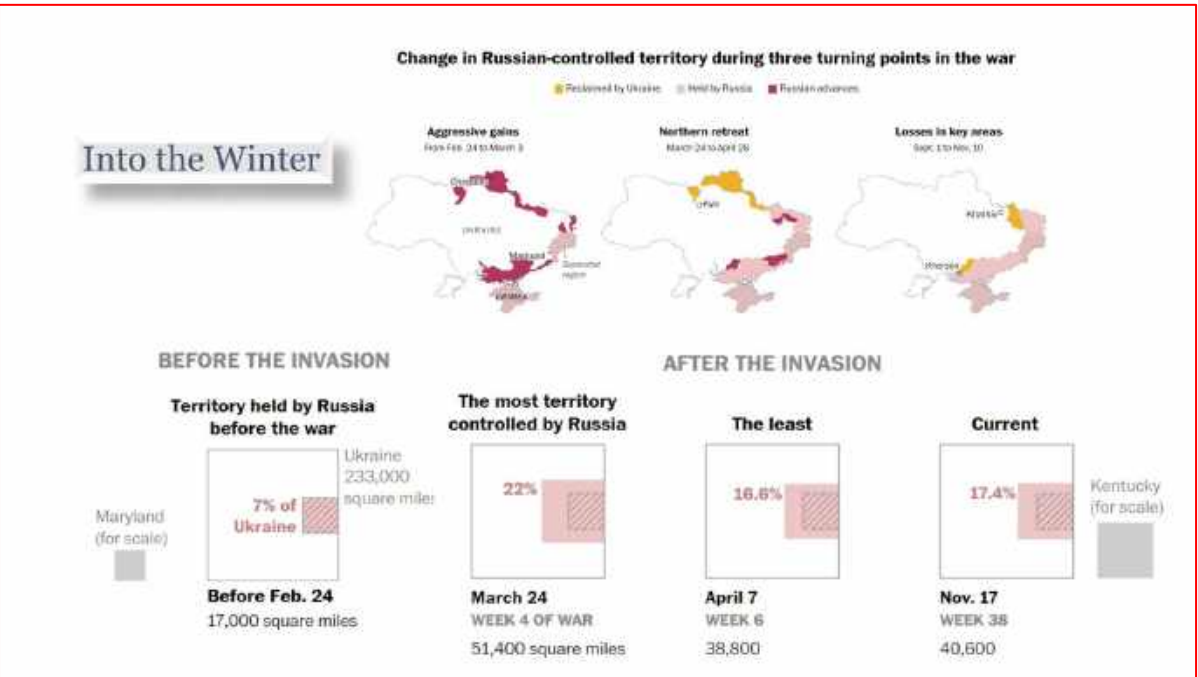







"We have no other choice but to switch to these types of weapons since the Soviet weapons of the [19]70s and [19]80s are both [ . . . ] obsolete and the enemy is exhausting them every day."





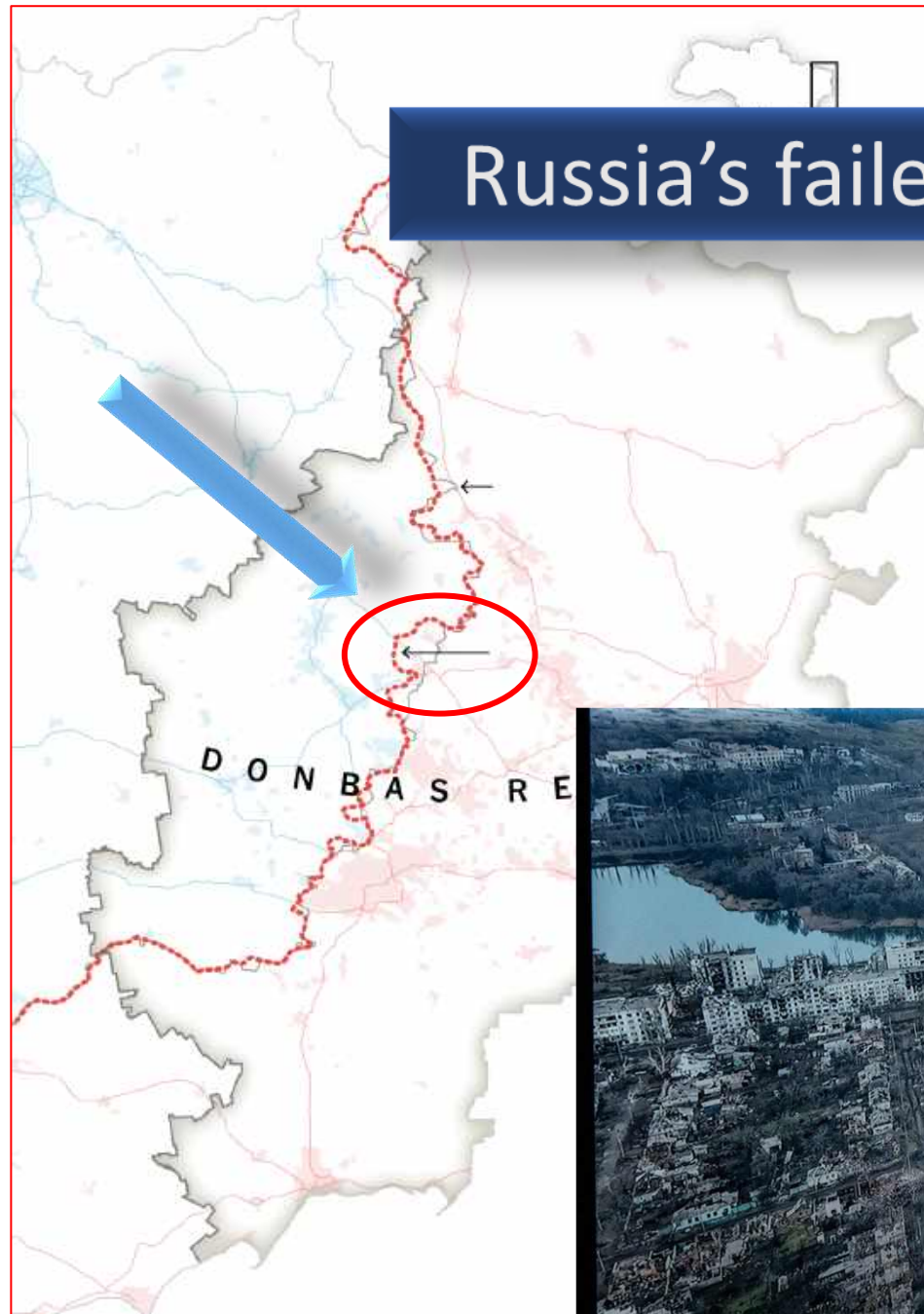




**2023-2025  
hope, dismay,  
&  
attritional war**



# Russia's failed Winter Offensive





# Russia's failed Winter Offensive





# Preparing the counter-offensive

## Poland to help Ukraine integrate Su-24 bombers with NATO Stormshadow SCALP cruise missiles

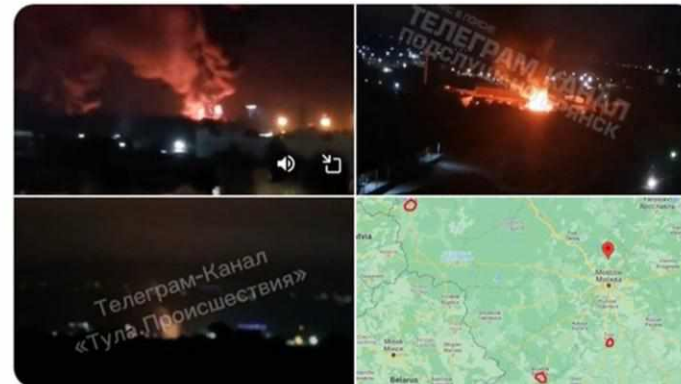


## Reported drone attacks on Russian targets



Konstantin Sonin @k\_sonin · 7h

Night of attacks across central Russia. Airfields and fuel depots in Pskov, Bryansk, Tula... Putin brought the war deep into the Russian rear.



2

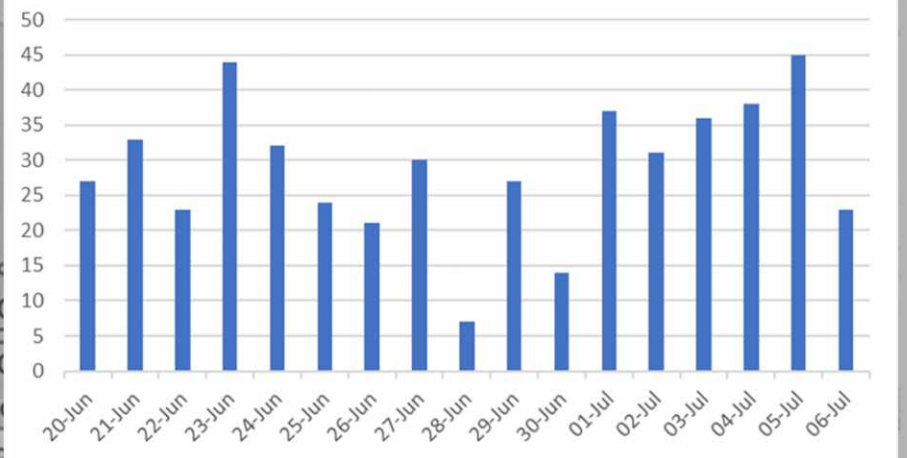
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89

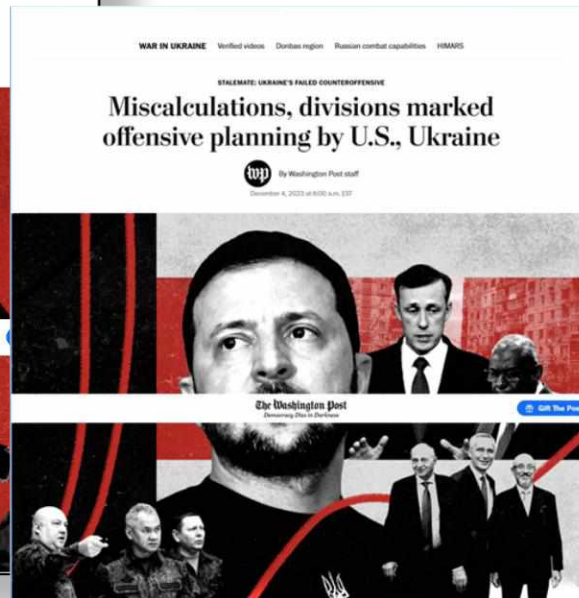
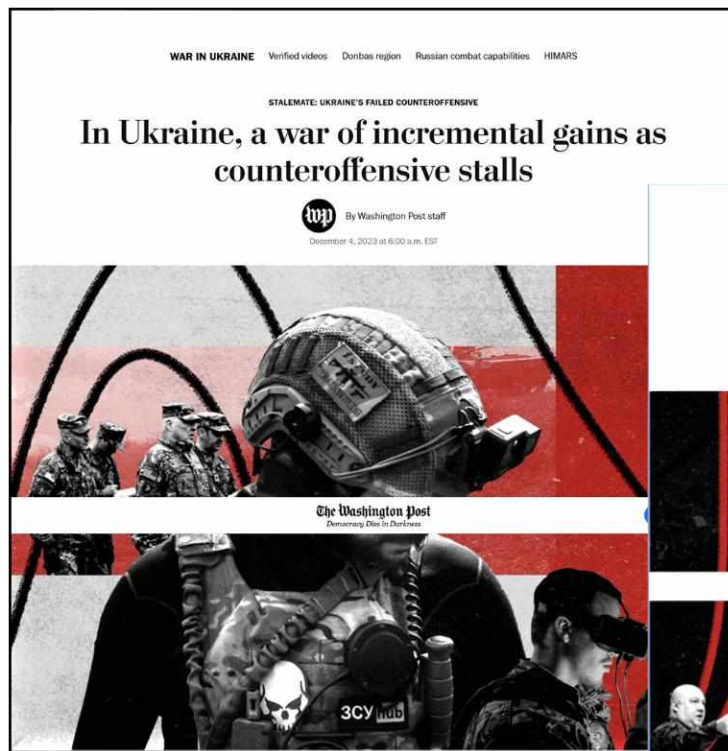
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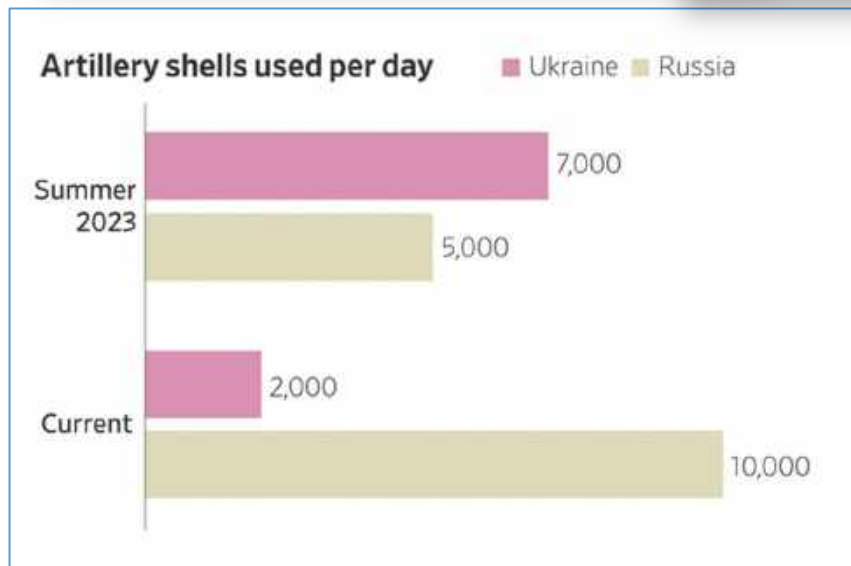
## Rus Artiller/MLRS systems destroyed by day







- Need to split in three frontal zones
- Lack of training & combat experience
- No air superiority & no air support
- Density of minefields
- Depth of defensive lines
- Transparency of battlefield: drones
- Ru coverage by art'y, AT & drones
- Insufficient Western materiel
- Insufficient art'y ammo
- Russia's willingness to suffer massive losses





Visegrad 24 @visegrad24 · 35m

BREAKING:

The head of Poland's National Security Bureau @JacekSiewiera says that NATO must change stance on how it defends the alliance's airspace.

He says that all Russian missiles must be shot down.

Poland and Romania's airspace have been violated by drones and missiles.



181 677 3.4K 107K



MAKS 23 @Maks\_NAQ\_FELLA · 2h

The government of Estonia is "seriously" discussing the possibility of sending troops into western Ukraine to take over non-direct combat, "rear" roles from Ukrainian forces in order to free them up to fight on the front, - Breaking Defense.

BREAKING  
DEFENSE

### Estonia 'seriously' discussing sending troops to 'rear' jobs in Ukraine: Official

The national security advisor to the Estonian president is the latest NATO nation official to weigh in on the debate over the wisdom of foreign forces in Ukraine. While a senior Estonian official said it's still "not a path that the [Estonian] Prime Minister wants to go down,"

x f in



67 266 1.6K 41K

## Europe—but Not NATO—Should Send Troops to Ukraine

To Halt Russia's Advance, Kyiv Needs More Boots on the Ground

By Alex Crowther, Jabara Matisek, and Phillip D. O'Brien



The Kyiv Independent @KyivIndependent

German lawmakers suggest allies could protect sky over western Ukraine.

Some German lawmakers from both ruling and opposition parties supported the idea of protecting the airspace over western Ukraine from NATO territory, FAZ reported on May 11.



Chatham House @ChathamHouse

The possibility of Western troops operating in Ukraine is one of the Kremlin's greatest fears – it shouldn't be ruled out, writes @KeirGiles (@CHRussiaEurasia).



From chathamhouse.org



NOELREPORTS @NOELreports · 2m

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg confirmed that NATO intends to invest €40 billion annually in military support for Ukraine, this will be discussed at the upcoming summit in the US.



8 47 1.3K

MENU

De Telegraaf

## Nederland sluit veiligheidsakkoord voor tien jaar met Oekraïne

in BINNENLAND

### AGREEMENT ON SECURITY CO-OPERATION

BETWEEN

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN & NORTHERN IRELAND

AND

UKRAINE

#### Preamble

The United Kingdom ('the UK') and Ukraine (hereafter 'the Participants');

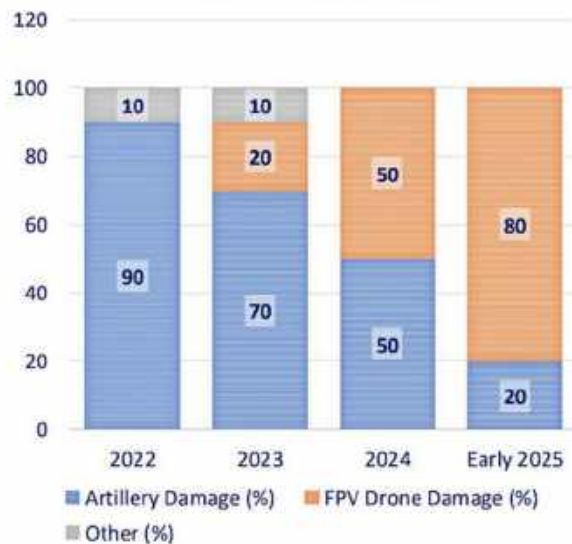
determined to end forever Russia's unprovoked attacks on Ukraine since 2014 and its full-scale invasion in 2022, which have brought great suffering to Ukraine's people and threatened European and worldwide security;

unwavering in our commitment to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its borders, which have been internationally recognised since 1991, and to ensuring Ukraine's ability to defend itself, to resist future coercion, to choose its own future, and to prosper;

it een bilateraal instens tien jaar sionair minister andse Zaken). De nder meer nemarken ook al nkomsten te



## SHIFT IN BATTLEFIELD DAMAGE: ARTILLERY VS DRONES



## Key domains defining battlefield superiority (2)

**Precision Strike Capabilities** – the ability to accurately engage both stationary and moving targets, including enemy personnel, at operational depths.

- By early 2025, drones accounted for up to 80% of enemy losses, compared to 90% from artillery and small arms at the start of the invasion.
- The mass deployment of strike drones caused exponential increases in Russian losses, particularly during late 2024-early 2025 offensives.



Conflict Defense Industry Defense Technologies Drones National Security Russia Security & Defense Technology & Innovation Ukraine

UkraineAlert | January 9, 2025

## Ukraine hopes robot army can counter Russia's battlefield advantages

By David Kirichenko

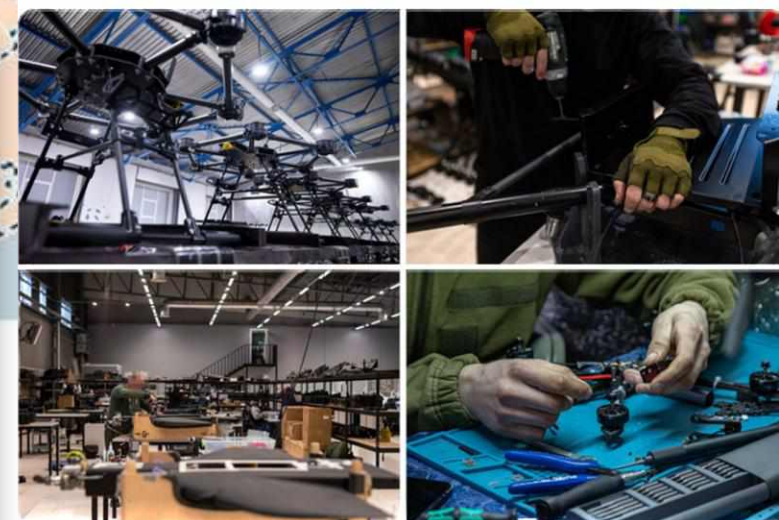


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**In 2025, the Ukrainian Defense Forces started receiving about 200 thousand drones per month**

In 2025, the supply level of unmanned systems to the Ukrainian Defense Forces, primarily FPV drones, increased to about 200,000 per month.





## ✶ Losses of the Russian army in the first half of 2025.

- Sanitary and irreversible losses of personnel - 230,180 soldiers;
- 1,311 tanks;
- 2,885 APCs;
- 8,222 artillery systems;
- 21,021 units of vehicles.



## Troop Casualties in Ukraine War Near 1.4 Million, Study Finds

With high casualty figures and the slow pace of Russia's territorial gains, President Vladimir V. Putin could face years more of a grinding war of attrition in Ukraine.

Listen to this article · 4:37 min [Learn more](#)

Share full article



## Russia pays for every square kilometre captured in Ukraine with 100 soldiers, Estonian intelligence reports

The Estonian Defence Forces Intelligence Centre has assessed that in January 2025, capturing one square kilometre of Ukrainian territory cost Russia the ...

[www.pravda.com.ua](http://www.pravda.com.ua)

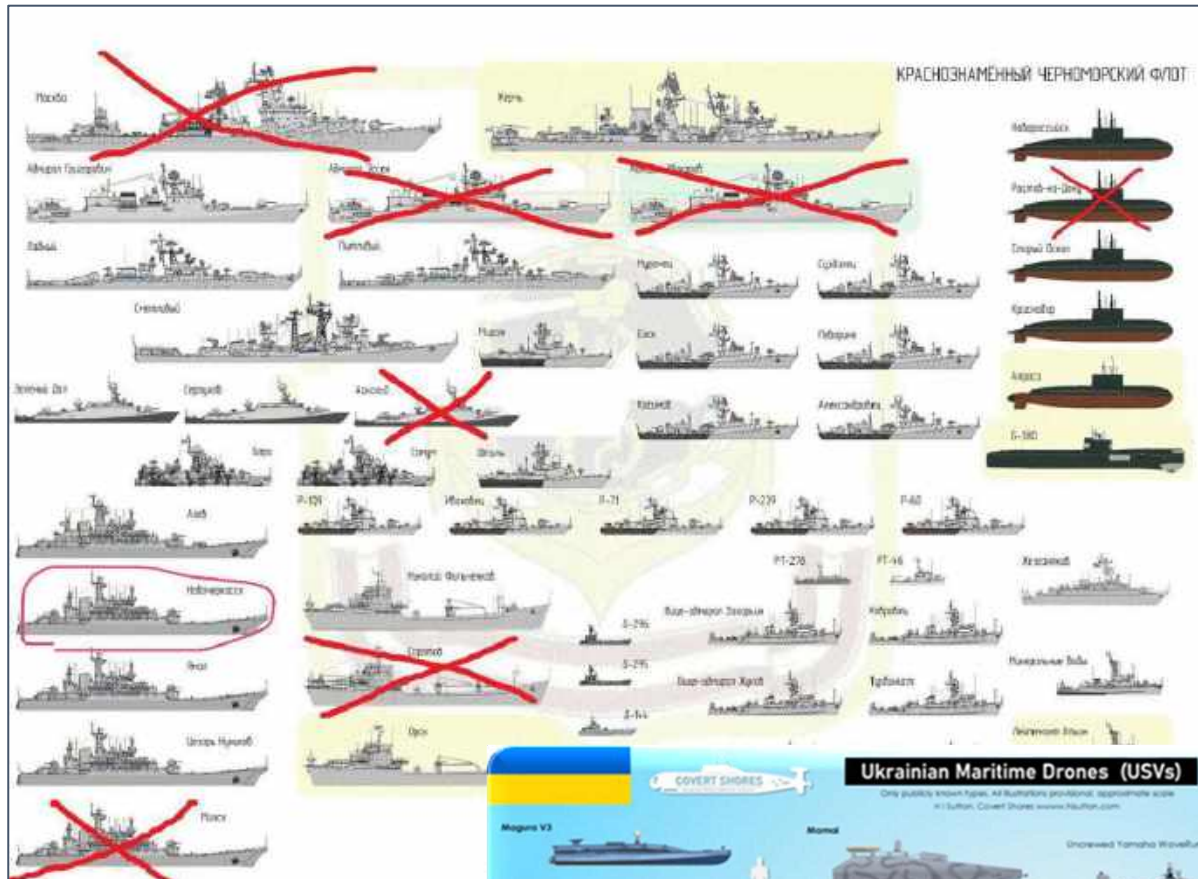
## Russia's losses as of Jan. 26

1,235,060 <sup>+1020</sup> troops <small>(approx., to be confirmed)</small>	434 <sup>+0</sup> planes
23,951 <sup>+1</sup> AFV	347 <sup>+0</sup> helicopters
75,906 <sup>+147</sup> vehicles and fuel tanks	4,205 <sup>+0</sup> cruise missiles
11,608 <sup>+3</sup> tanks	1,286 <sup>+0</sup> anti-aircraft warfare
36,644 <sup>+32</sup> artillery systems	4,051 <sup>+1</sup> special equipment
115,813 <sup>+917</sup> UAV	28 <sup>+0</sup> warships / boats
1,626 <sup>+2</sup> MLRS	1 <sup>+0</sup> submarines

Source: Indicative estimates by Ukraine's Armed Forces as of 11 a.m. EET

**THE KYIV INDEPENDENT**





# Ukraine hits tankers in Black Sea in escalation against Russia

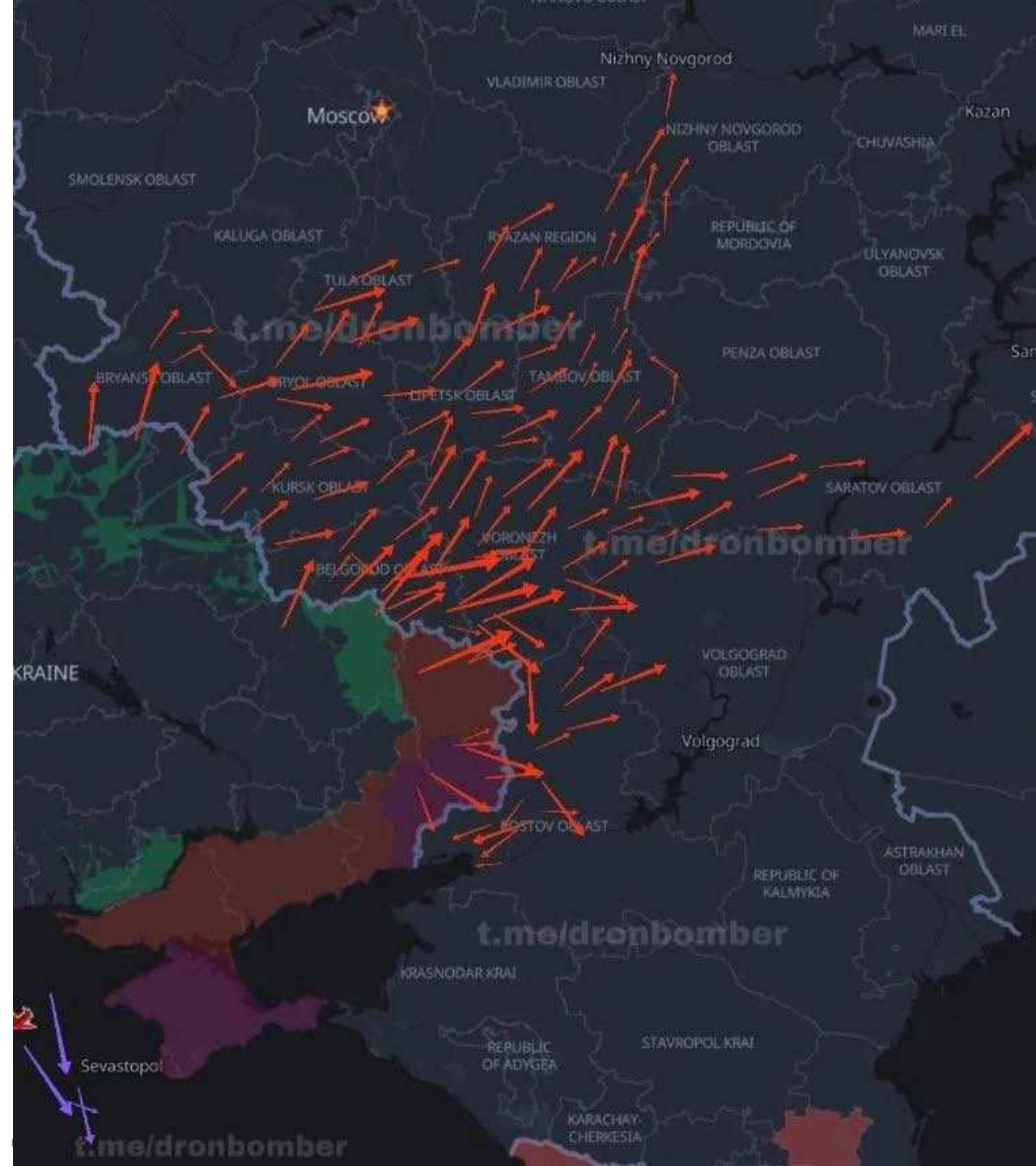


Ukraine hits tankers in Black Sea in escalation against Russia



0, 2025 · 938.9K Views





# ATTACKS ON REFINERIES



UKRAINE CARRIED OUT ABOUT 100 DRONE ATTACKS ON RUSSIAN REFINERIES AND FUEL DEPOTS BETWEEN DECEMBER 2024 AND FEBRUARY 2025



## Russian air bases targeted by Ukraine



High-resolution footage shared by @Avivector confirms damage to Russian strategic aviation at Olenya Airbase — showing 4 destroyed Tu-95 bombers and an An-12 transport aircraft.



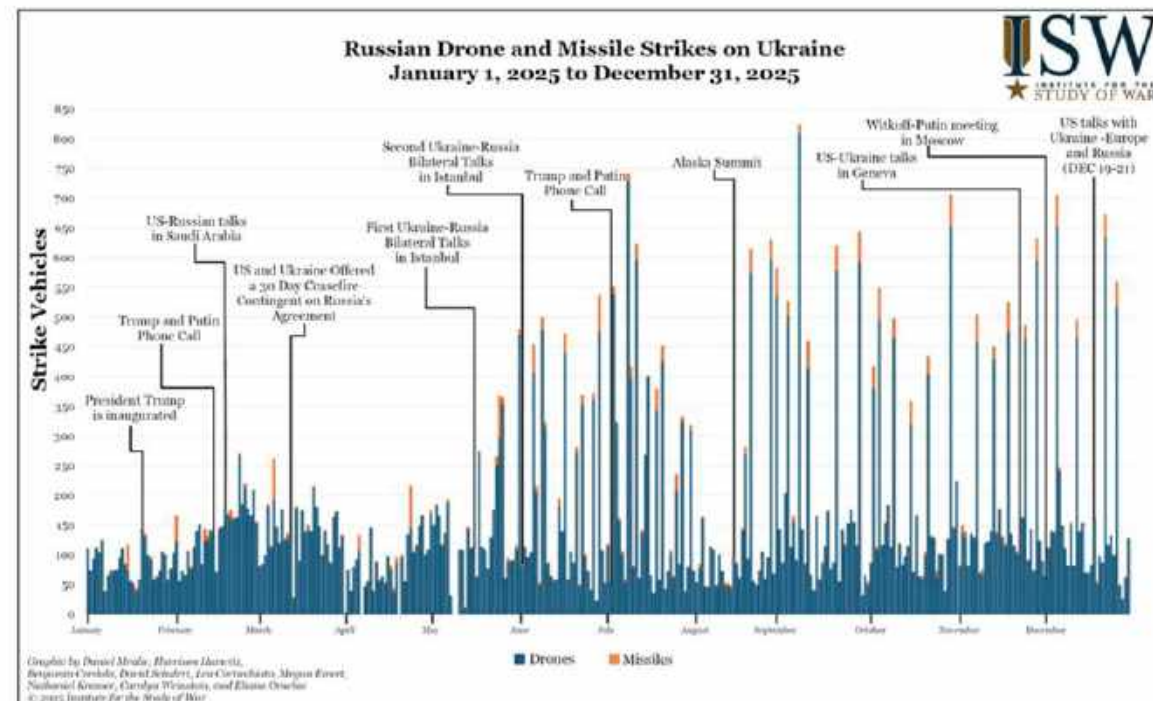
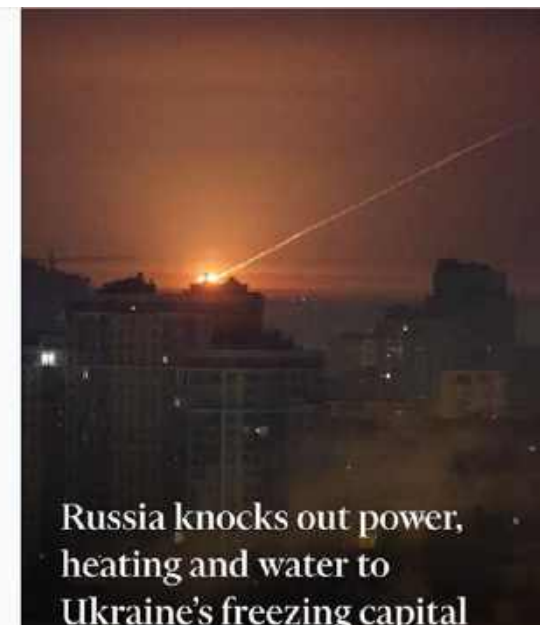
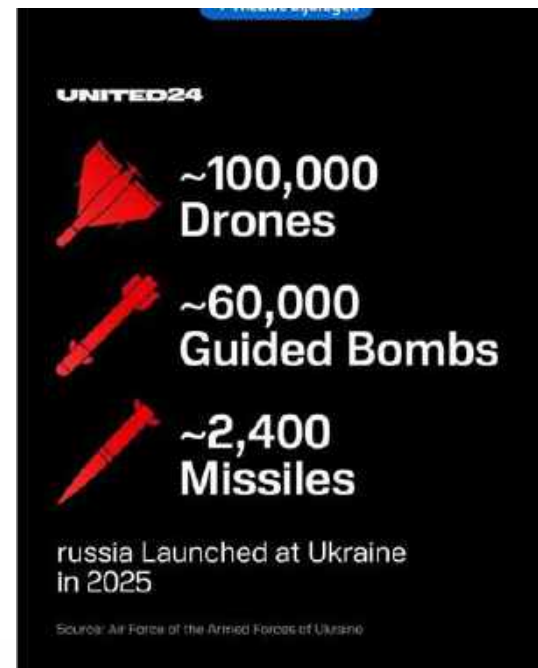




## NATO's Rutte calls for 400% increase in air defenses to counter Russia, Bloomberg reports

Share [Twitter](#) [Facebook](#) [LinkedIn](#) [Email](#)

by Anna Fratsyvir • June 9, 2025 1:30 PM • 2 min read







**Quo Vadis European  
Security?**

**1938 deja vu?**



- A genocidal war against Ukraine
- An existential & civilizational war (says Russia) v the West
- A rediscovery of Russia's strategic culture: total war
- A rediscovery of industrial warfare
- A war for the future of Europe

[illegible]

The war in Ukraine has proven that the age of industrial warfare is still here. The

A portrait of Dmitry Medvedev, the Russian President, looking slightly to the right. He has light-colored hair and a mustache, and is wearing a dark suit jacket over a white shirt. The background is blurred, showing architectural details.



# New realities for European defence policies

- Genocidal war, return of total war
- Existential war & war for the future of Europa (says Lavrov)
- **New Cold War but much more unstable**
- **US Mil contribution huge, essential & uncertain**
- **Support Ukraine, buy strategic time**
- **3% to Fund NATO SC 2022: Towards a new deterrence strategy**
  - Deterrence by denial & punishment, Defend if that fails
  - Prevent Russian limited fait accompli incursion
  - Prevent but also prepare for attritional warfare
    - capacity & stockpiles & sustainment
    - Offensive capabilities
  - Rediscover nuclear deterrence
  - Prepare for industrial war: standby capacity, scale-up
- **+ 0,5% for reducing US dependency**
- **+ 1.5% for societal resilience:**
  - homeland defence + HNS



21. We will significantly strengthen our deterrence and defence posture to deny any potential adversary any possible opportunities for aggression.

To that end, we will ensure a substantial and persistent presence on land, at sea, and in the air, including through strengthened integrated air and missile defence.

We will deter and defend forward with robust in-place, multi-domain, combat-ready forces, enhanced command and control arrangements, prepositioned ammunition and equipment and improved capacity and infrastructure to rapidly reinforce any Ally, including at short or no notice.

We will adjust the balance between in-place forces and reinforcement to strengthen deterrence and the Alliance's ability to defend.

Commensurate with the threats we face, we will ensure our deterrence and defence posture remains credible, flexible, tailored and sustainable





## SOVIET FORCES and NATO MILITARY SECTORS in Central Europe



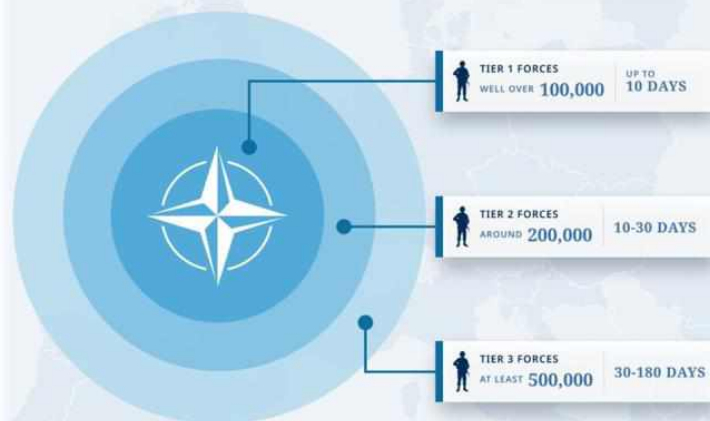
**NATO Central and Northern Region. Airpower in Place**  
1,340 Fighter/Strike  
445 Interceptor  
200 Recce



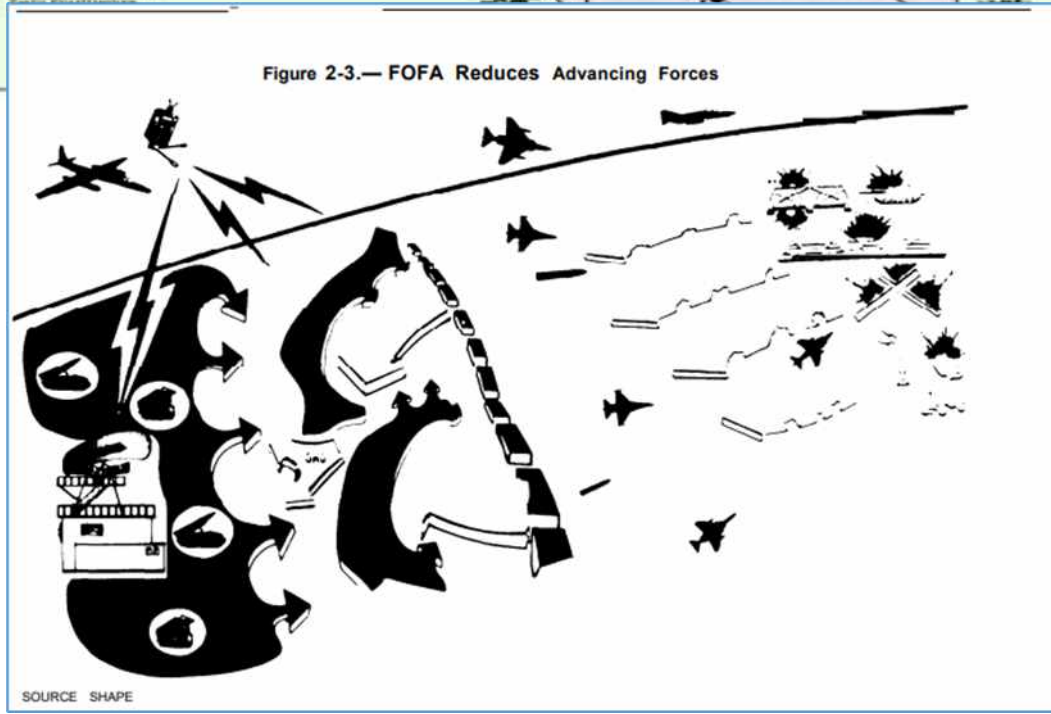
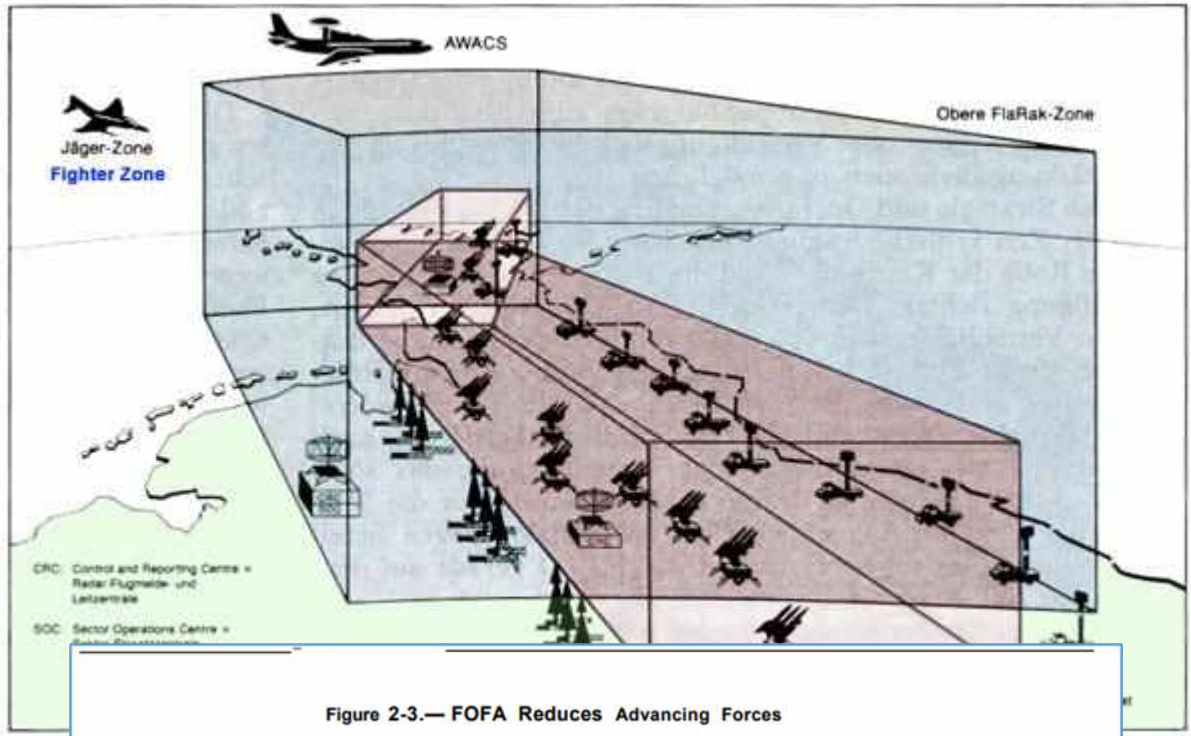
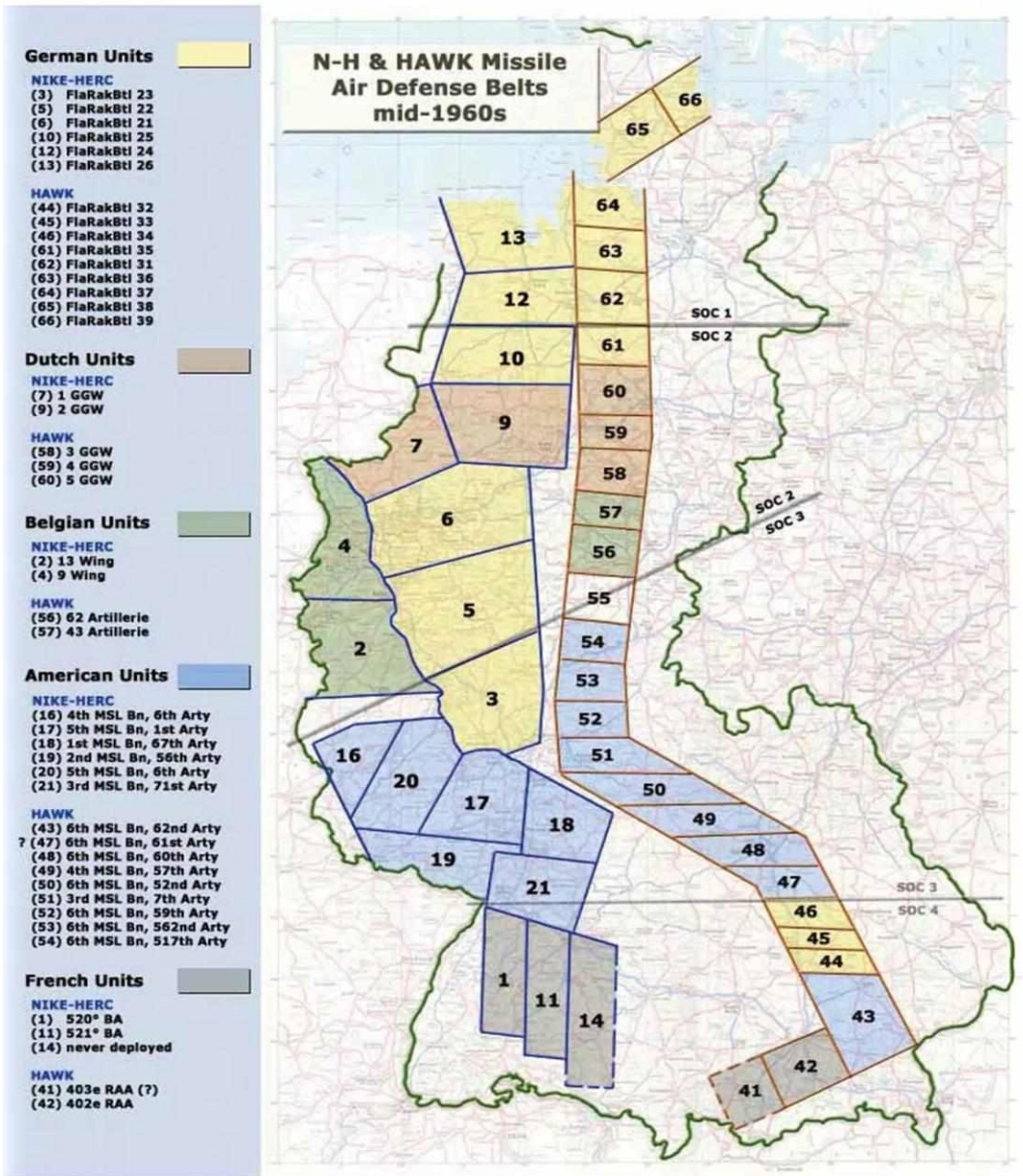
## NEW NATO FORCE MODEL

At the NATO Summit in Madrid leaders agreed a new NATO Force Model. The NATO Force Model will deliver an Allied response at much greater scale and at higher readiness than the current NATO Response Force, which it will replace. It will provide a larger pool of high readiness forces across domains, land, sea air and cyber, which will be pre-assigned to specific plans for the defence of Allies. It will improve NATO's ability to respond at very short notice for any contingency, and enable Allies to make more forces available to NATO on an assured basis.

Under the current NATO Response Force, Allies can make approximately 40,000 troops available at less than 15 days readiness. When fully implemented, the NATO Force Model will provide well over 300,000 troops at high readiness. The details of the NATO Force Model, including its precise scale and composition, continue to be developed. The transition to the model is planned to be completed in 2023.









### Nato should 'prepare for Russian missile strikes in Europe'

Alliance may have only three years before a possible offensive with Putin's forces targeting military infrastructure in Germany, senior generals warn



### FINANCIAL TIMES

War in Ukraine + Add to myFT

#### Wider war in Europe 'no longer a fantasy', warns EU's top diplomat

Josep Borrell says Russia threatens the continent beyond the conflict in Ukraine


## Nato has three years to prepare for Russian attack, warns Poland



Europe | Shell-shocked

### Can Europe arm Ukraine—or even itself?

More weapons production is a hedge against a Trump presidency



#### West believes Russia produces 3 times more shells than US and Europe for Ukraine war – CNN

EUROPEAN PRAVDA, UKRAINSKA PRAVDA — MONDAY, 11 MARCH 2024, 11:03



Michael McFaul @McFaul · 8h  
The parallels are haunting.

NEXTA @nexta\_tv · 9h  
British foreign minister says the current situation is similar to the 1930s when the West tried to appease Hitler – Politico

In a podcast to the publication, David Cameron states that the war in Ukraine remains his absolute number one priority.



352 1.9K 7.3K 204K

Jürgen Nauditt @jorgen\_nauditt

Europe has 3 to 5 years to prepare for Russia to pose a serious threat to NATO's eastern flank, Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas told The Times

the Post

ation explains, it is about how soon NATO troops will be able to be ready to face the forces of Russia, which have regained their strength.

### Russia will threaten Nato borders within three years, says Estonia

Prime minister warns that alliance must 'keep posture' over Ukraine to ward off attack



6:57 PM · Jan 15, 2024 · 45.8K Views

59 358 1.2K 28



RUSSIA'S WAR ON UKRAINE

NATO WARNS WEST NEEDS TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR WITH RUSSIA

Admiral Rob Bauer | Chair, Military Committee of NATO

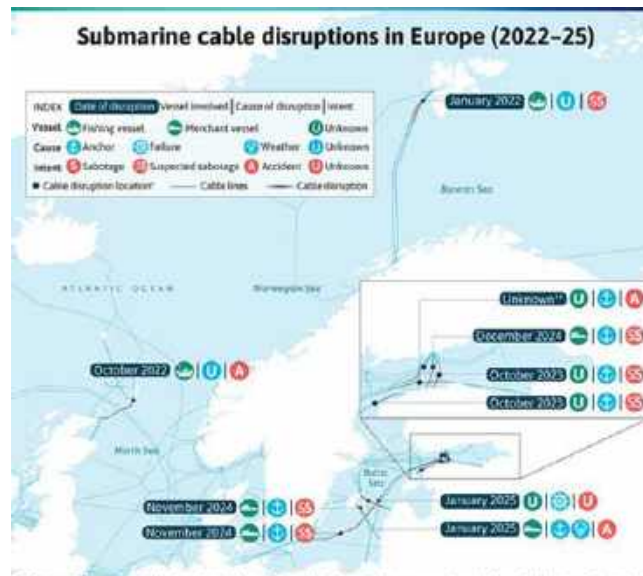
CNN



## Russian spy ship escorted away from area with critical cables in Irish Sea



Een beruchte NoordKoreaanse hackersgroep heeft de pijlen gericht op Europese bedrijven die werken aan het ontwikkelen van drones. Dit blijkt uit ...

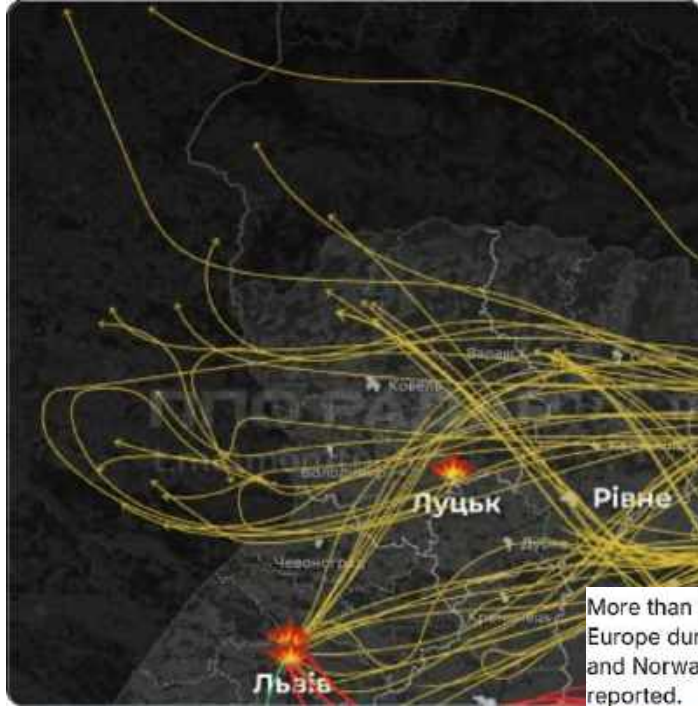


## German intelligence chief warns continued hybrid warfare by Moscow increases risk of alliance invoking Article 5



Europe must prepare for a "generational" war with Russia, Swedish Chief of Defense Michael Claesson told POLITICO.





## Nato intercepts Russian fighter jets on 'reckless' violation of Estonian airspace

Italian air force heads off three MiG-31s over Gulf of Finland amid increased tension on alliance's eastern border



More than 16 drone incidents over infrastructure were recorded across Europe during September, with Germany seeing 6 cases, Denmark 5, and Norway 2, mostly near airports and airbases, Oko Hora analysts reported.

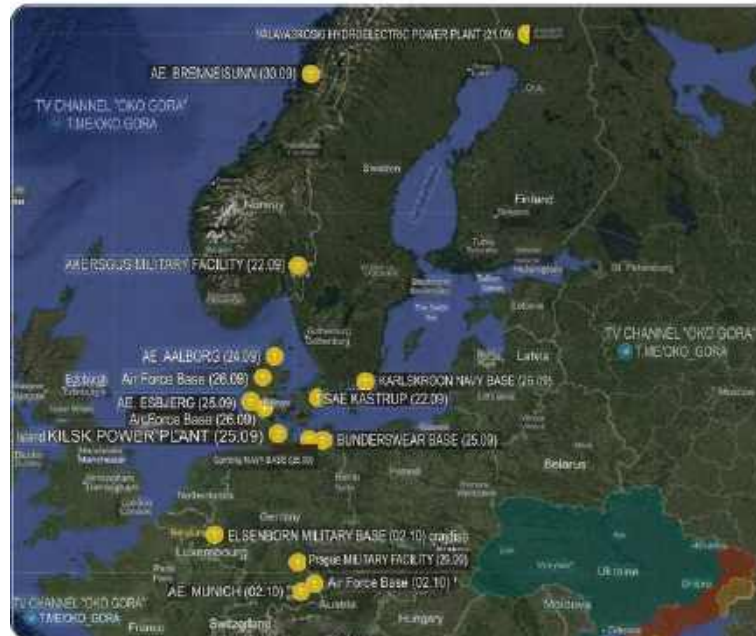


Defensie investeert enkele miljarden in bestrijding van drones na incidenten

Poland's PM warns prospect of military conflict 'closer than at any time since second world war' amid Russian drone incursion - follow live



Poland shoots down Russian drones and closes several airports



Nearly 200 drone sightings near UK military sites this year

The Ministry of Defence has confirmed that there have been 187 drone sightings near high-security military establishments across the UK since the ...

[ukdefencejournal.org.uk](https://ukdefencejournal.org.uk)



# Donald Trump poses the biggest danger to the world in 2024

What his victory in America's election would mean

## Trump vowed he'd 'never' help Europe if it's attacked, top EU official says

'By the way NATO is dead,' the former (and potential future) US president added in private meeting.



IMAGE: ANDREA UCINI

## Trump Discussed Pulling U.S. From NATO, Aides Say Amid New Concerns Over Russia

The New York Times



President Trump with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, left, and the national security adviser, John R. Bolton, at the NATO summit meeting in Brussels last year. Mr. Trump's threats to withdraw from the alliance had sent officials scrambling to prevent the annual gathering from turning into a disaster. Doug Mills/The New York Times

## TRUMP ECHOES HITLER'S WORDS ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL



**I WILL GET RID OF THE "COMMUNIST" "VERMIN"**



**I WILL GET RID OF THE "COMMUNIST" "VERMIN"**



**I WILL TAKE CARE OF THE "ENEMY WITHIN"**



**I WILL TAKE CARE OF THE "THREAT FROM WITHIN"**



**JEWS AND MIGRANTS ARE POISONING ARYAN BLOOD**



**MIGRANTS ARE "POISONING THE BLOOD OF OUR COUNTRY"**



**"ONE PEOPLE, ONE REALM, ONE LEADER"**



**"ONE PEOPLE, ONE FAMILY, ONE GLORIOUS NATION"**

MEIDASTOUCHNETWORK





**Analysis**  
**AfD's success in German elections piles pressure on a fragmented EU**  
*Jennifer Rankin in Brussels*

The centre 'may be holding' but if the far right continues to win elections, the European project faces a rocky few years



Protesters against the far right in Hamburg. Olaf Scholz described the AfD's election success in western Germany as 'worrying'. Photograph: Bodo Marks/AP





# EARLY WARNING SIGNS OF FASCISM

POWERFUL AND CONTINUING  
NATIONALISM

DISDAIN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

IDENTIFICATION OF ENEMIES  
AS A UNIFYING CAUSE

SUPREMACY OF THE MILITARY

RAMPANT SEXISM

CONTROLLED MASS MEDIA

OBSESSION WITH NATIONAL SECURITY

RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT  
INTERTWINED

CORPORATE POWER PROTECTED

LABOR POWER SUPPRESSED

DISDAIN FOR INTELLECTUALS & THE ARTS

OBSESSION WITH CRIME & PUNISHMENT

RAMPANT CRONYISM & CORRUPTION

FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS

An Authoritarian (NYT, Editorial, Oct. 31, 2025):

- **stifles dissent and speech.** Trump has started to.
- **bypasses the legislature.** Trump has started to.
- **uses the military for domestic control.** Trump has started to.
- **defies the courts.** Trump has started to.
- **declares national emergencies on false pretenses.** Trump has.
- **vilifies marginalized groups.** Trump has.
- **controls information and the news media.** Trump has started to.
- **tries to take over universities.** Trump has started to.
- **creates a cult of personality.** Trump has.
- **uses power for personal profit.** Trump has.
- **manipulates the law to stay in power.** Trump has started to.



The New York Times

M. GESSEN

# State Terror Has Arrived

Jan. 24, 2026

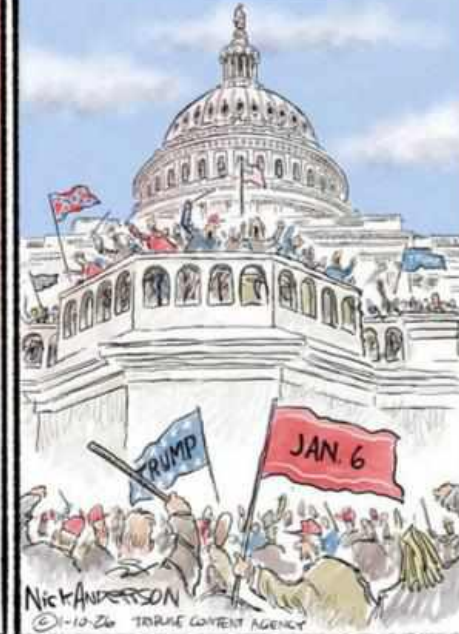


## MAGA Field Guide to Domestic Threats

TERRORIST



PATRIOTS

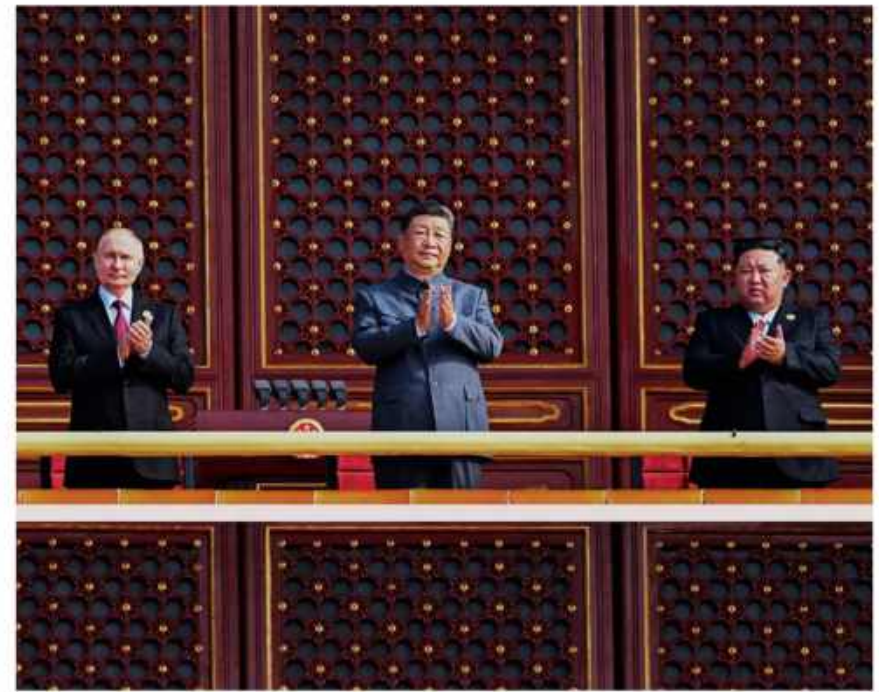


## Yes, It's Fascism

Until recently, I thought it a term best avoided. But now, the resemblances are too many and too strong to deny.

By Jonathan Rauch





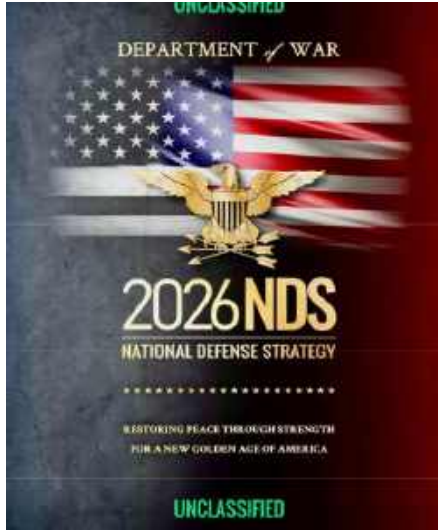
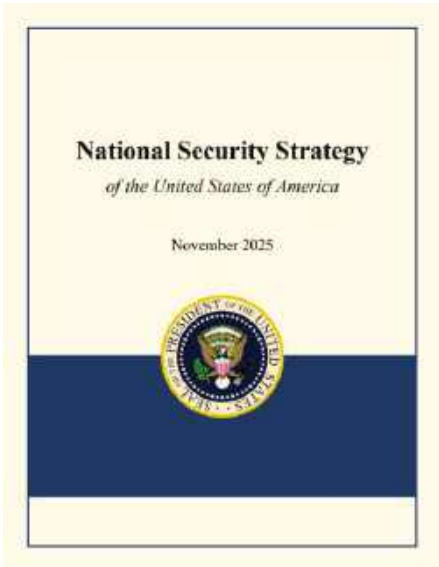
🇪🇺🇺🇸 "Europe has moved away from our shared values," – Vice President Vance

"The threat that worries me most about Europe is not Russia, not China, not any other external actor. I am worried about the threat from within."

He also said that he is ready to come to Russia for negotiations on Ukraine.







Focus on Western Hemisphere & China, Russia not a threat

On Europe: **warning of civilizational erasure**

‘Our broad policy for Europe should prioritize’:

- • Reestablishing conditions of stability within Europe **and strategic stability with Russia;**
- • Enabling Europe to stand on its own feet and operate as a group of aligned sovereign nations, including by taking primary responsibility for its own defense, without being dominated by any adversarial power;
- • **Cultivating resistance to Europe’s current trajectory within European nations;**
- • Opening European markets to U.S. goods and services and ensuring fair treatment of U.S. workers and businesses;
- • **Building up the healthy nations** of Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe through commercial ties, weapons sales, political collaboration, and cultural and educational exchanges;
- • **Ending the perception, and preventing the reality, of NATO as a perpetually expanding alliance;** and
- • Encouraging Europe to take action to combat mercantilist overcapacity, technological theft, cyber espionage, and other hostile economic practices





# The Great Unraveling Has Begun

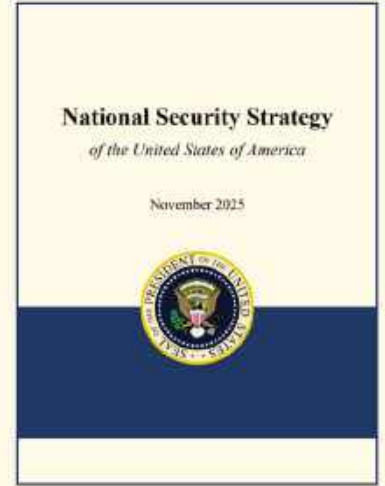
Jan. 6, 2026



# US attack on Greenland would mean end of Nato, says Danish PM



Donald Trump  
'I don't need international law':  
Trump says power constrained only by 'my own morality'



Katie Miller  
@KatieMiller



11:56 AM - January 3, 2026



Trump push to politicize US military 'reminiscent of Stalin', top general warns





- Carney, ‘longer live in a state of nostalgia, waiting for an old world to return. **This is a rupture not a transition**, “the end of a pleasant fiction and the beginning of a brutal reality where **the geopolitics of the great powers is subject to no constraints**”.
- von der Leyen, “**We now live in a world defined by raw power**, whether economic or military, technological or geopolitical. **In an increasingly lawless world, Europe needs its own levers of power.**”
- Macron, **the world is heading towards a “rule-free” system**, where imperialist ambitions weigh heavily on multilateralism; the international bodies that once served to resolve problems are weakened, even abandoned; **the US “is openly seeking to weaken and subordinate Europe”**,
- Stubb: “The people around Trump in the Maga movement ...are leading a **movement against liberalism, globalisation and interdependence.**”



#### Analysis

**Middle powers assemble? Trump disorder prompts talk of new liberal alliances**

Patrick Wintour  
Diplomatic editor



## Why 3-3,5 and 5%:

### Russia, new deterrence strategy & reduce dependency on US

- **Support Ukraine & boost societal resilience**
- **increase overall readiness** of large combat forces:
  - 100,000 troops in ten days (tier 1), 300,000 within ten to thirty days (tier 2), 500,000 more within one to six months (tier 3),
  - be prepared to field 70 to 80 percent of these forces by the end of the decade.
  - Build up a six-month inventory of ammunition, fuel, and spare parts at high consumption rate
- **Reduce overdependency on US: Acquire / develop**
  - Integrated drone, air & missile defence
  - aerial refueling & heavy lift
  - intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance assets
  - electronic warfare, airborne surveillance
  - maritime patrolling
  - space-based capabilities
  - suppression of enemy air-defense (including 5<sup>th</sup> Gen fighters)
  - Long range precision strike.

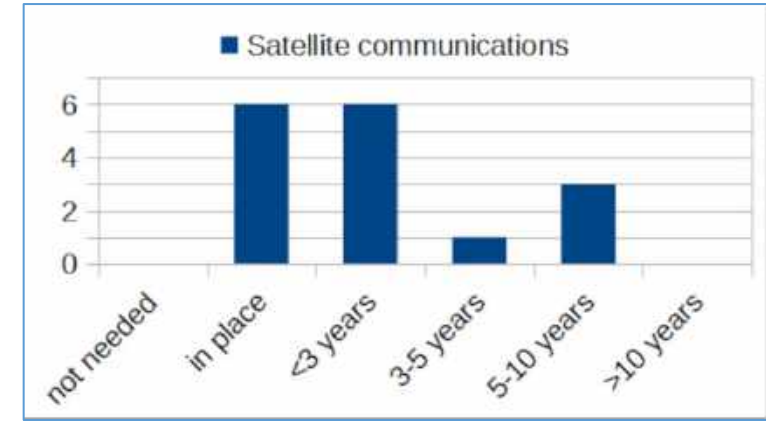
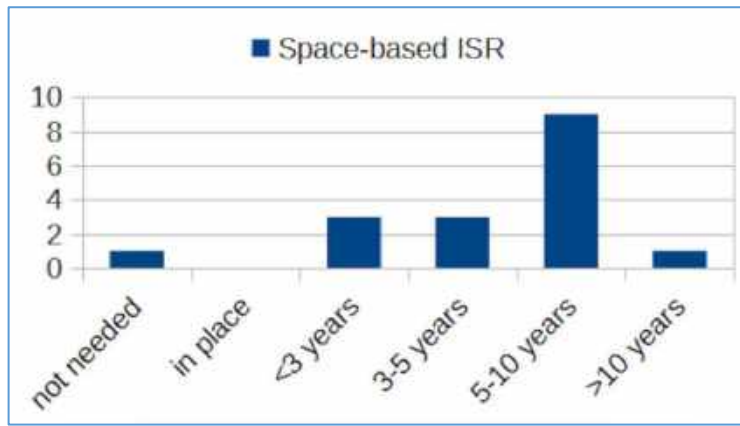


**Armed forces not prepared for full-scale war, defence chief admits**

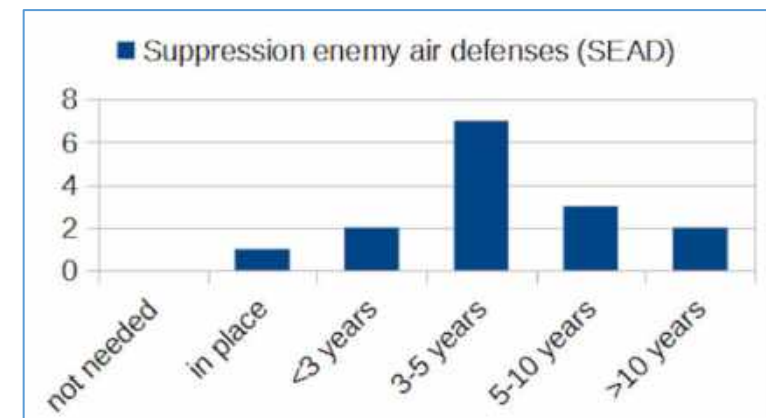
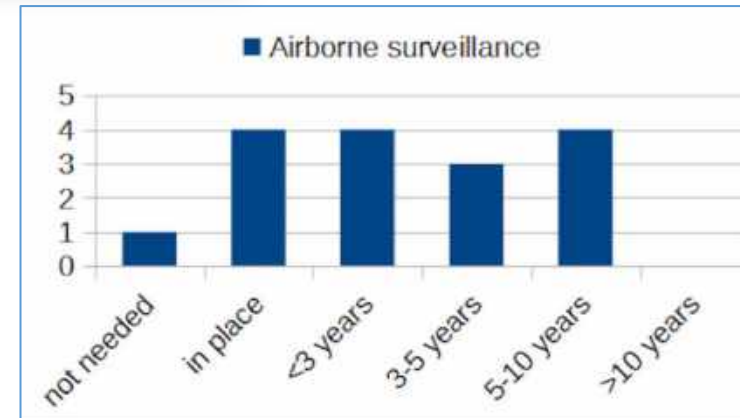
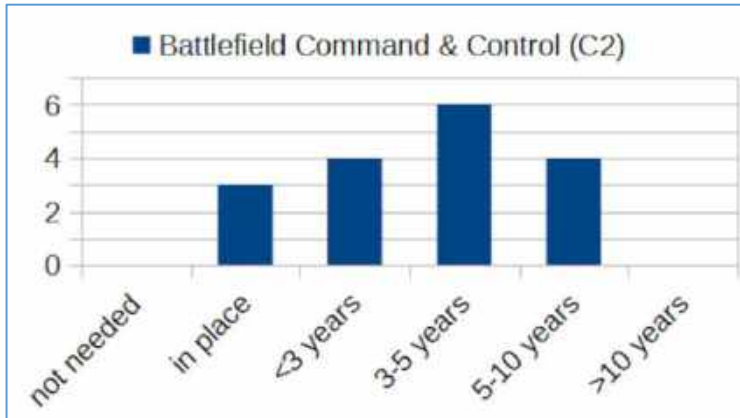
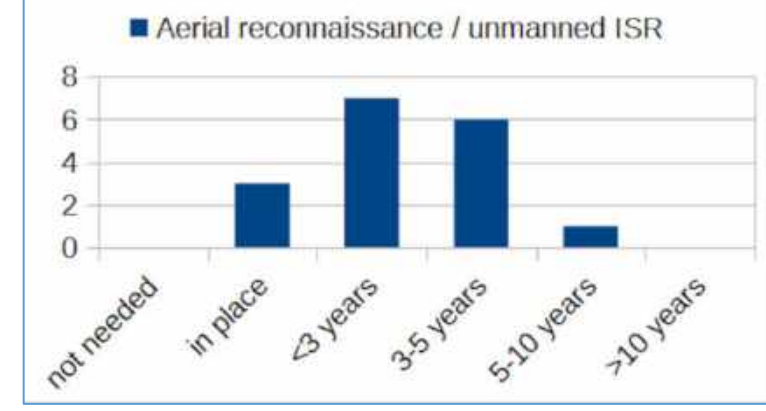
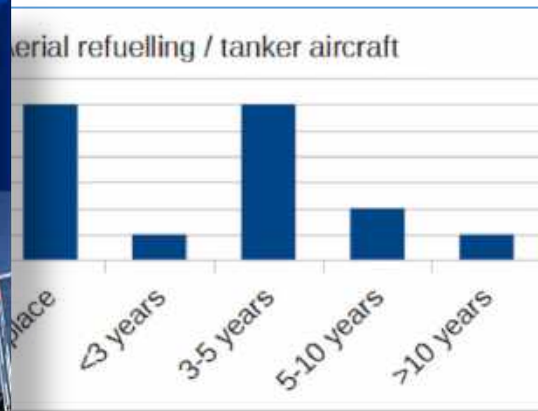
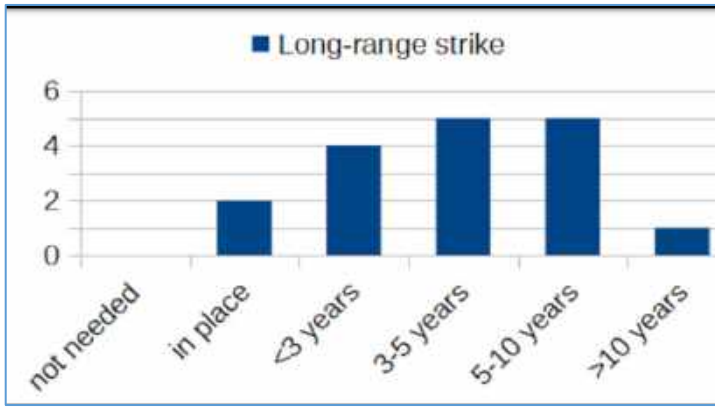
January 12 2026, 9.45pm GMT

Charlie Parker

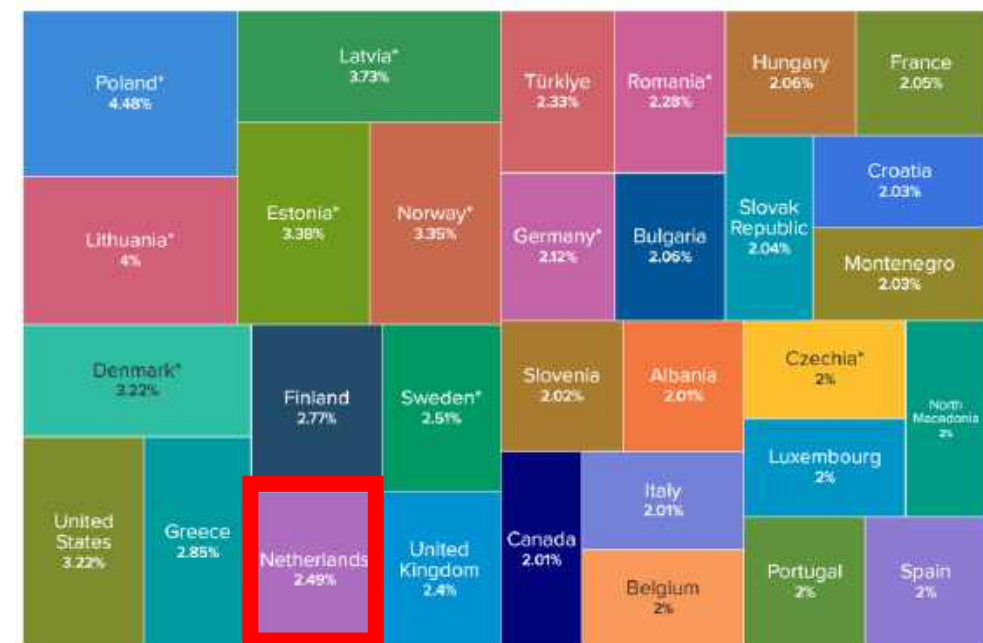
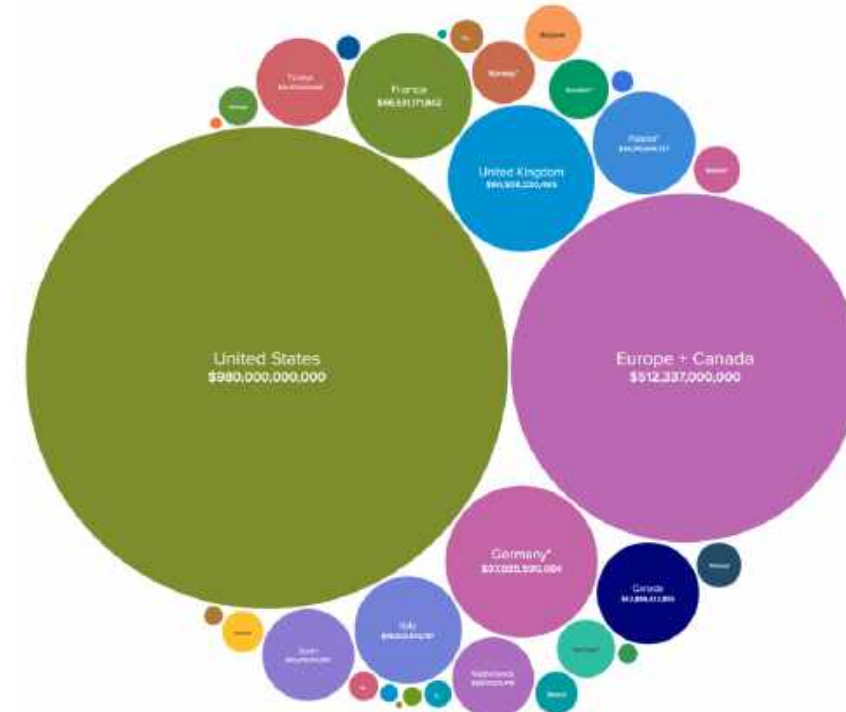
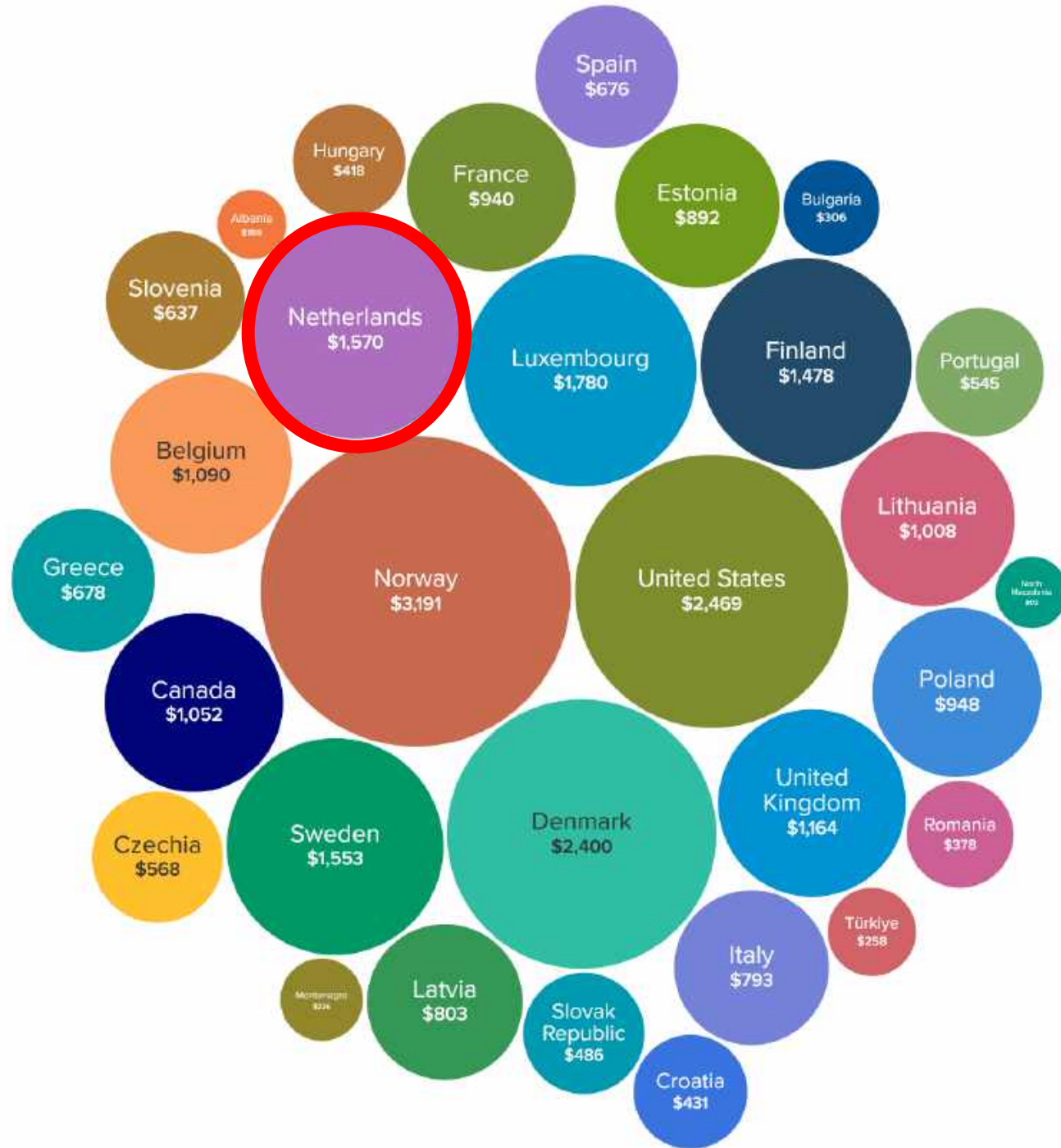




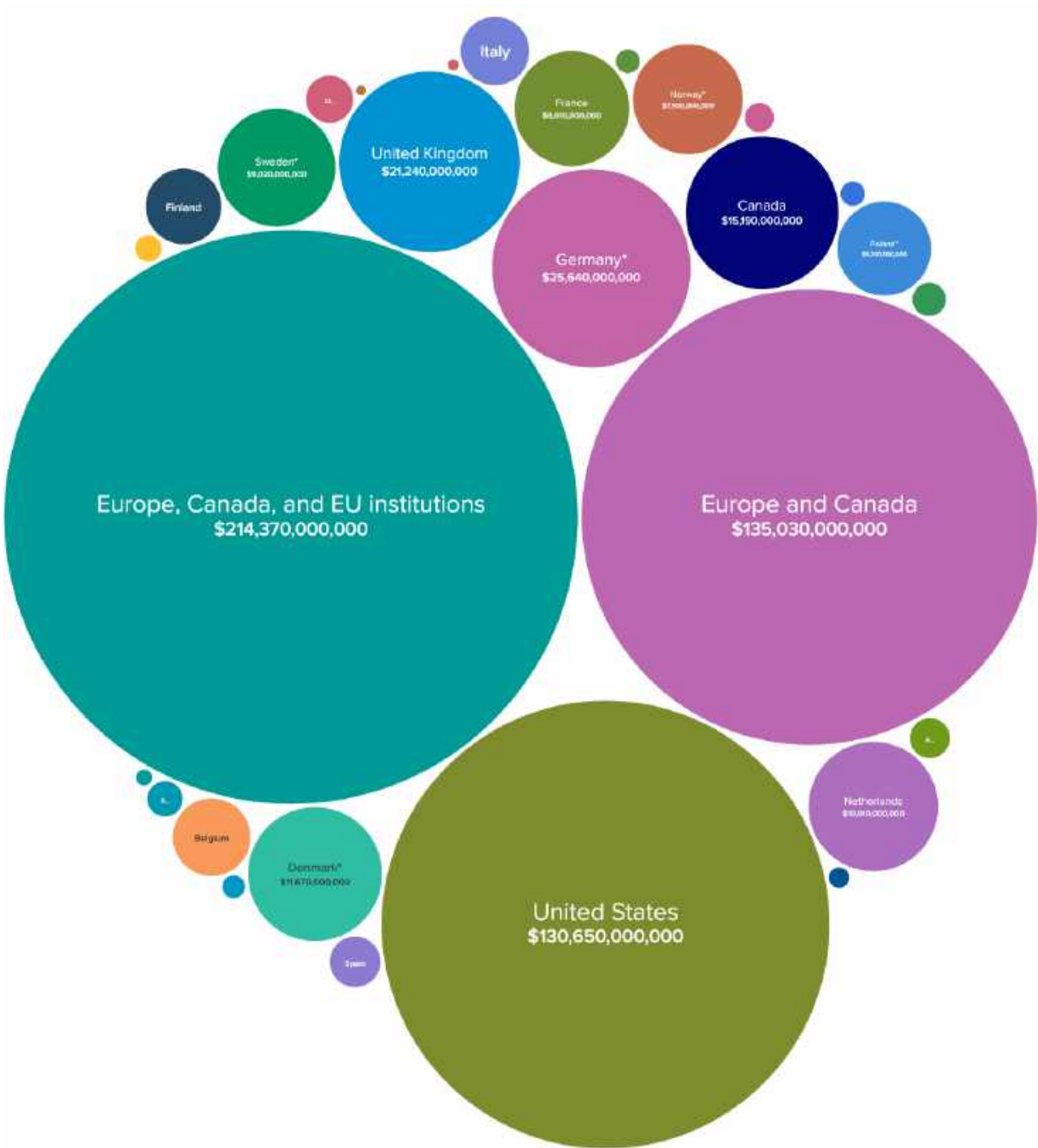
<https://www.defensenews.com/global/europe/2025/02/25/mind-the-gaps-europes-to-do-list-for-defense-without-the-us/>





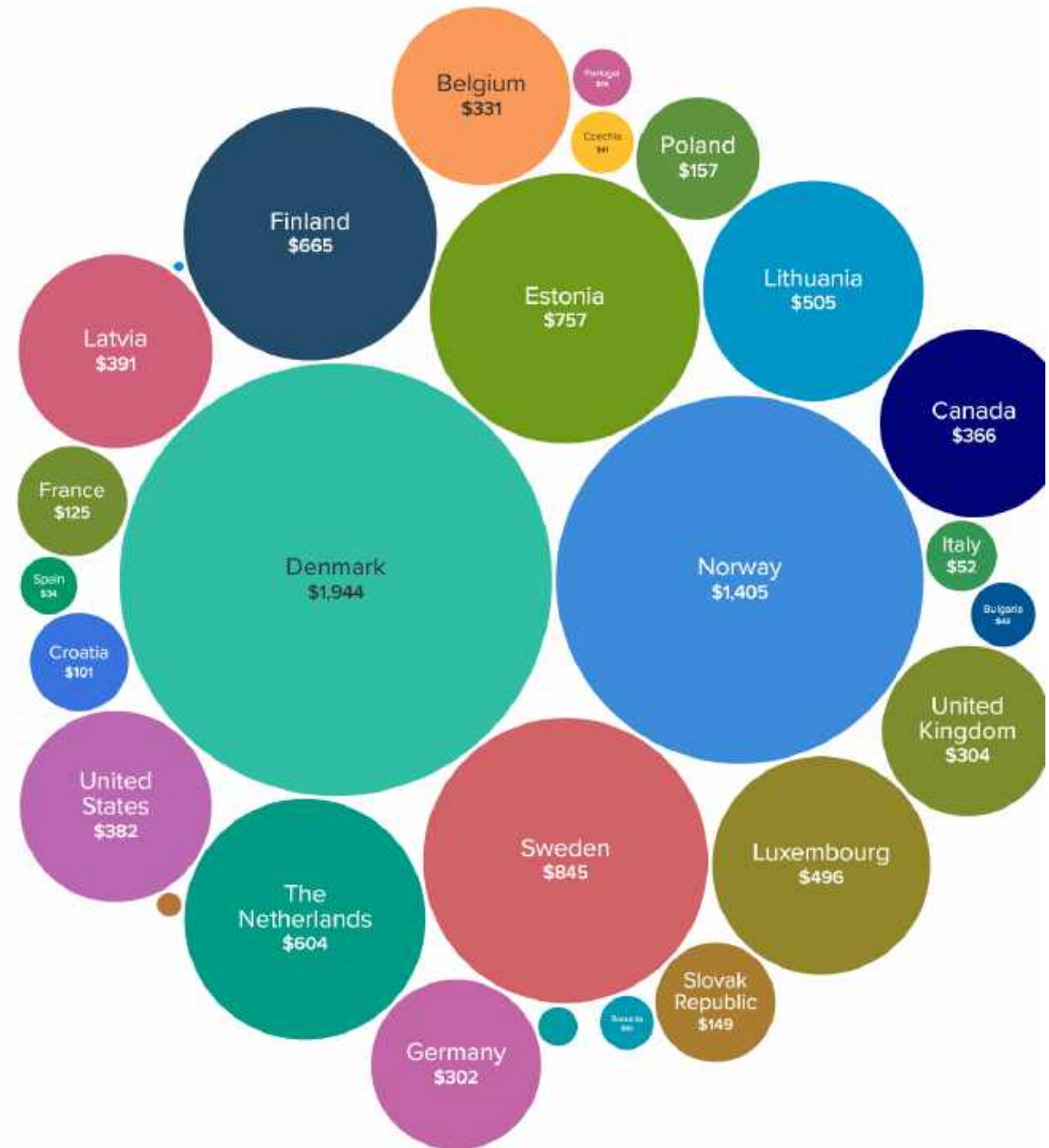






## Per capita aid to Ukraine (2025)

On a per capita basis, several European allies far surpass the United States when it comes to providing aid to Ukraine. Nordic and eastern-flank allies lead the way, with Denmark at the front of the pack. The data highlights that European allies are already shouldering much of the financial burden of supporting Ukraine.





# Europe Has Run Out of Time

With Trump's Return, the Continent Must Take Charge of Its Own Security—and Quickly

By Norbert Röttgen November 22, 2024

The Ukrainian Review @theukrainianreview.bsky.social · 4h

🇬🇧 UK PM Starmer: "Putin's invasion won't stop at Ukraine's borders."



Russia can be ready to attack NATO within 5 years—assessment by the Danish Intelligence Service  
Russia has undertaken a major reform of its military production&armed forces since it invaded Ukraine,today it's able to devote resources also to rearmament with a view to a war against NATO in the future



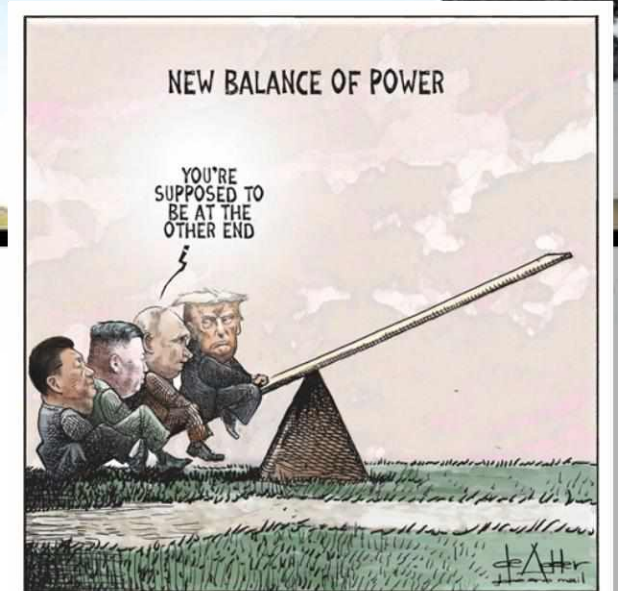
"Russia is already attacking us today. The infrastructure, we have attacks, arson attacks, what has also happened in barracks here in recent days. The trails almost all lead to Russia."



Rike Franke @RikeFranke · 8h

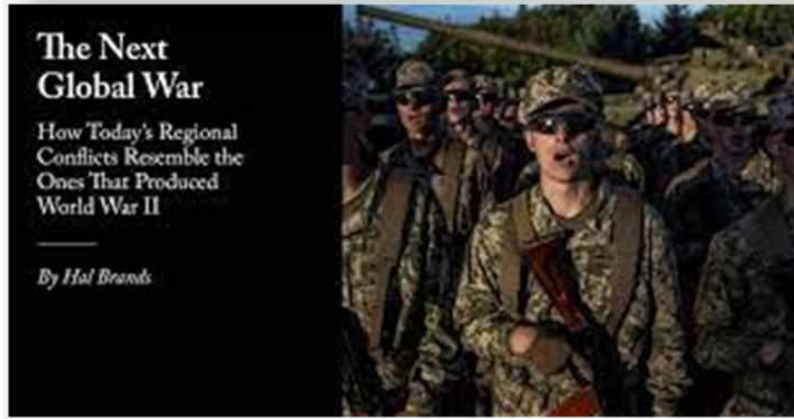


↻ 1.1K





## 'We're in 1938 now': Putin's war in Ukraine and lessons from history



### Trump, Putin, Xi and the new age of empire

The leaders of America, Russia and China are now all committed to territorial expansion

## China's defence chief repeats threat of force against Taiwanese independence

Dong Jun rails at length about democratic island's 'separatists' during Shangri-La Dialogue defence conference in Singapore



"What is most worrying now is that literally any scenario is possible. We have not had a situation like this since 1945. I know it sounds devastating, especially to people of the younger generation, but we have to mentally get used to a new era. We are in a prewar era."<sup>[84]</sup>

Donald Tusk • Polish Prime Minister, interview, March 29, 2024



From Tusk this evening. So many good things to say about this photograph!



**German foreign minister: Ukraine's path to NATO is irreversible**  
German Foreign Minister Johann Wadehul considers Ukraine's path to NATO irreversible.

