

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

Oisterwijk
27 januari 2026

Prof Dr Frans Osinga





THEME 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



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

Sat 10 Jan 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 TIMES

Home UK World Comment Money Life & Style Business Log in

Germany prepares for Russia to attack Nato in two years

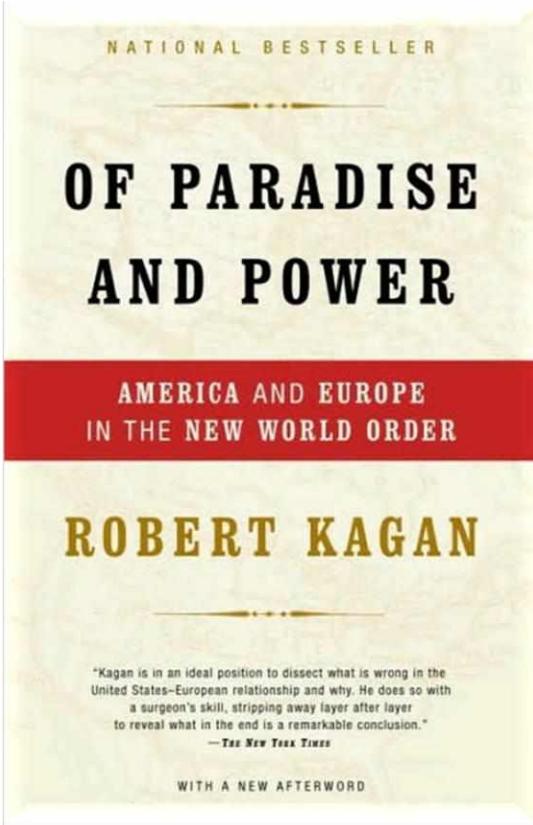
Every West German once knew what to do in case of conflict. Lieutenant General Gerald Funke is devising a similar strategy for the era of cyberattacks and drones



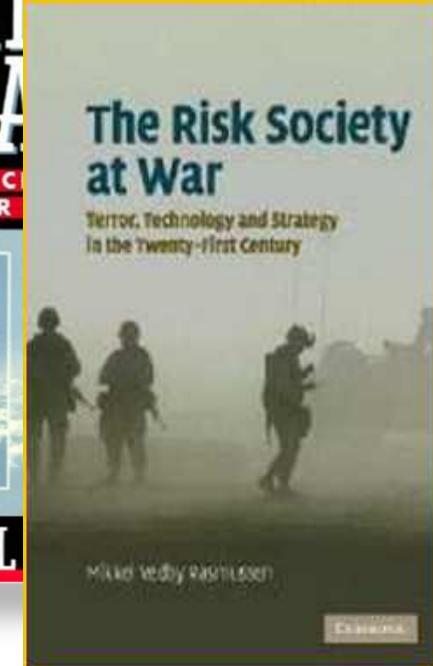
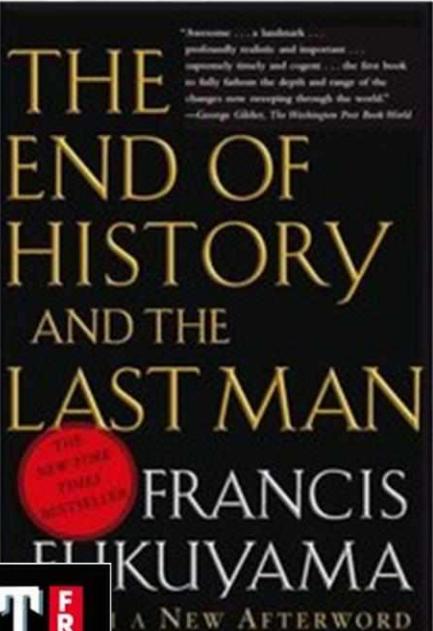
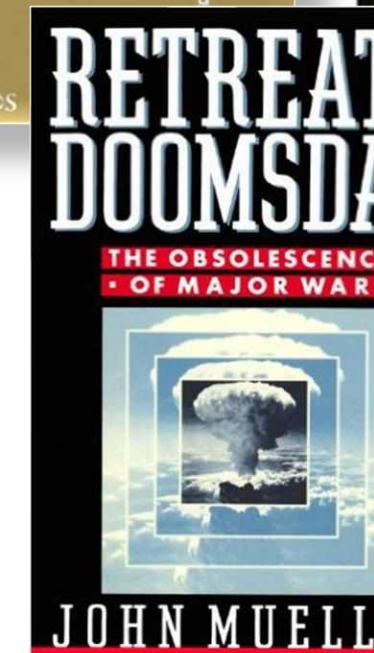
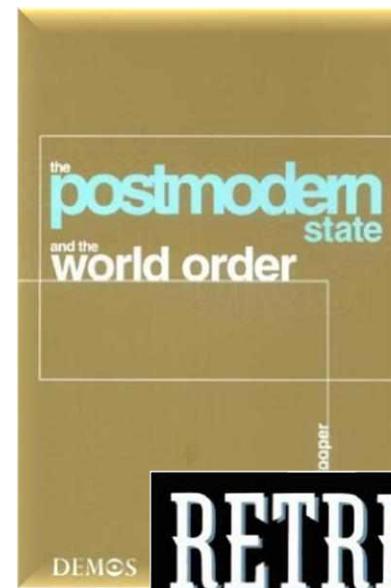
German troops are training to respond in the event of an attack, with more drills in modern warfare

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



"Awesome ... a landmark ... profoundly realistic and important ... impressively lucid and cogent ... the first book to fully fathom the depth and range of the changes now sweeping through the world."
—George Gilder, *The Washington Post Book World*

‘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’

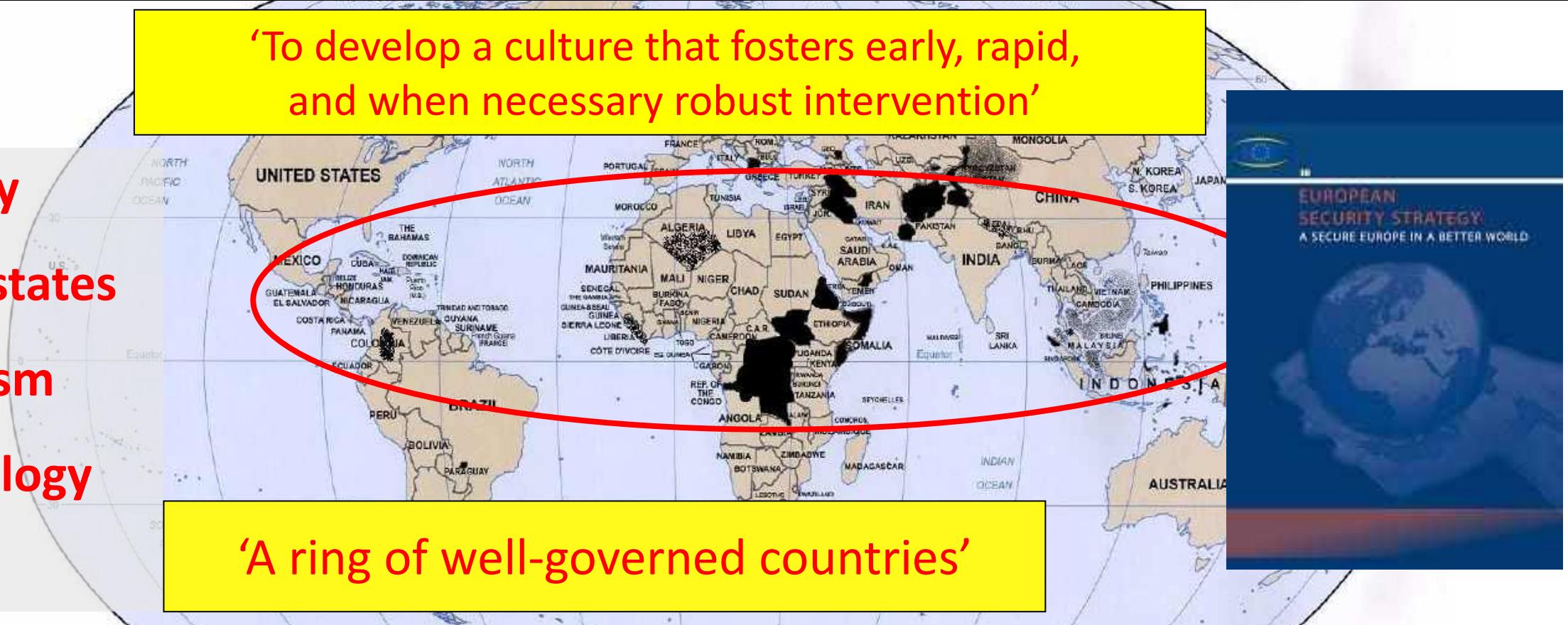
Tyranny

Failed states

Terrorism

Technology

Crime

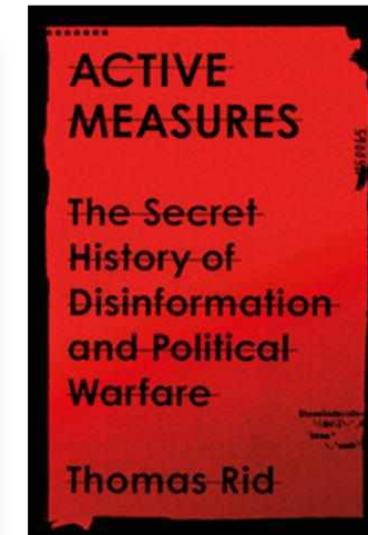
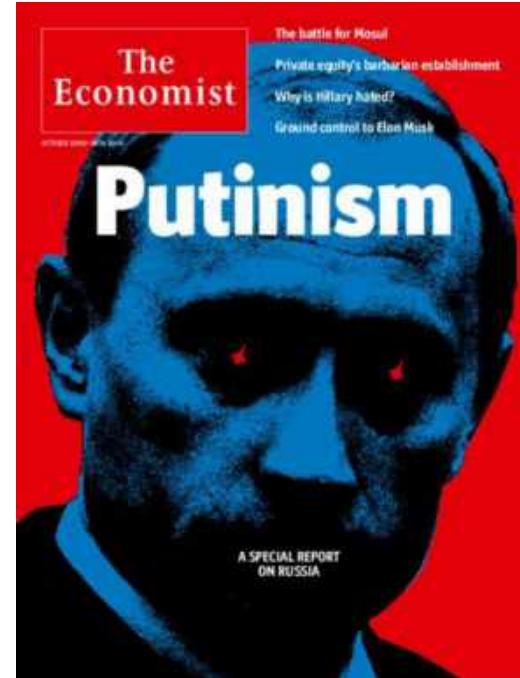


Scale 1:134,000,000
Robinson Projection
standard parallels 33°N and 38°S

‘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



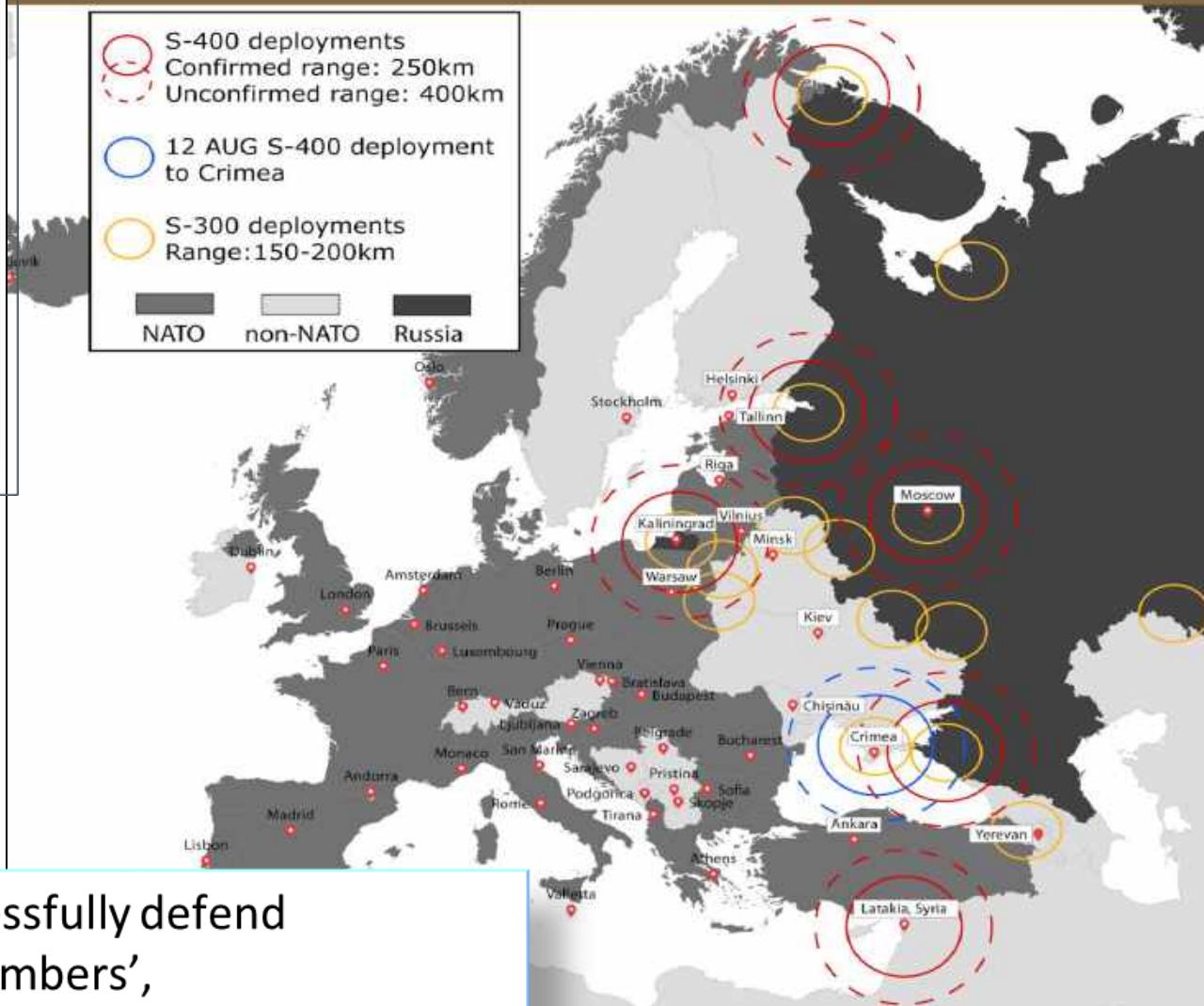
President Trump with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, left, and the national security adviser, John R. Bolton, at the NATO summit meeting in Brussels last year. Mr. Trump's threats to withdraw from the alliance had sent officials scrambling to prevent the annual gathering from turning into a disaster.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



Russian Anti-Access and Area Denial (A2AD) Range: August 2016

- S-400 deployments
Confirmed range: 250km
Unconfirmed range: 400km
- 12 AUG S-400 deployment to Crimea
- S-300 deployments
Range: 150-200km

NATO non-NATO Russia



Survival
Global Politics and Strategy

ISSN: 0039-6338 (Print) 1468-2699 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/surv20>

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/surv20>

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

Russia could cut off internet to Nato countries, British military chief warns

Air Chief Marshall Peach says Russian ships have been spotted close to Atlantic cables that carry communications between Europe and the US



▲ Russian ships have been regularly spotted close to the Atlantic cables. Photograph: Guy Pool/MoD Crown Copyright

Russian destabilisation of Balkans rings alarm bells as EU leaders meet

Top MEP David McAllister says bloc must be more visible in the region to counter Kremlin's growing influence



▲ A train with a sign reading 'Kosovo is Serbia' was sent to Kosovo, plunging relations in the region into a crisis. Photograph: Oliver Bunic/AFP/Getty Images

Cyprus confidential
Business

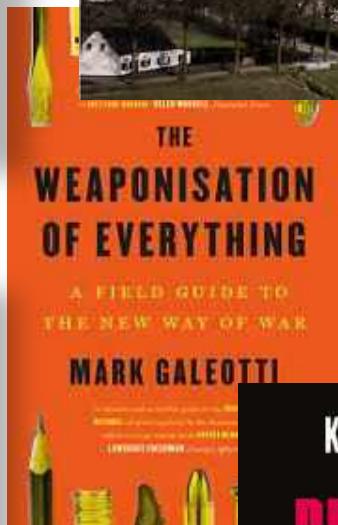
Kate Connolly
Thu 16 Nov 2023 12.55 CET

[f](#) [t](#) [e](#)

German publisher halts sale of top author's books after leak reveals he received €600,000 from Putin ally

Broadcaster NDR launches investigation after Hubert Seipel admits receiving support for work on two books on Russian leader

Hubert Seipel shows Vladimir Putin a copy of his book Putin: the Logic of Power at the International Media Forum in Moscow in 2016. Photo:ap/afp/Kirill Kondratenko



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'

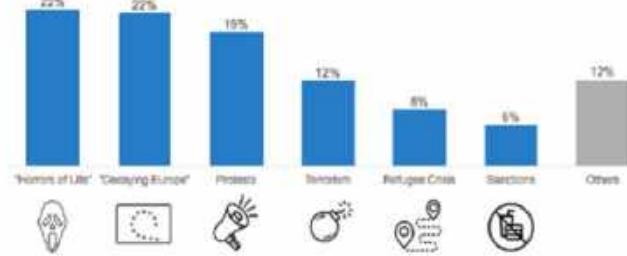
● **The Guardian view on the press and Trump: speaking truth to power**



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



Implementation of the Russian Federation's "hybrid policy"

Russia against Ukraine

Russia against Europe and the USA

Russia against the EU

Russia against NATO

The desire to aggressively influence the minds of both, political and business elites, and various party and social groups, as well as of the population in Ukraine in general

The desire to blow up the Eastern European and Baltic countries' feeling of well being and confidence about their guaranteed protection by the EU and NATO

Preventing the EU enlargement; complete disorganization of the European Union

Preventing NATO enlargement; complete destruction of the Alliance

BINTEL's Infographics



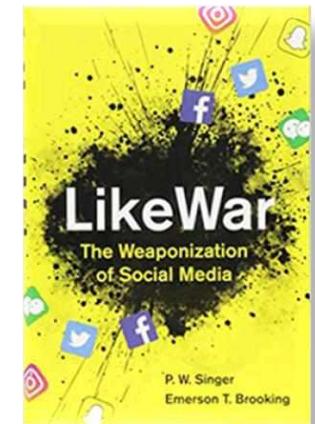
•Construction of exclusive identities,

- 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;



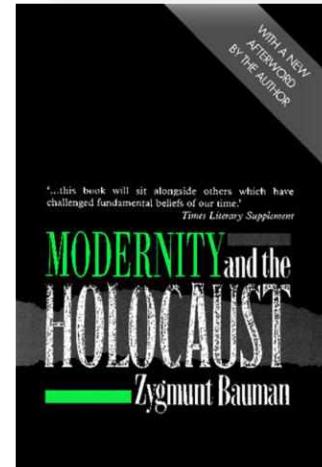
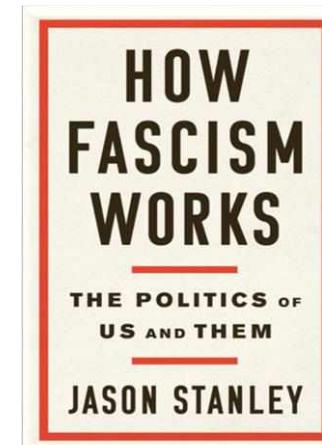
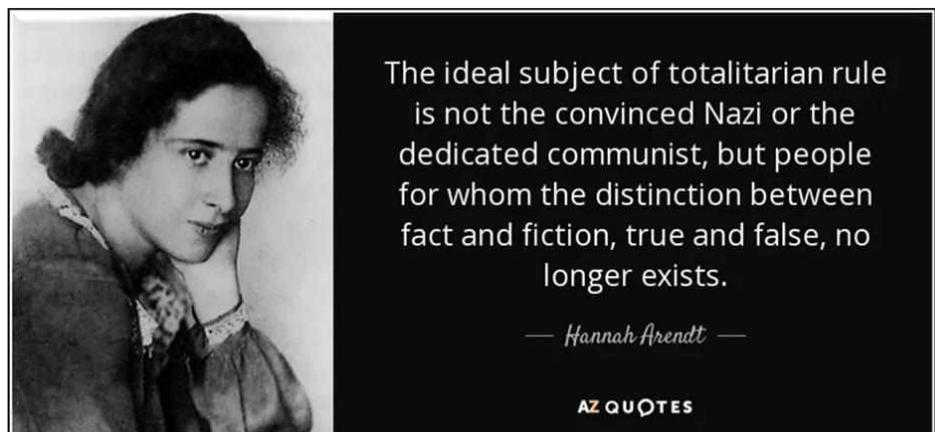
•Normalizing violence

- 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





24/02/22
War in Europe
year 1

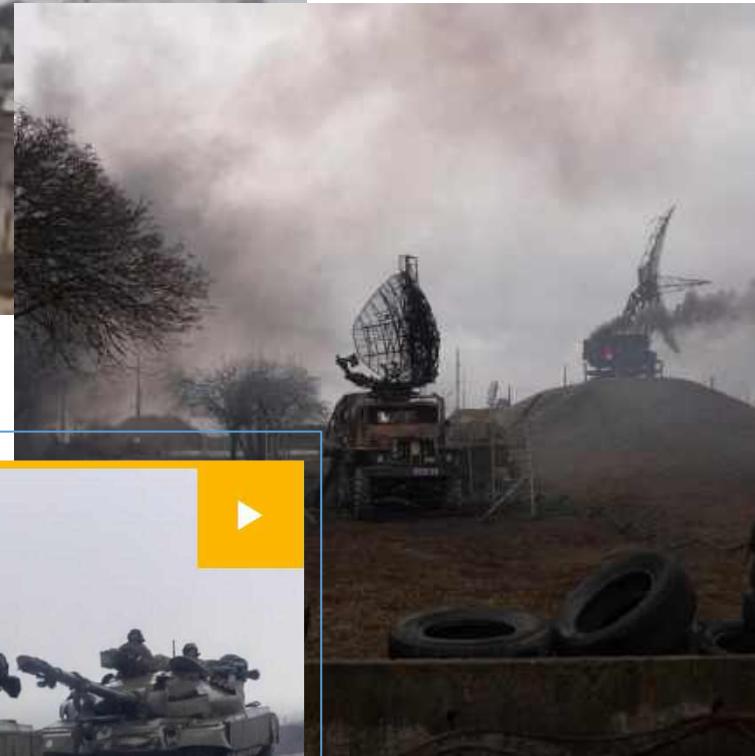
**we should not have been
surprised**



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.



Classified as Internal

ALJAZEERA

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

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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

FOX NEWS

UKRAINE

Gen. Milley says Kyiv could fall within 72 hours if Russia decides to invade Ukraine: sources

INDEPENDENT

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News > World > Europe

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

cnn politics

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

Bloomberg

Politics

Western Allies See Kyiv Falling to Russian Army Within Hours

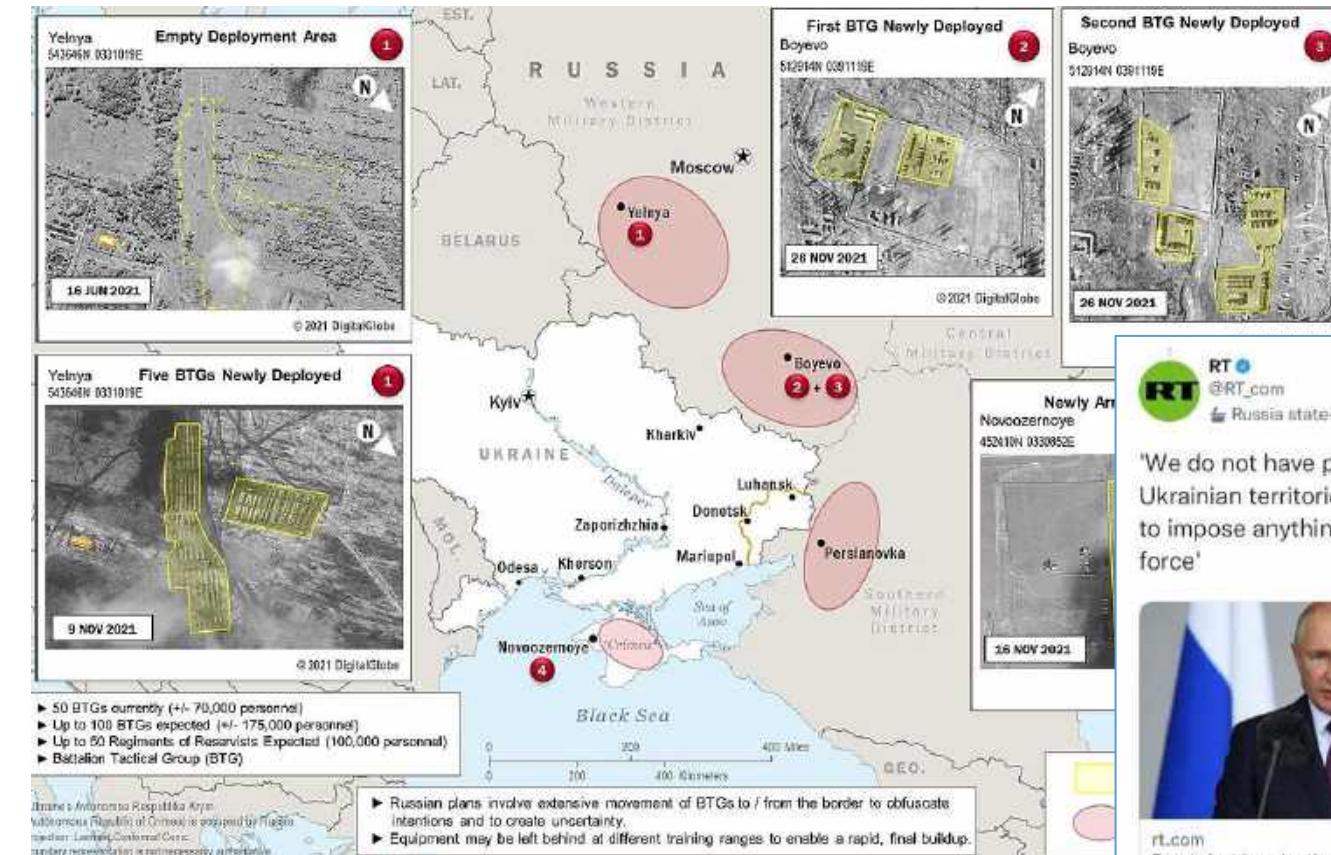
- Ukraine's air defenses have been eliminated, official says
- Putin may plan to replace Ukraine's leader with puppet regime

Kiev to fall 'in DAYS' as Putin army cuts off entire city – Ukraine troops fully mobilised

KIEV is expected to fall to Russian forces in a matter of days, US security officials fear, with the Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelensky calling

Subscribe

We should not have been surprised



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.

'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 exercises

Albertson
Reporter @alixculbertson

2022 22:57, UK



RT.com
Russia state-affiliated media

'We do not have plans to occupy Ukrainian territories. We are not going to impose anything on anyone by force'



rt.com
Russia has 'no plans' to take over Ukraine, says Putin — RT Russia & Former Soviet Union

04:39 · 24/02/2022 · TweetDeck

171 Retweets 48 Quote Tweets 361 Likes

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-deterrance

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.

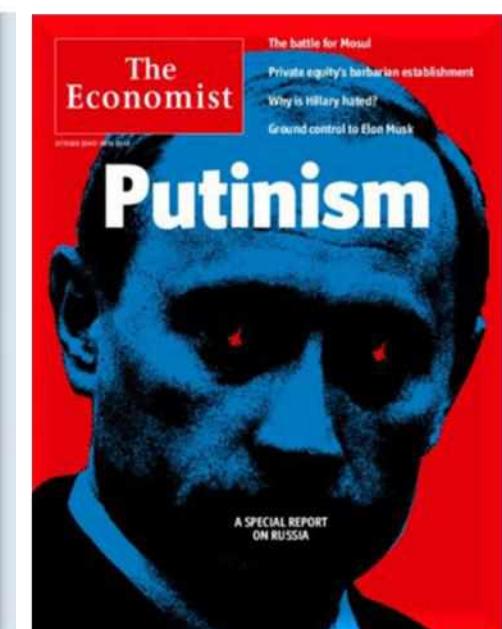
Monkey Cage • Analysis

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.



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.



Blinken Warns Russia Against Making a 'Serious Mistake' in Ukraine

Russia-Ukraine War | **LIVE** Updates | Maps | What's Next | A Guide to the Conflict | Timeline

military buildup were unclear.



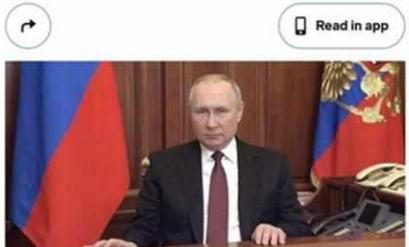
Putin nearly succeeded

Figure 3: Map of Ukraine on 27 February

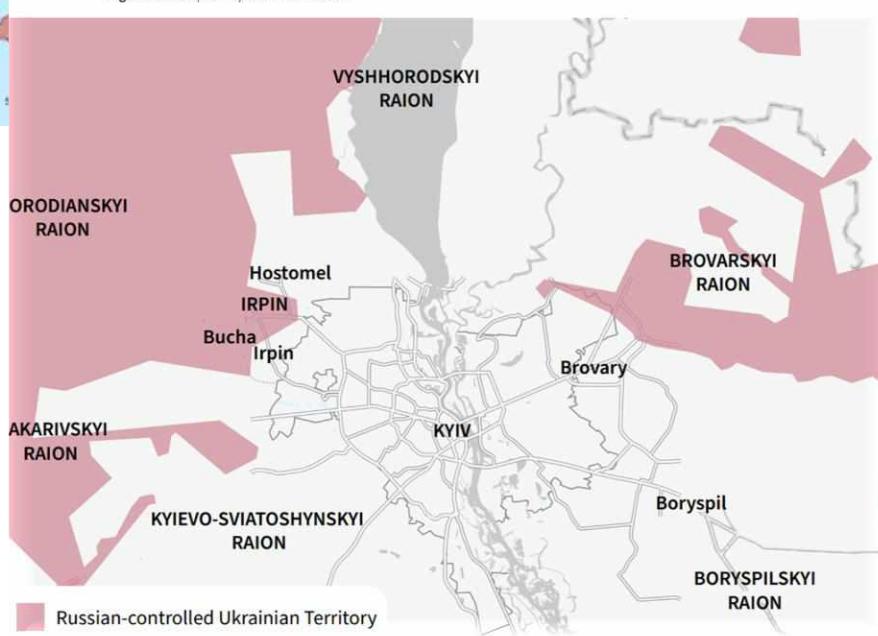


Putin threatens West with 'consequences greater than any you have faced in history' if it intervenes in his invasion of Ukraine

Mia Jankowicz Feb 24, 2022, 5:11 AM



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



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

Military strength before Russia's invasion

	Ukraine	Russia
Troops	1,096,600	2,900,000
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

B B C

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

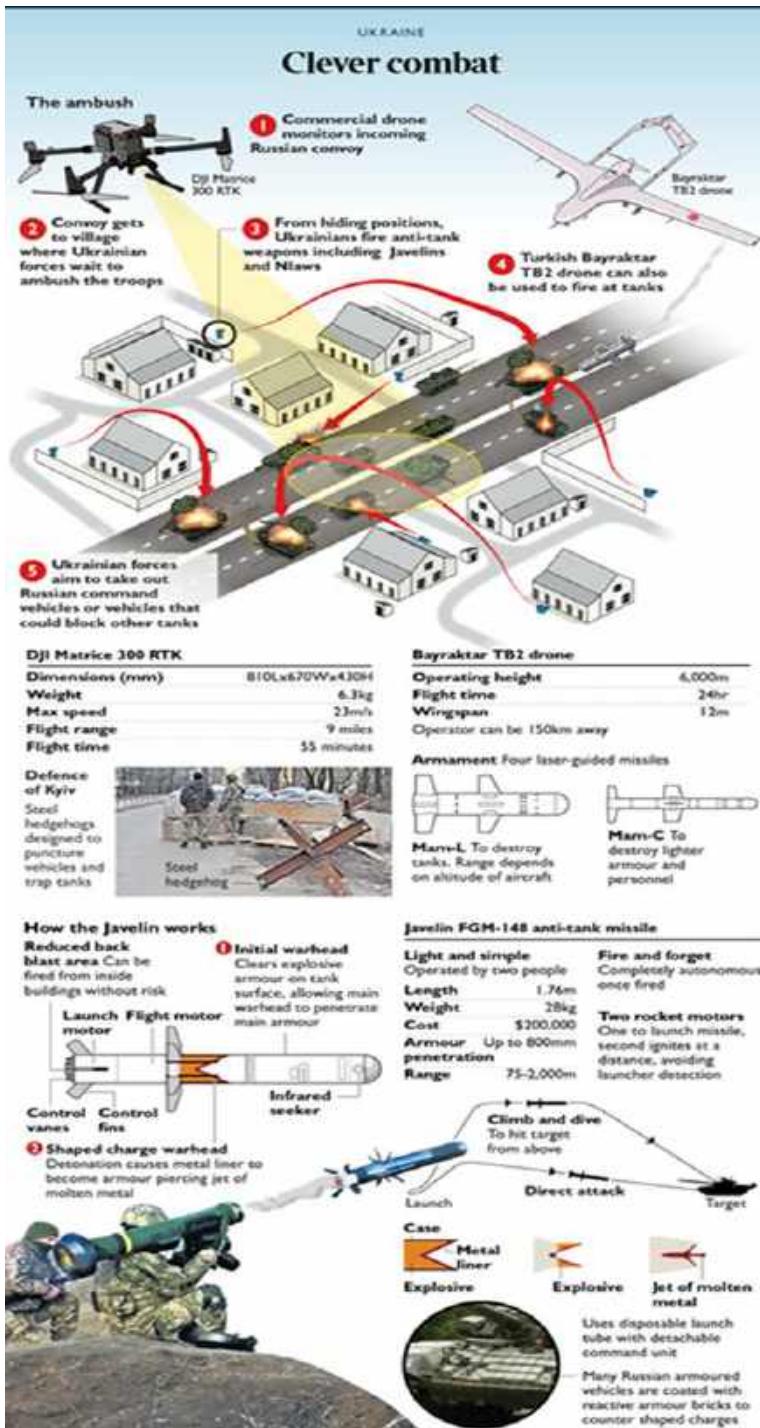


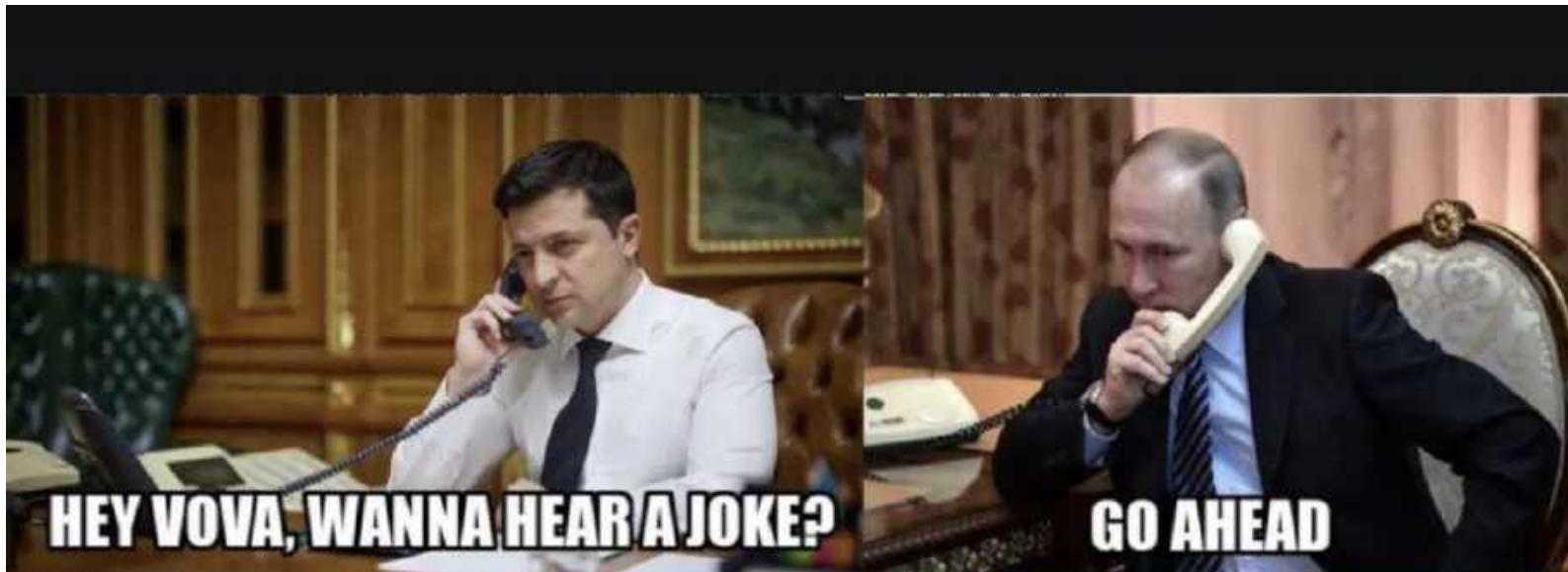
Battle for Kyiv: Ukrainian valor, Russian blunders combined to save the capital



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





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

The Economist

How ROTTEN IS RUSSIA'S ARMY?

As Russia struggles in Ukraine, will Putin break the nuclear taboo?
Kristin Ven Bruusgaard

Sources

Russia knows how dangerous nuclear escalation is, but the president's statements give cause for concern



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.



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



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

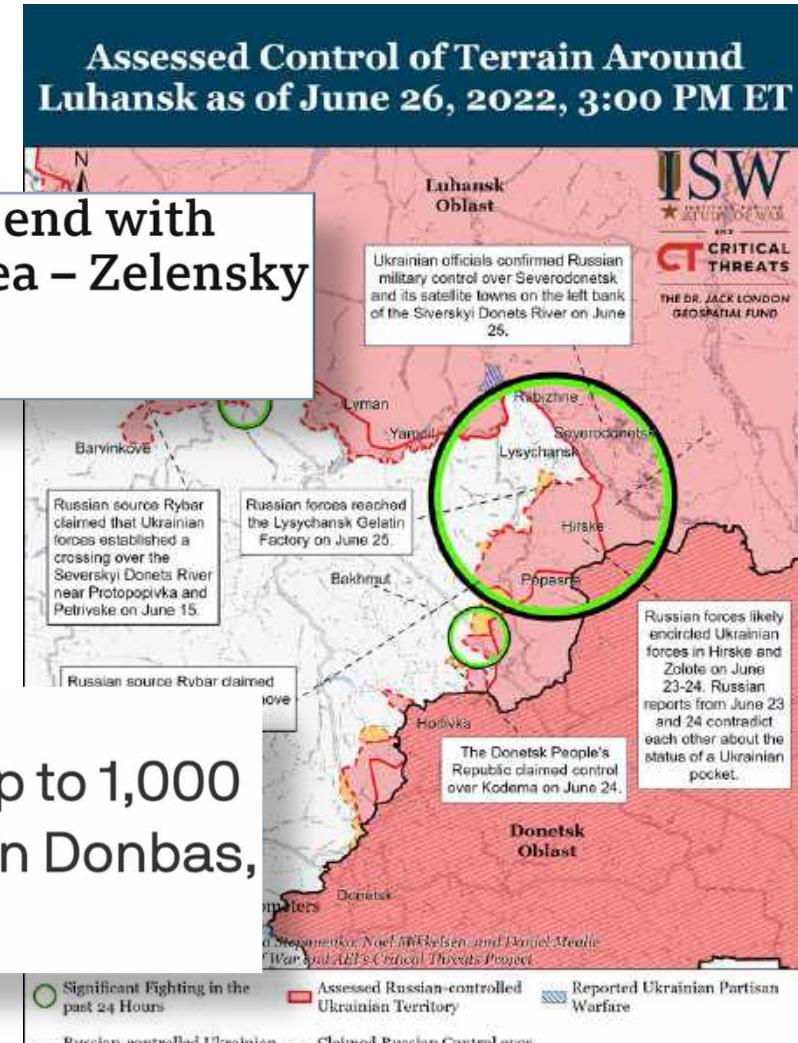
Ukraine war must end with liberation of Crimea – Zelensky

By Francesca Gillett
BBC News

10 August · 0 Comments

Jun 15, 2022 - World

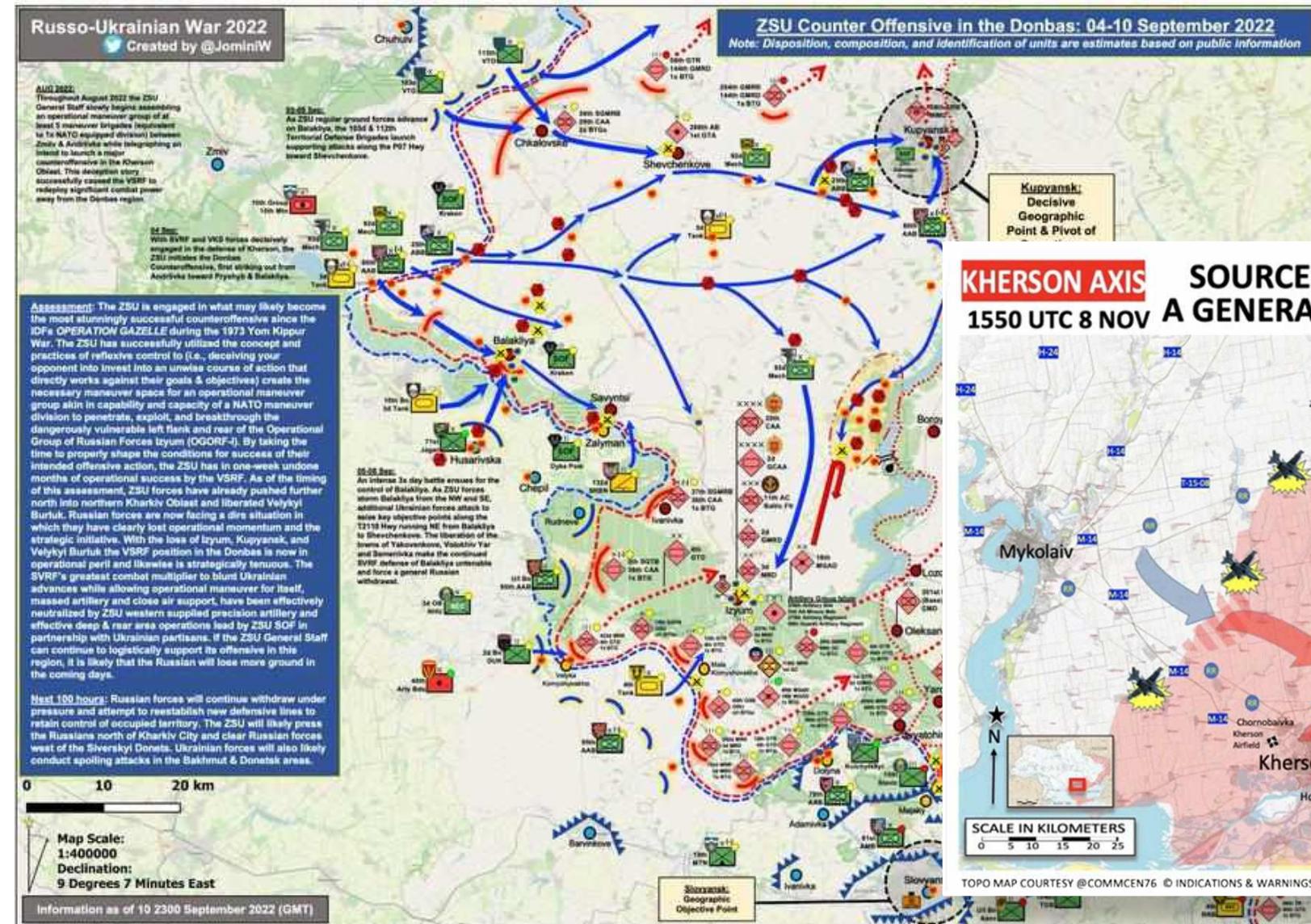
Ukraine suffering up to 1,000 casualties per day in Donbas, official says



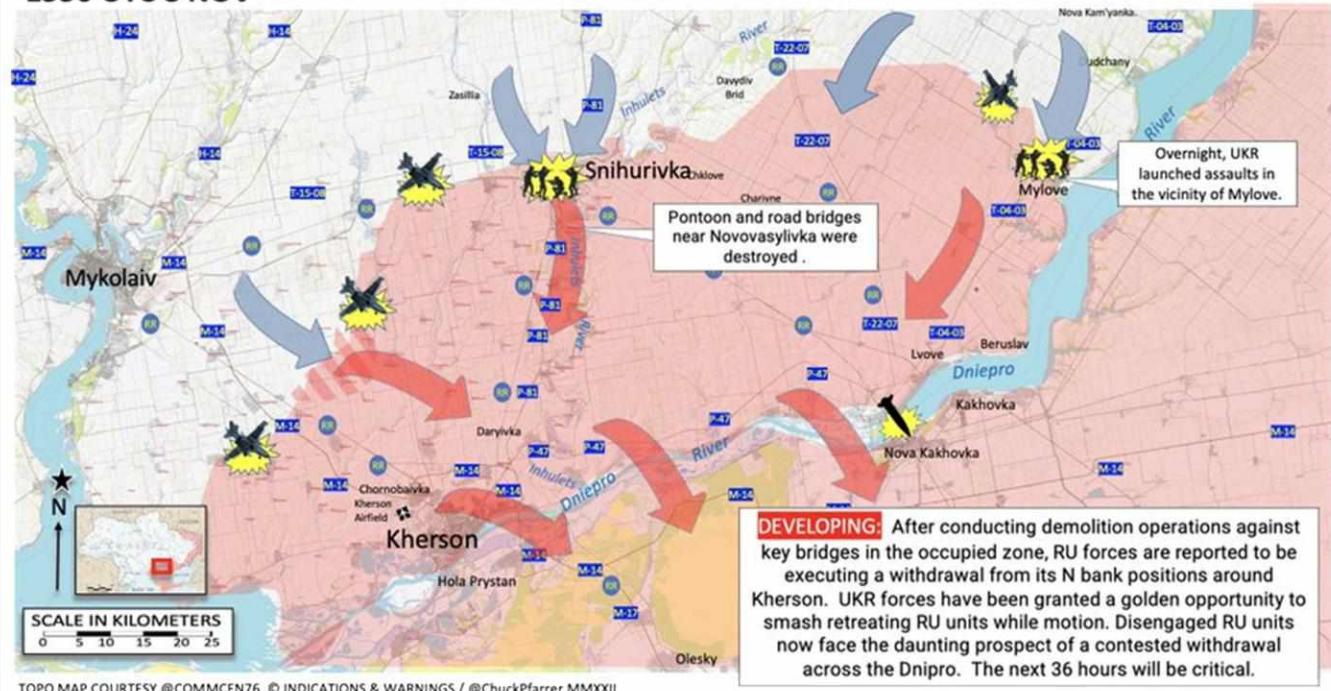
Fall of Severodonetsk is Russia's biggest victory since Mariupol

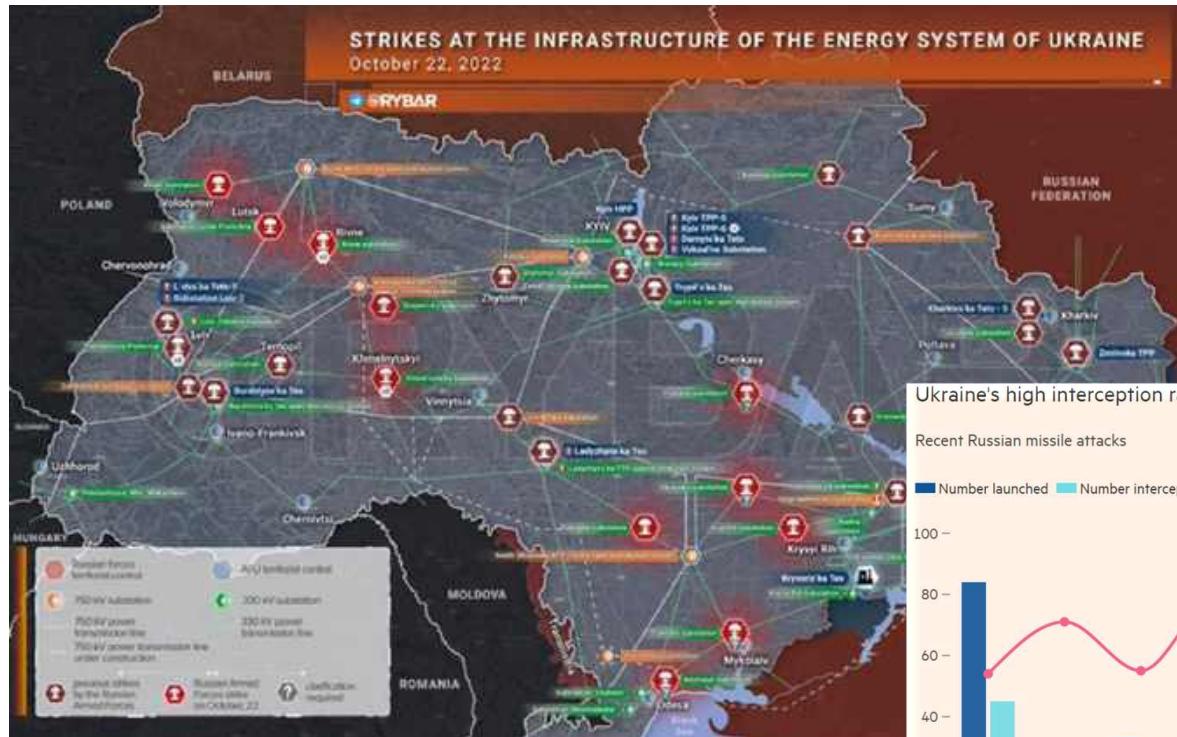
Fall of city after weeks of street fighting transforms the battlefield in the east of Ukraine to Moscow's advantage.

Sept-Nov 2022: Liberation of Kharkiv & Kherson



**KHERSON AXIS SOURCES REPORT THAT RU COMMAND HAS ORDERED
1550 UTC 8 NOV A GENERAL WITHDRAWL FROM NORTH BANK POSITIONS**





NATO vows to aid Ukraine 'for as long as it takes'

By LORNE COOK today



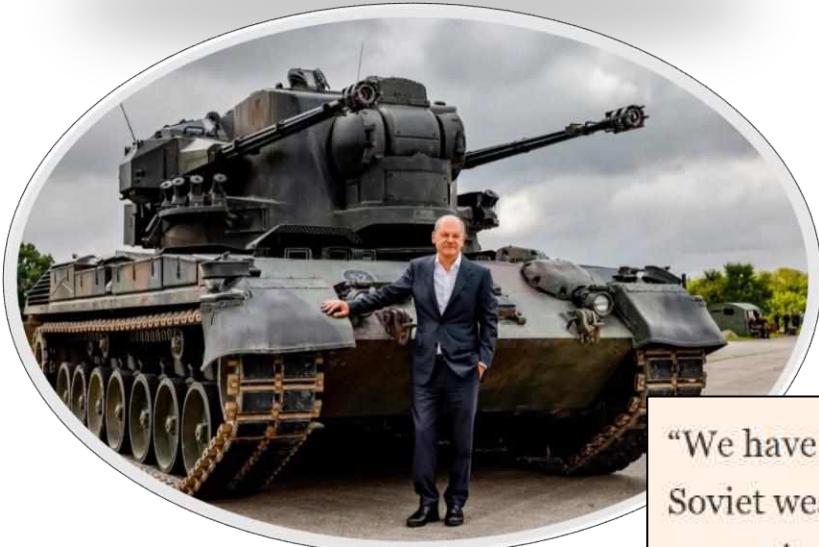
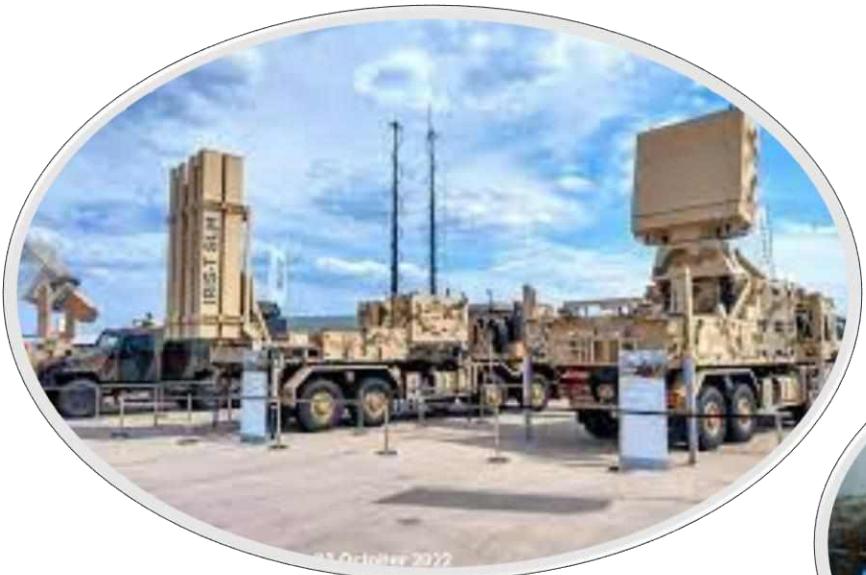
U.S. and NATO Scramble to Arm Ukraine and Refill Their Own Arsenals

The West thought an artillery and tank war in Europe would never happen again and shrank weapons stockpiles. It was wrong.

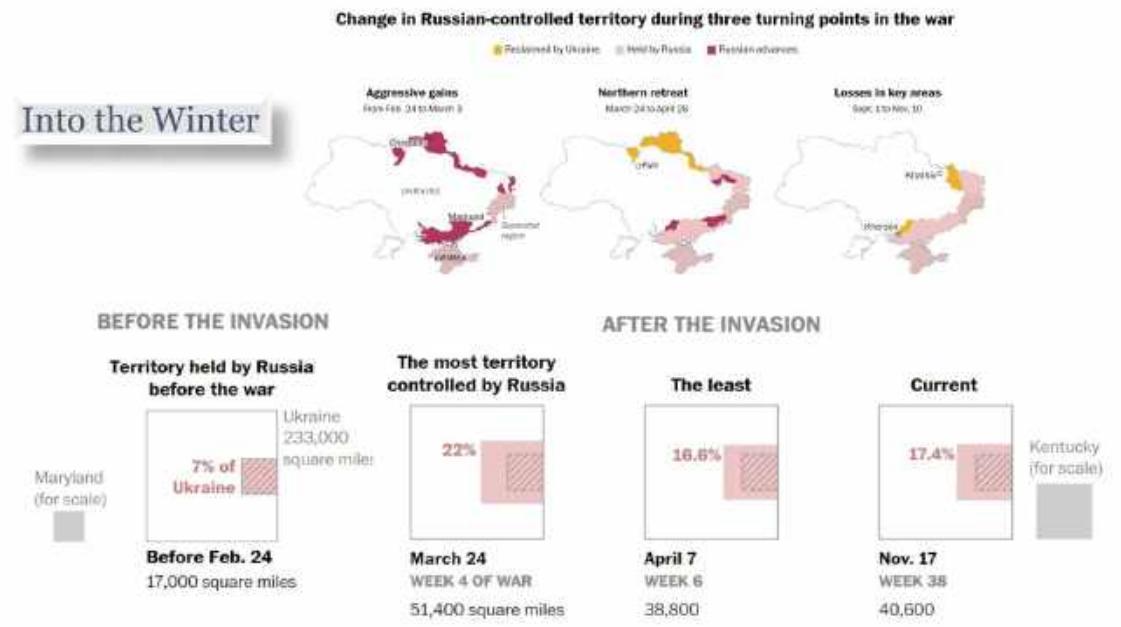
"Russia cannot and will not win this war anymore on the battlefield," Olaf Scholz told Berlin Security Conference.

Russia's missile attacks on Ukrainian energy infrastructure are a "desperate scorched earth strategy." Germany will deliver more support, "especially air defense."





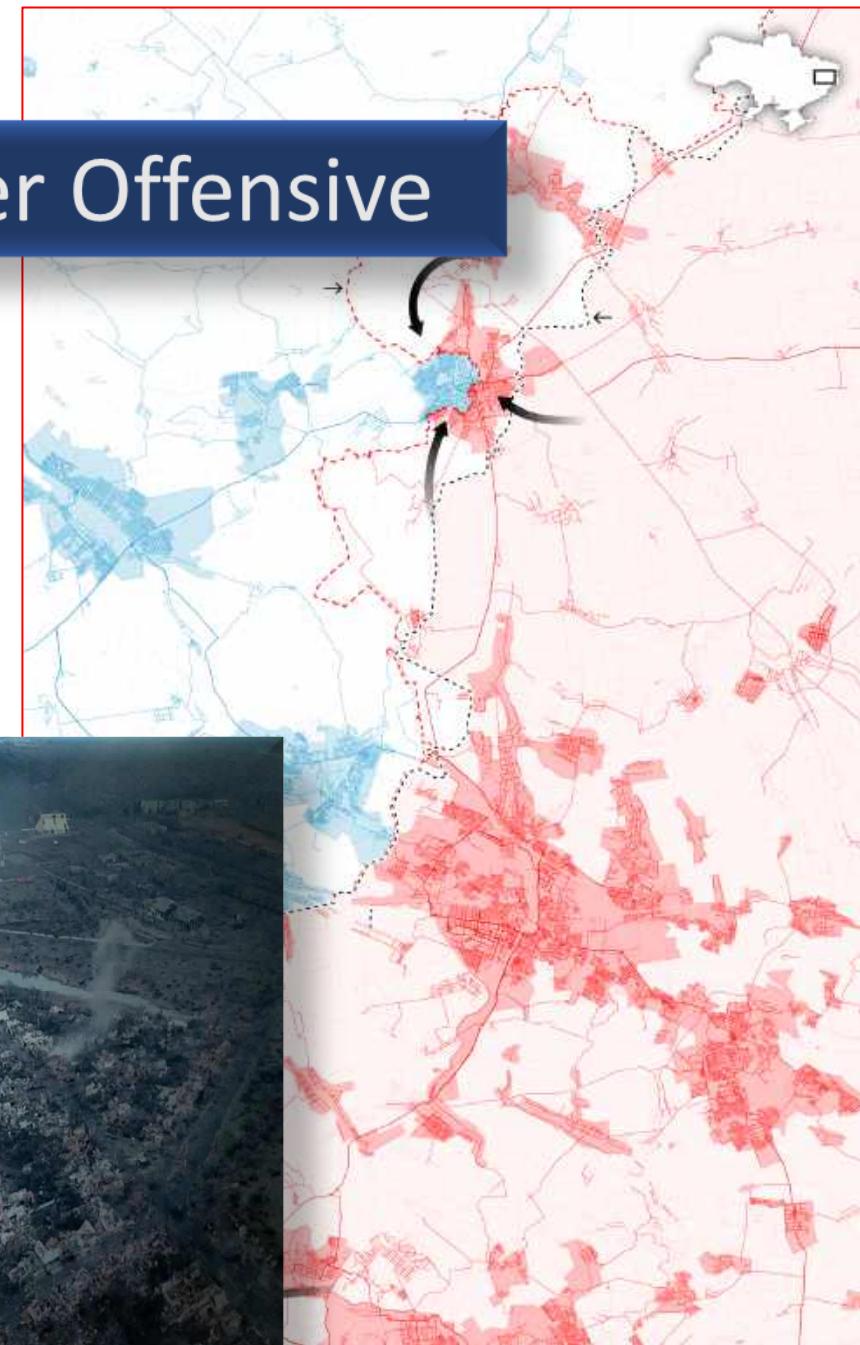
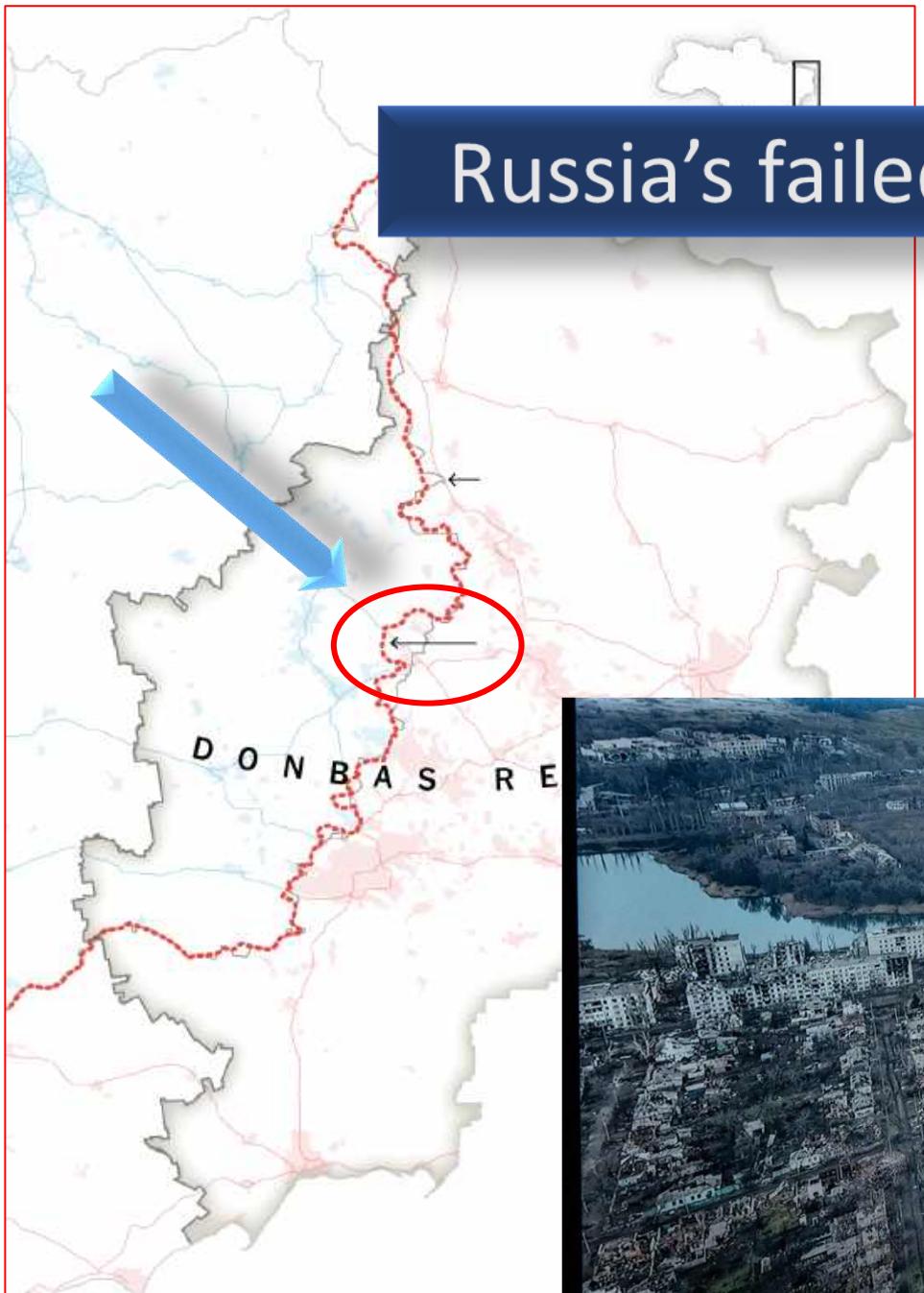
“We have no other choice but to switch to these types of weapons since the Soviet weapons of the [19]70s and [19]80s are both [...] obsolete and the enemy is exhausting them every day.”





2023-2025
hope, dismay,
&
attritional war

Russia's failed Winter Offensive



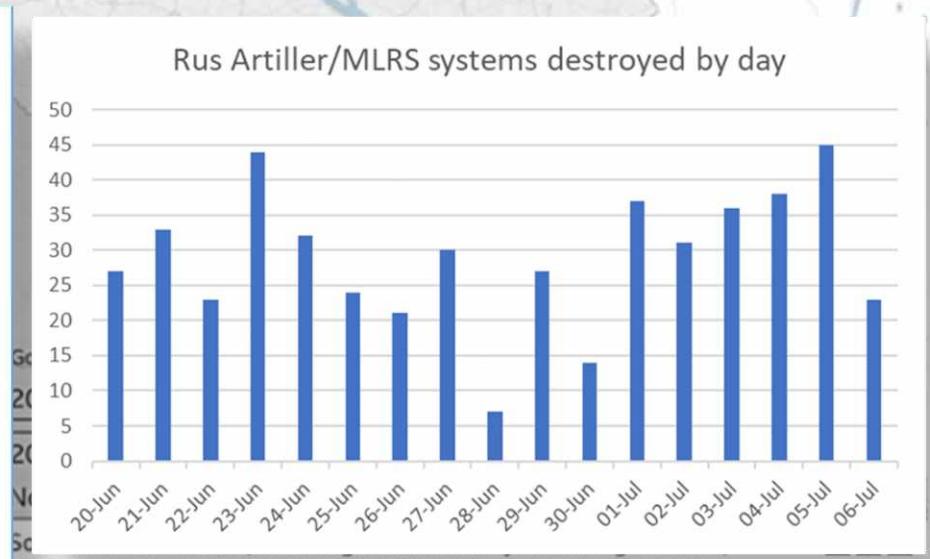
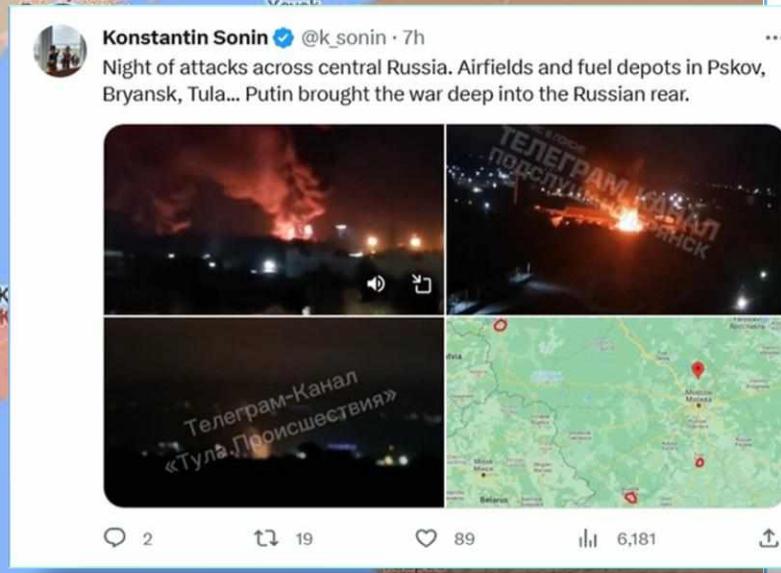
Russia's failed Winter Offensive



Preparing the counter-offensive



Reported drone attacks on Russian targets



STALEMATE: UKRAINE'S FAILED COUNTEROFFENSIVE

In Ukraine, a war of incremental gains as counteroffensive stalls



By Washington Post staff

December 4, 2023 at 6:00 a.m. EST



WAR IN UKRAINE Verified videos Donbas region Russian combat capabilities HIMARS

STALEMATE: UKRAINE'S FAILED COUNTEROFFENSIVE

By Washington Post staff

December 4, 2023 at 8:00 a.m. EST



- 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

Artillery shells used per day

■ Ukraine ■ Russia

Summer 2023 7,000

5,000

Current 2,000

10,000





Visegrád 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_NATO_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.

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 into the debate over the wisdom of foreign forces in Ukraine. While a senior British official said it's still "not a go," the (UK) Prime Minister wants to proceed.

x f in



87

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 [Phillipe D'Orsain](#)

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

CHATHAM
HOUSE

From chathamhouse.org

NR

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

1.8

47

1.3K



MENU

De Geenstaat

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

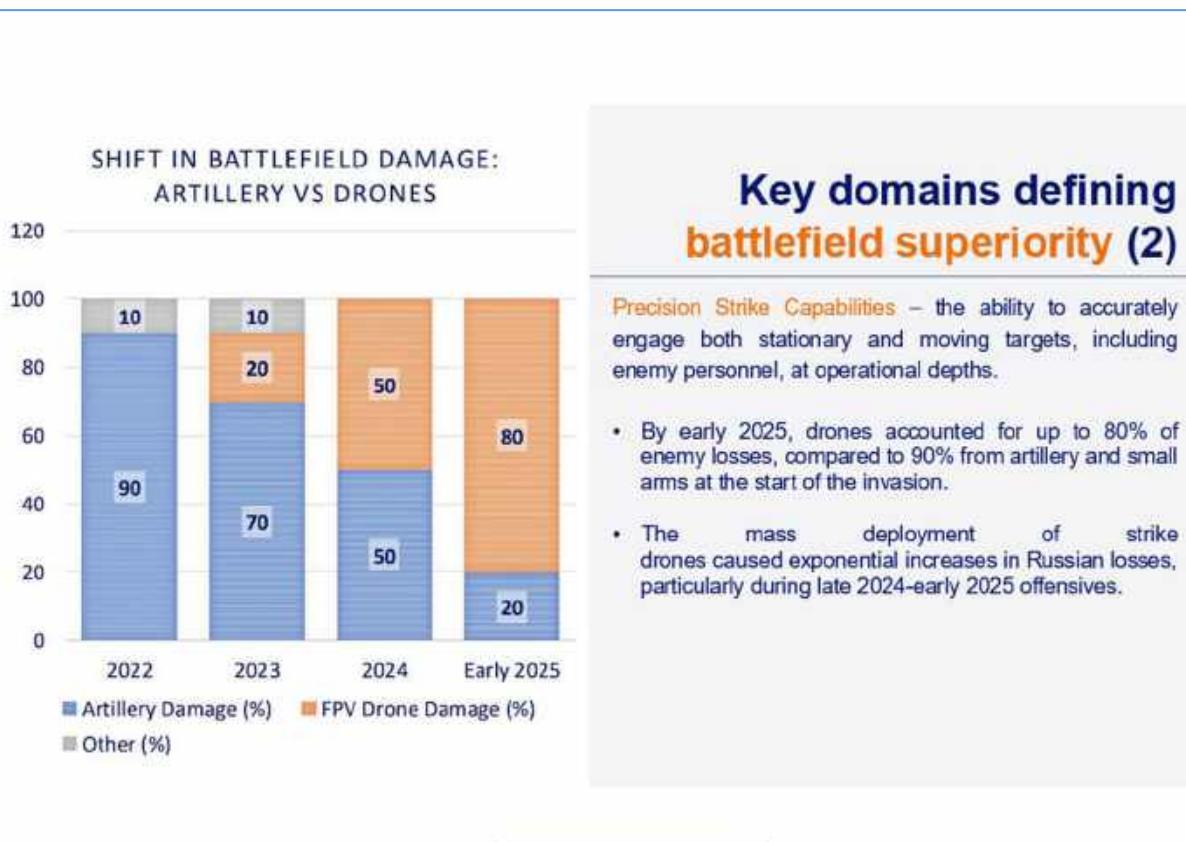
UKRAINE

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 landse Zaken). De onder meer nemarken ook al nkomsten te



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.



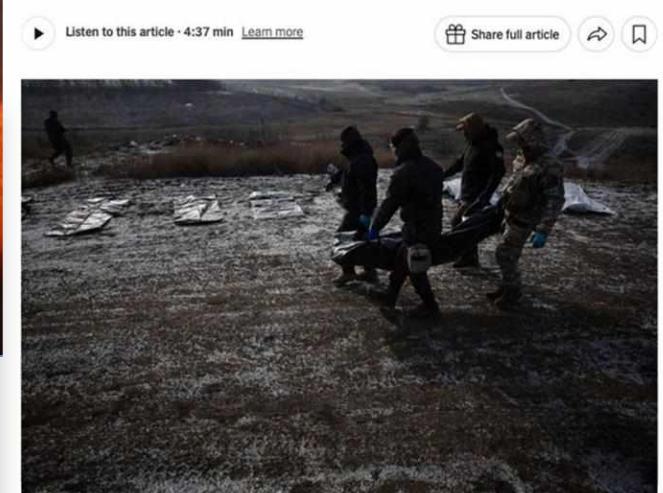
Russia pays for every square kilometre captured in Ukraine with 100 soldiers, Estonian intelligence reports

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

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.

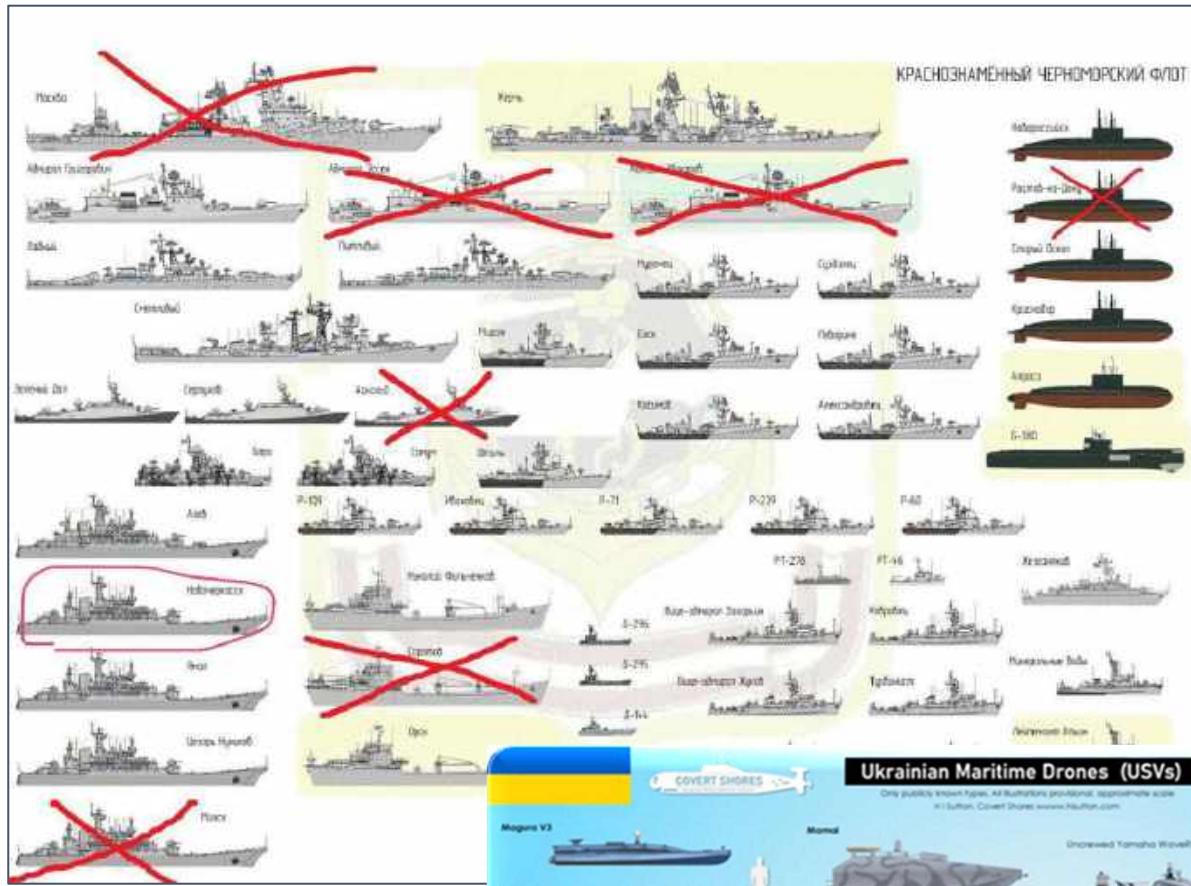


Russia's losses as of Jan. 26

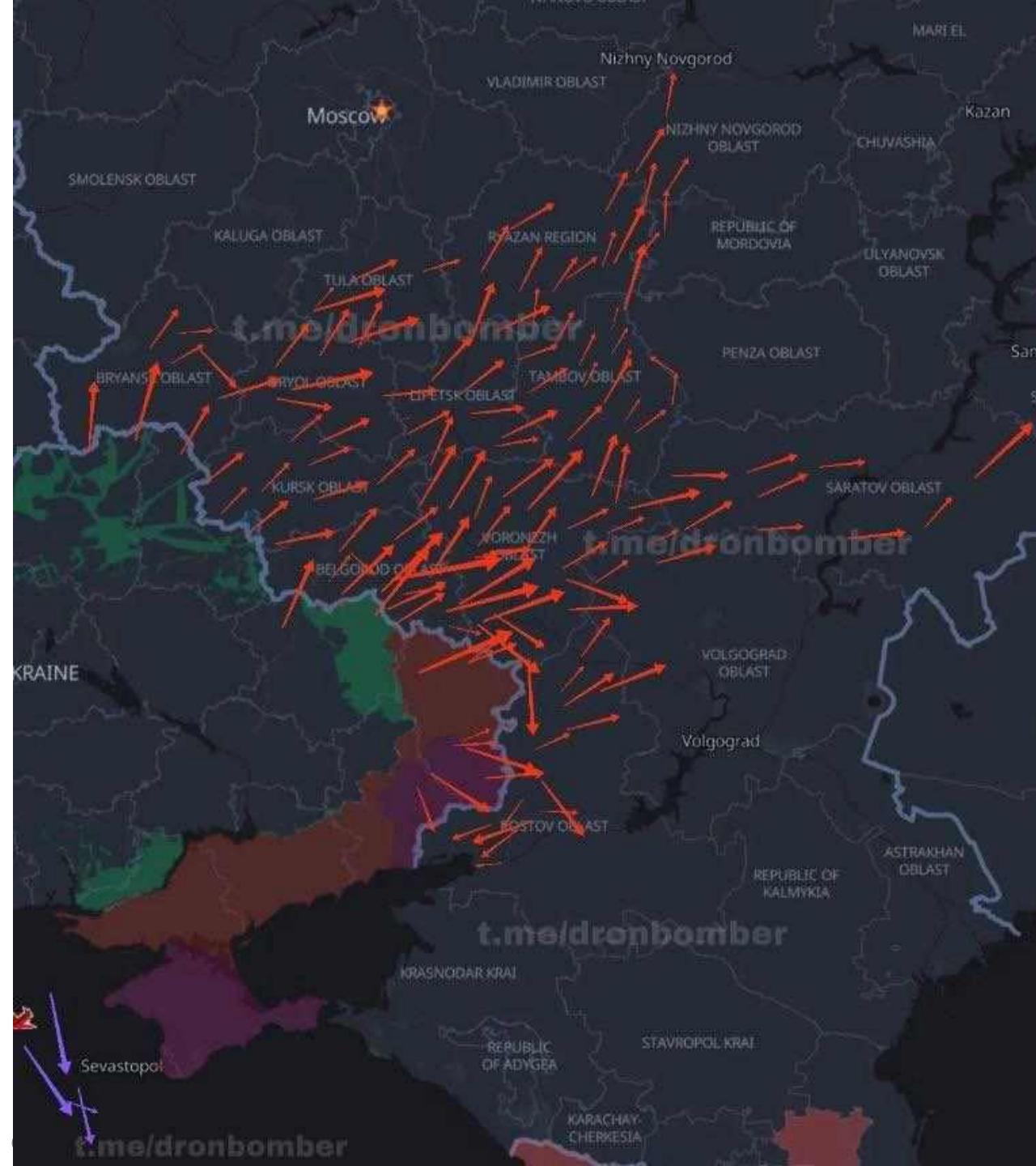
1,235,060 ⁺¹⁰²⁰ troops	434 ⁺⁰ planes
23,951 ⁺¹ AFV	347 ⁺⁰ helicopters
75,906 ⁺¹⁴⁷ vehicles and fuel tanks	4,205 ⁺⁰ cruise missiles
11,608 ⁺³ tanks	1,286 ⁺⁰ anti-aircraft warfare
36,644 ⁺³² artillery systems	4,051 ⁺¹ special equipment
115,813 ⁺⁹¹⁷ UAV	28 ⁺⁰ warships / boats
1,626 ⁺² MLRS	1 ⁺⁰ submarines

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

THE KYIV INDEPENDENT



0.2025 · 938.9K Views



ATTACKS ON REFINERIES

NV
NEW VOICE

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

The most devastating attacks were on the Atlas oil depot in Kamensk-Shakhtinsk and Proletarsk, Rostov Oblast, where fires burned for several days

41.1 million tons
of idle capacity caused by attacks and sanctions



• 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.

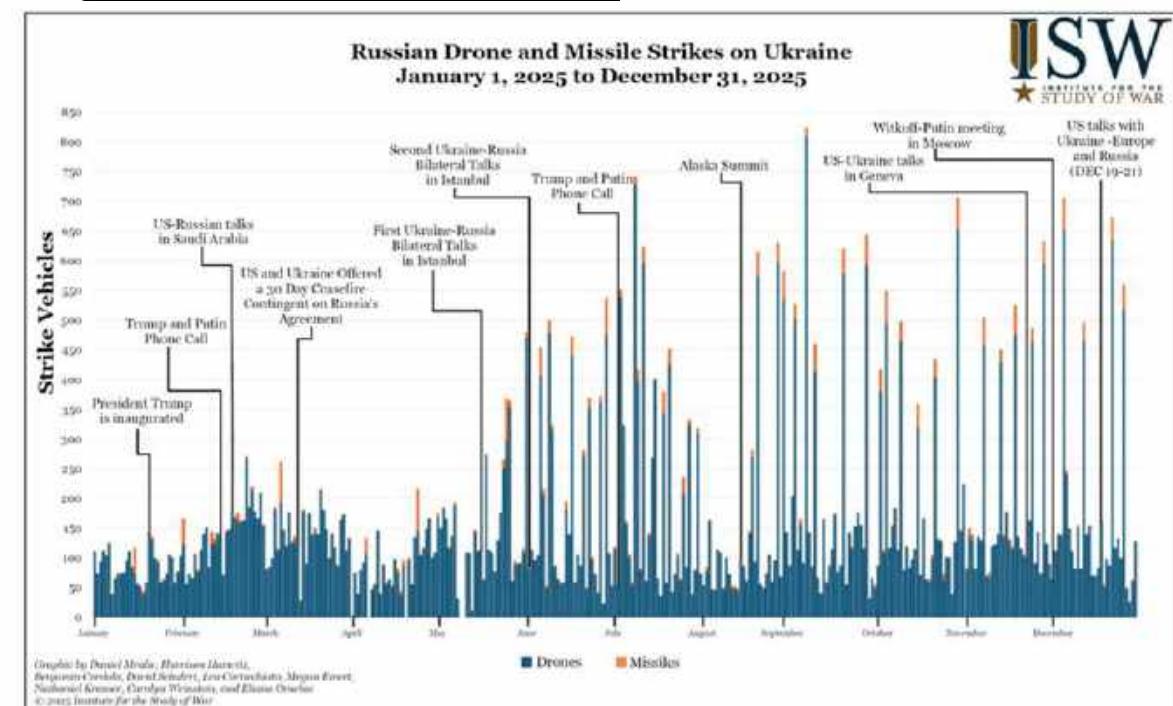
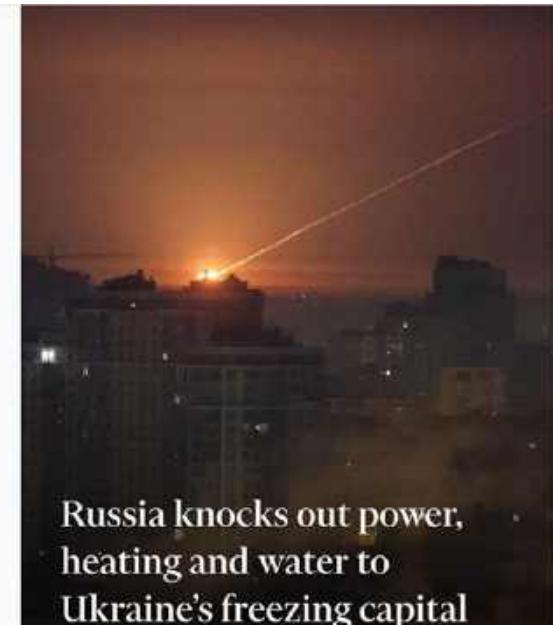




NATO's Rutte calls for 400% increase in air defenses to counter Russia, Bloomberg reports

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





Quo Vadis European
Security?

1938 déjà vu?

What is it we are witnessing?

- 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 Europa



Alex Kolezhukov @Nikiticherry - MTR
Occupied areas of southern and eastern Ukraine. Moscow is replacing populations. Ukrainians are driven into displacement elsewhere, and Moscow brings in Central Asian war-time migrants.

For you Following Main Stream Media NL

RUSSIA REPLACES THE POPULATION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF UKRAINE

Since 2014, Russia has been forcing Ukrainian citizens out of the occupied territories and replacing them with its citizens in migrants. This is a violation of the laws of war.

RECENTLY FROM AND TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, APPROXIMATE DATA

Category	Approximate Data
Population	1.5 million
Refugees	1.2 million
Displaced	0.3 million
Migrants	0.2 million

timekarwintographics



rusi.org

RUSI

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COMMENTARY

The Return of Industrial Warfare

Alex Vershinin
17 June 2022



Main Image Credit / bulik_polina / Adobe Stock

Can the West still provide the arsenal of democracy?

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

Kirill claims Russia is 'spiritual adversary' of the West

Andreja Bogdanovski, Josef Pazderka

09 January 2026, The Tablet / Prev / Next



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

BREAKING NEWS

Sergey Karaganov, Putin's adviser: "This is a war against the West, the goals in Europe could be achieved"

In an interview with **Infobae** on March 14, 2024, Sergey Karaganov, a close adviser to Russian President Vladimir Putin, said that they want to re-expel the West from Europe by expelling non-patriotic people and said that they want to re-expel the West from Europe by expelling non-patriotic people.

By Guy Faulconbridge and Lidia Kelly
March 14, 2024 8:12 AM GMT+1 - Updated 6 months ago



if the U.S. sent troops to Ukraine

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 Recon

Warsaw Pact total in Europe

173 Divs (inc 9 airborne/airmobile) and 15 Divs in Central Soviet Union

On Central + Northern Region

104 Divs,
50+ of which could launch operations soon after mobilisation

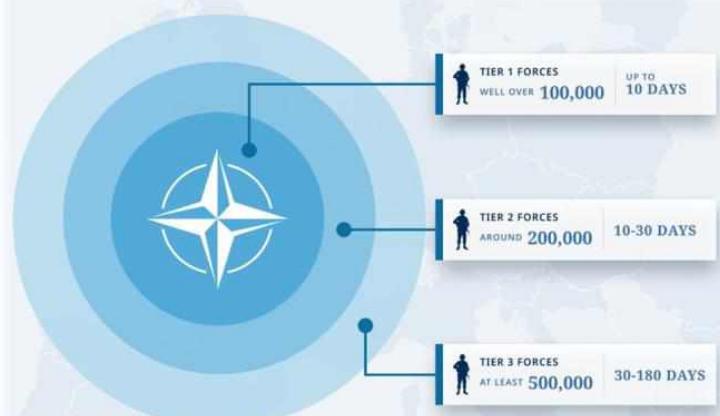
Central and Northern Region. Airpower in Place

1,580 Fighter/Strike
2,595 Interceptor
415 Recon

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.



German Units

NIKE-HERC
 (3) FlaRakBtl 23
 (5) FlaRakBtl 22
 (6) FlaRakBtl 21
 (10) FlaRakBtl 25
 (12) FlaRakBtl 24
 (12) FlaRakBtl 24
 (13) FlaRakBtl 26

HAWK
 (44) FlaRakBtl 32
 (45) FlaRakBtl 33
 (46) FlaRakBtl 34
 (61) FlaRakBtl 35
 (62) FlaRakBtl 31
 (63) FlaRakBtl 36
 (64) FlaRakBtl 37
 (65) FlaRakBtl 38
 (66) FlaRakBtl 39

Dutch Units

NIKE-HERC
 (7) 1 GGW
 (9) 2 GGW

HAWK
 (58) 3 GGW
 (59) 4 GGW
 (60) 5 GGW

Belgian Units

NIKE-HERC
 (2) 13 Wing
 (4) 9 Wing

HAWK
 (56) 62 Artillerie
 (57) 43 Artillerie

American Units

NIKE-HERC
 (16) 4th MSL Bn, 6th Arty
 (17) 5th MSL Bn, 1st Arty
 (18) 1st MSL Bn, 67th Arty
 (19) 2nd MSL Bn, 56th Arty
 (20) 5th MSL Bn, 6th Arty
 (21) 3rd MSL Bn, 71st Arty

HAWK

(43) 6th MSL Bn, 62nd Arty
 (47) 6th MSL Bn, 61st Arty
 (48) 6th MSL Bn, 60th Arty
 (49) 4th MSL Bn, 57th Arty
 (50) 6th MSL Bn, 52nd Arty
 (51) 3rd MSL Bn, 7th Arty
 (52) 6th MSL Bn, 59th Arty
 (53) 6th MSL Bn, 562nd Arty
 (54) 6th MSL Bn, 517th Arty

French Units

NIKE-HERC
 (1) 520th BA
 (11) 521st BA
 (14) never deployed

HAWK
 (41) 403e RAA (?)
 (42) 402e RAA

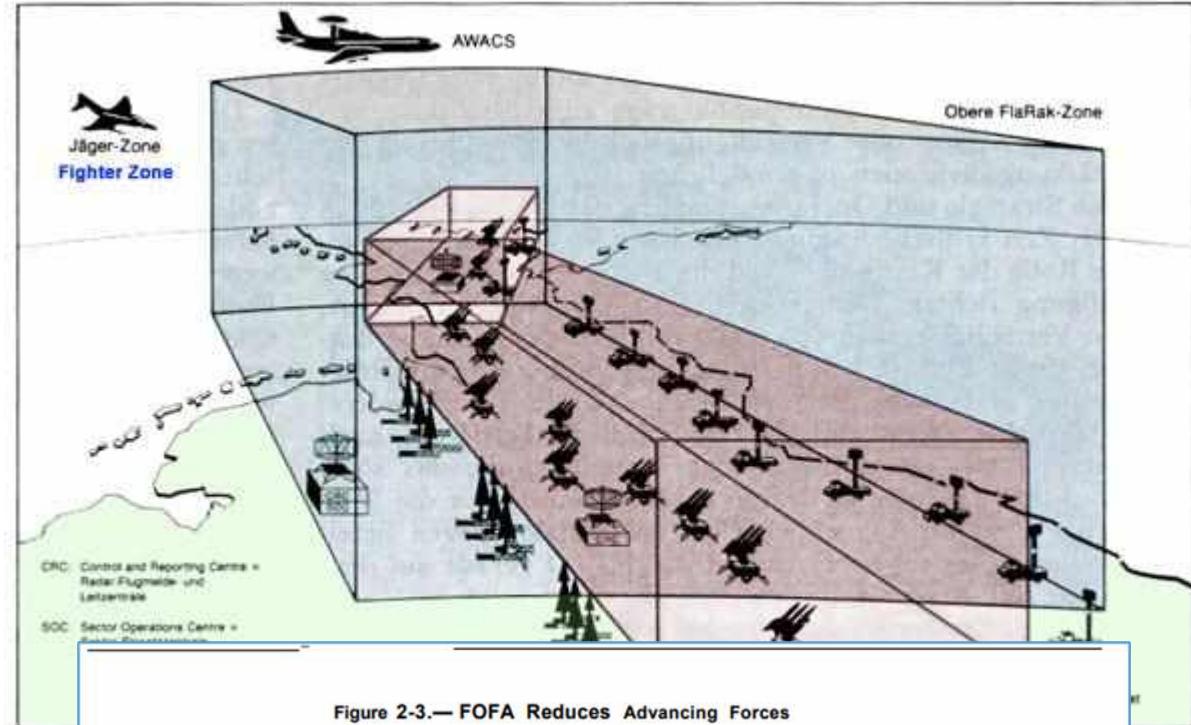
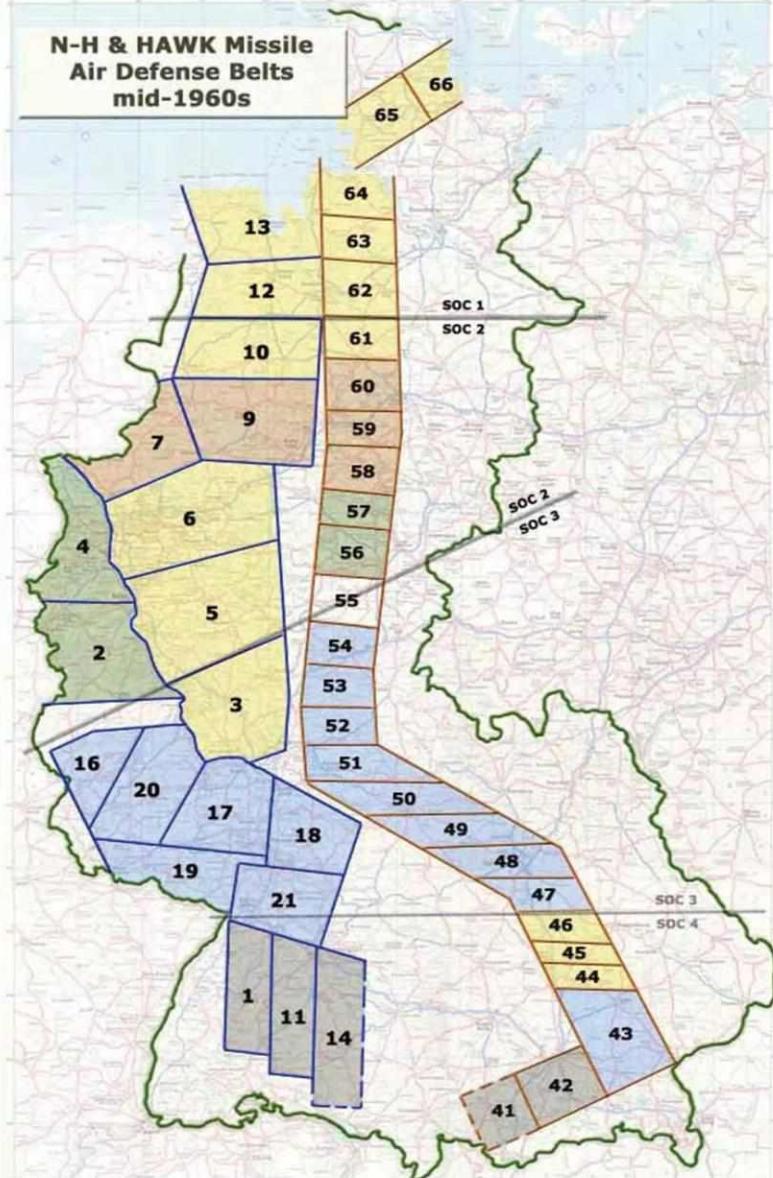
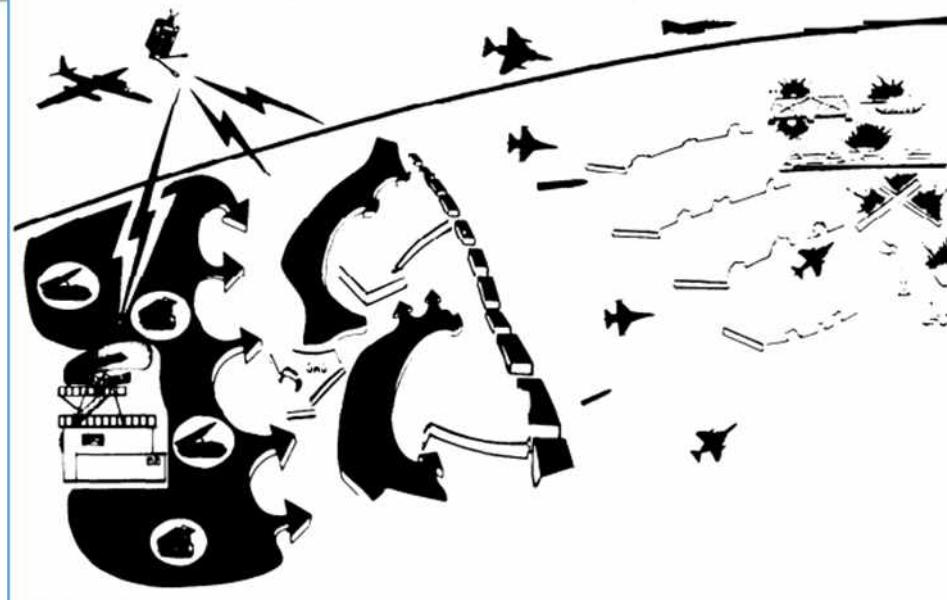


Figure 2-3.—FOFA Reduces Advancing Forces



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



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 2014, 11:03



Classified as internal | intern

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



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



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

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



Jürgen Nauditt   @jürgen_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 explanation 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



MAKS 24 00 @maks23.bsky.social · 2m

A Russian spy ship has been escorted out of the Irish Sea after it entered Irish-controlled waters and patrolled an area containing critical energy and internet submarine pipelines and cables, - The Guardian



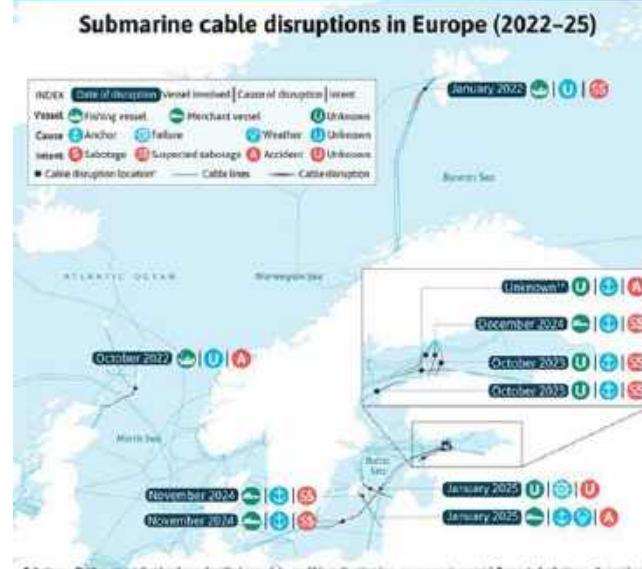
Espionage

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



Europese dronebedrijven zijn slachtoffer van beruchte Noord-Koreaanse hackers

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



Source: IHSI analysis, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), <https://acleddata.com>; Batt Sabotage, Human Operations Against Europe Database, <https://batt-sabotage.com>; International Crisis Group, <https://crisisgroup.org>

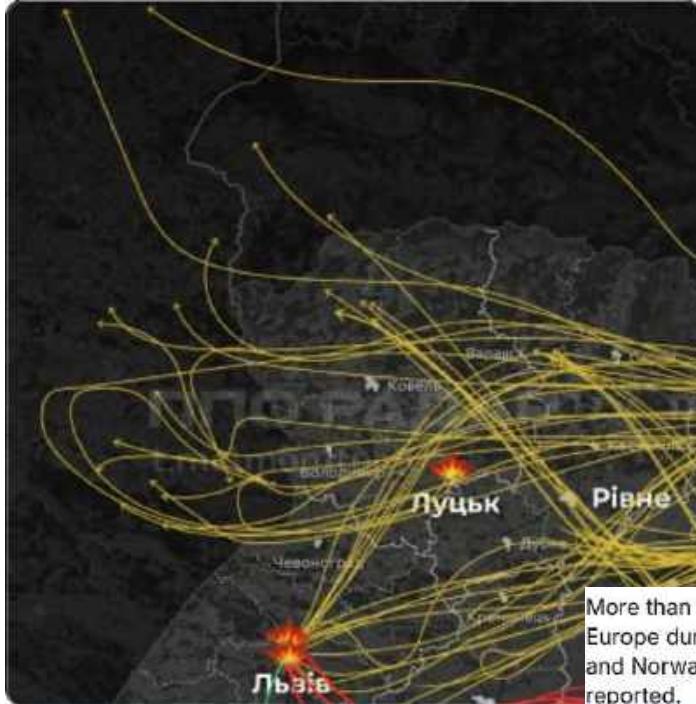
Russia's sabotage of western targets 'could trigger Nato defence clause'

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



Russia 'prepared to take enormous strategic risks' to test NATO, top Swedish general warns

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

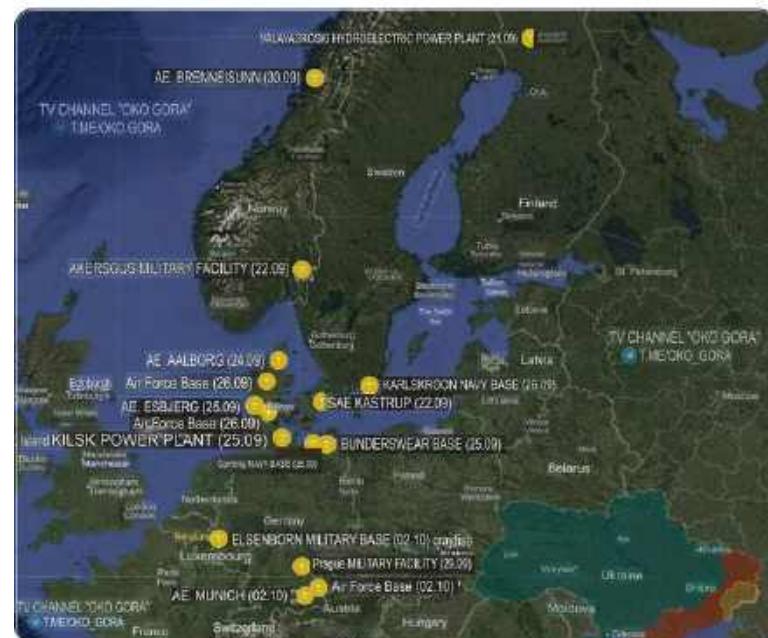


Nato intercepts Russian fighter jets on 'reckless' violation of Estonian airspace

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.



Poland shoots down Russian drones and closes several airports



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



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 ...

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



EARLY WARNING SIGNS OF **FASCISM**

- POWERFUL AND CONTINUING NATIONALISM
- DISDAIN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
- IDENTIFICATION OF ENEMIES AS A UNIFYING CAUSER
- 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

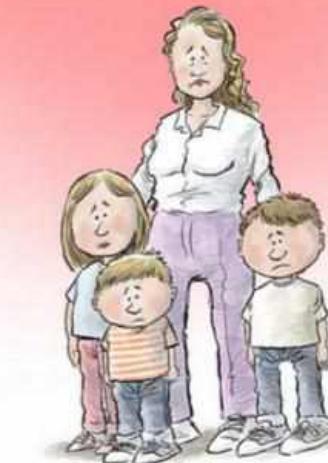
State Terror Has Arrived

Jan. 24, 2026

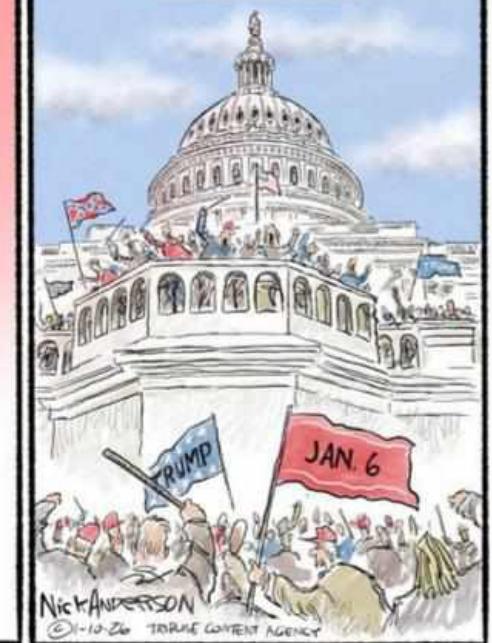


MAGA Field Guide to Domestic Threats

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

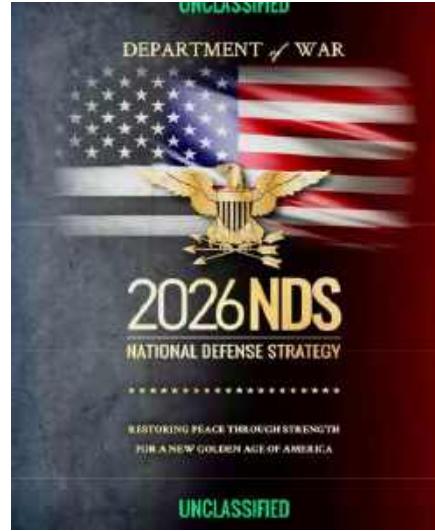
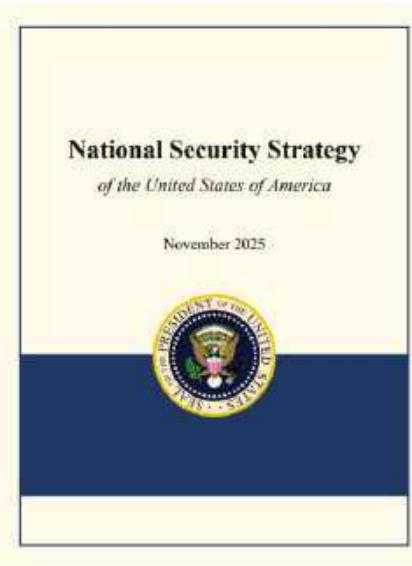


🇪🇺 😢 "Europe has moved away from our shared values," – Vice President Vance

"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



11:56 AM · January 6, 2026

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

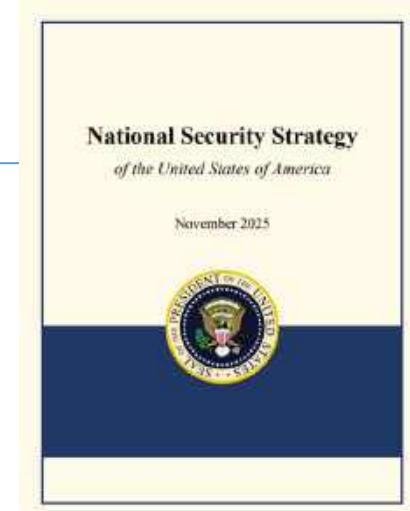


Donald Trump

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



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**.”



POLITICO

This was the moment EU leaders agreed Europe must go it alone

Analysis

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

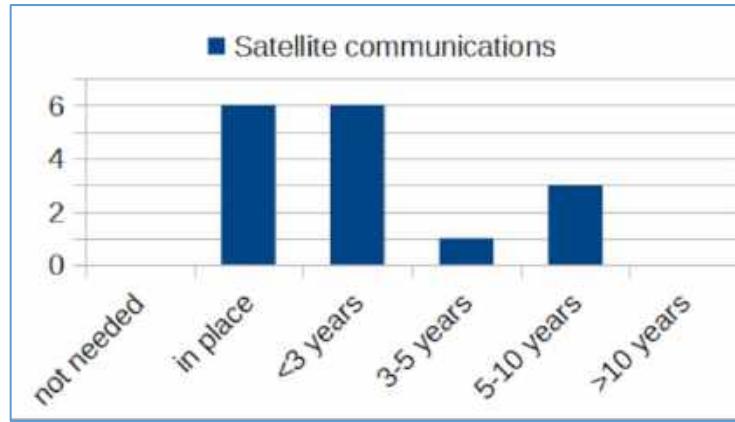
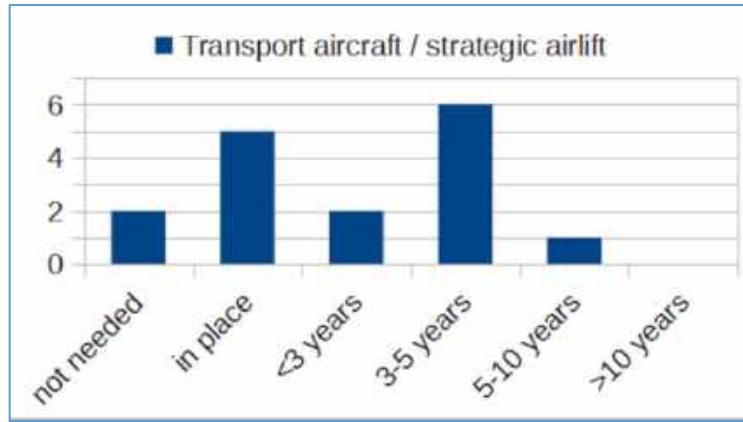
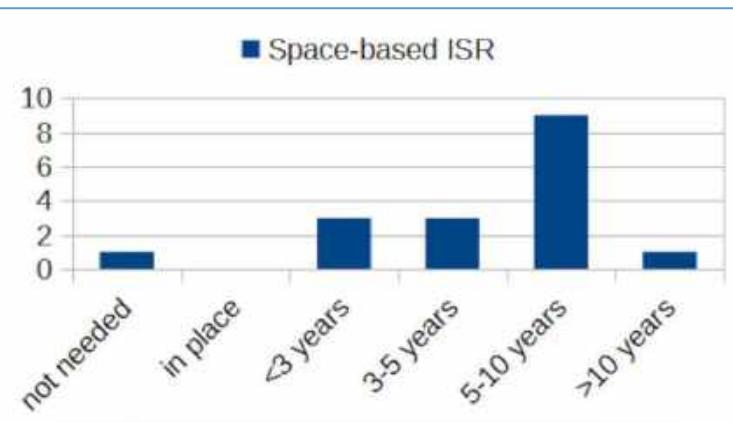
Patrick Wintour
Diplomatic editor

Why 3-3,5 and 5%: Russia, new deterrence strategy & reduce dependency on US

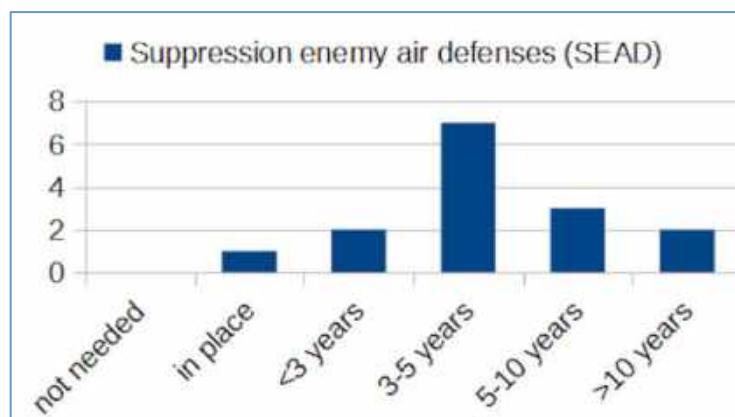
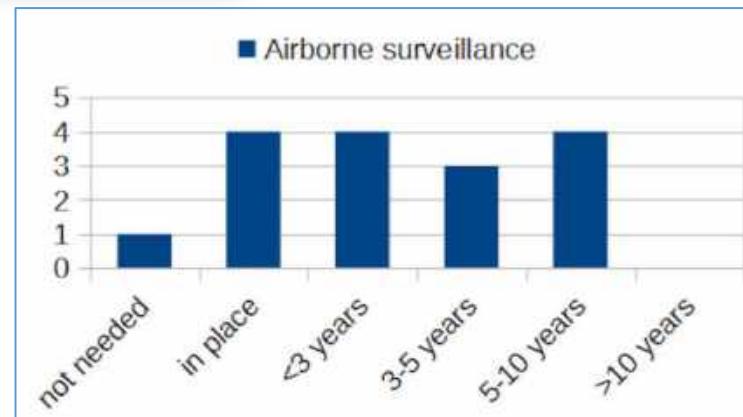
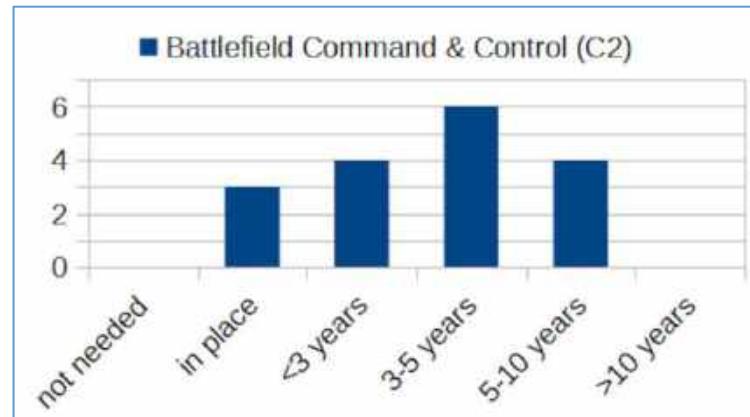
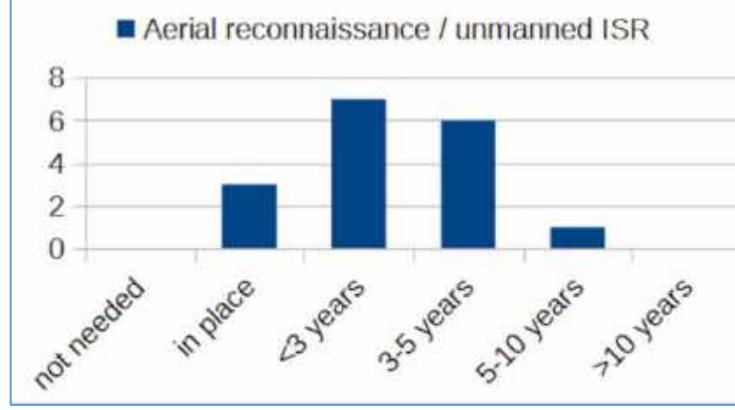
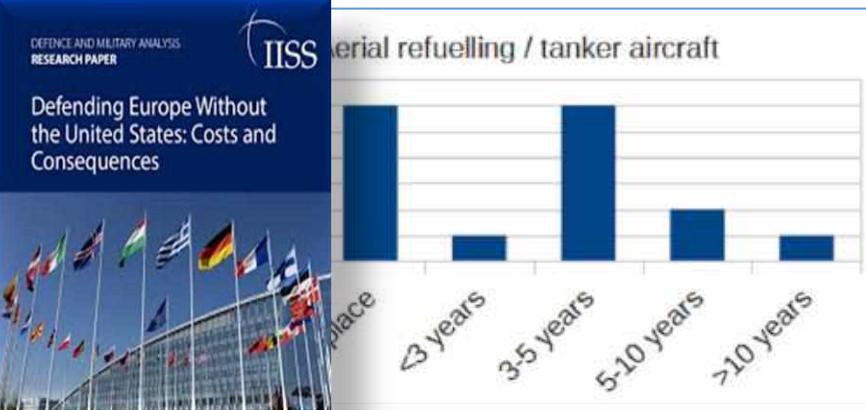
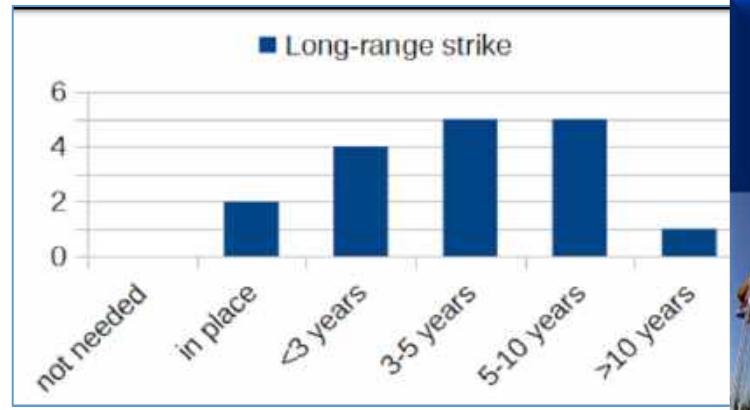
- **Support Ukraine & boost societal resilience**
- **increase overall readiness** of large combat forces:
 - 100,000 troops in ten days (tier 1), 300,000 within ten to thirty days (tier 2), 500,000 more within one to six months (tier 3),
 - be prepared to field 70 to 80 percent of these forces by the 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 5th Gen fighters)
 - Long range precision strike.

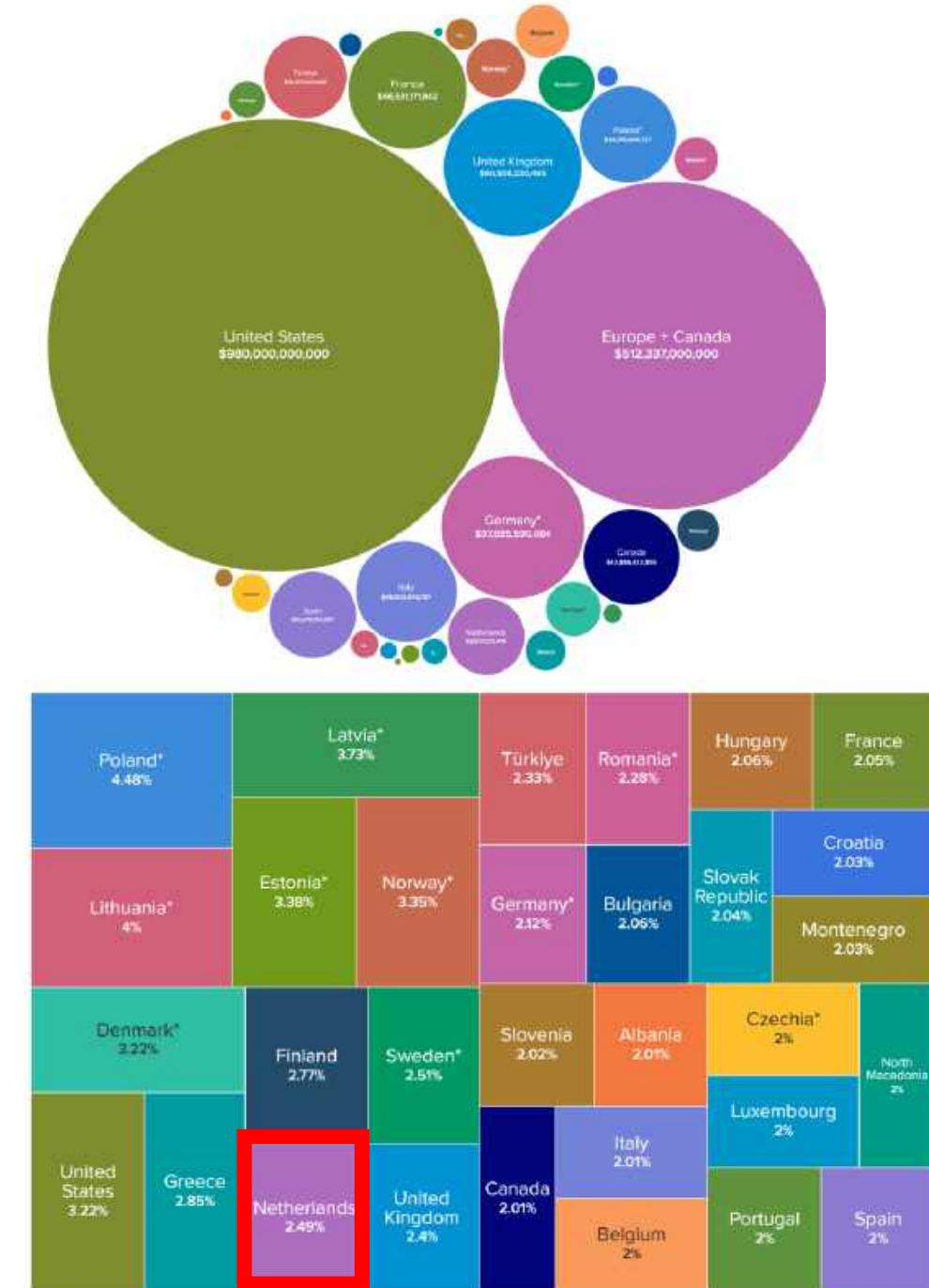
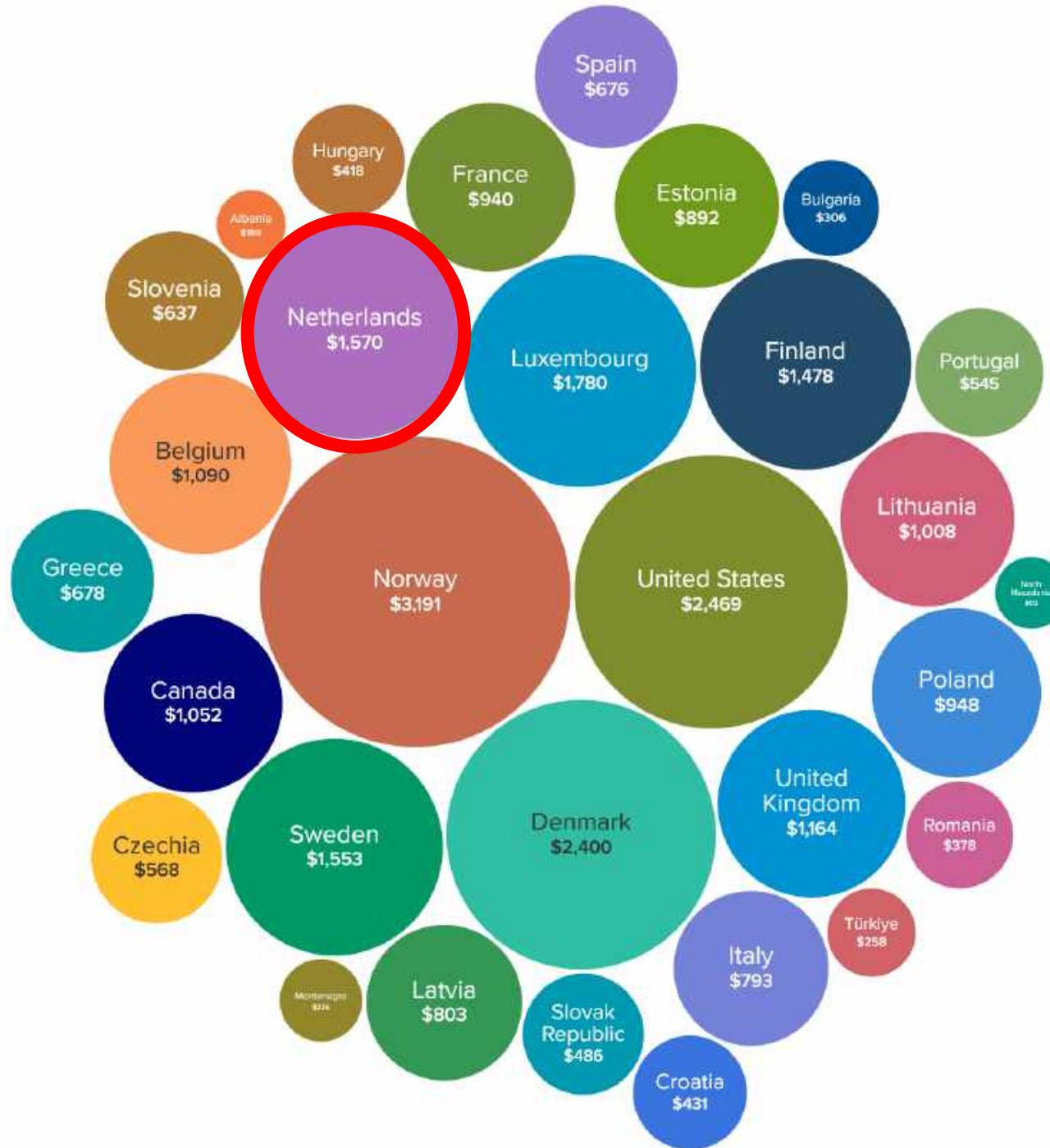


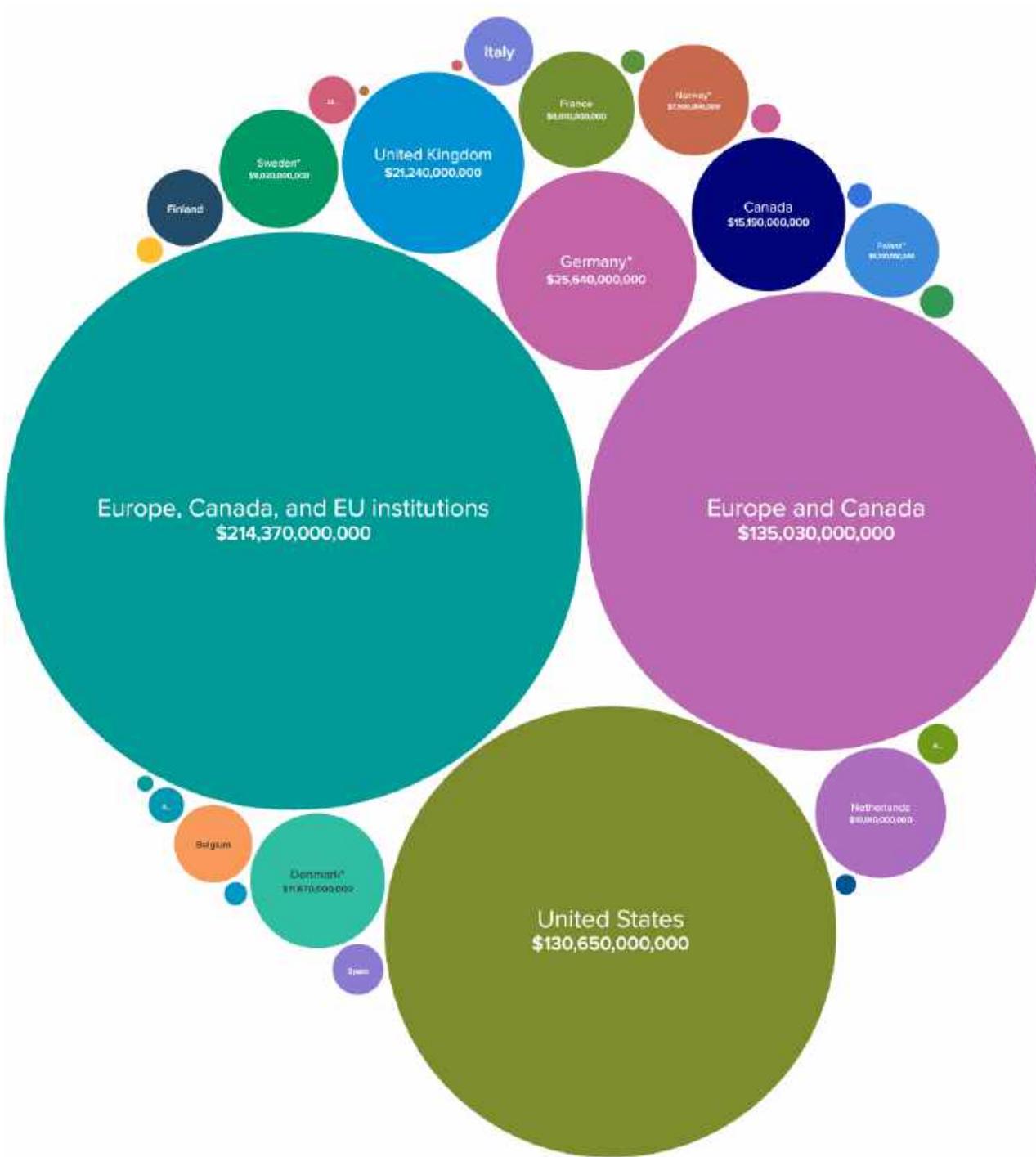
Armed forces not prepared for full-scale war, defence chief admits
January 12 2026, 9.45pm GMT
Charlie Parker



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

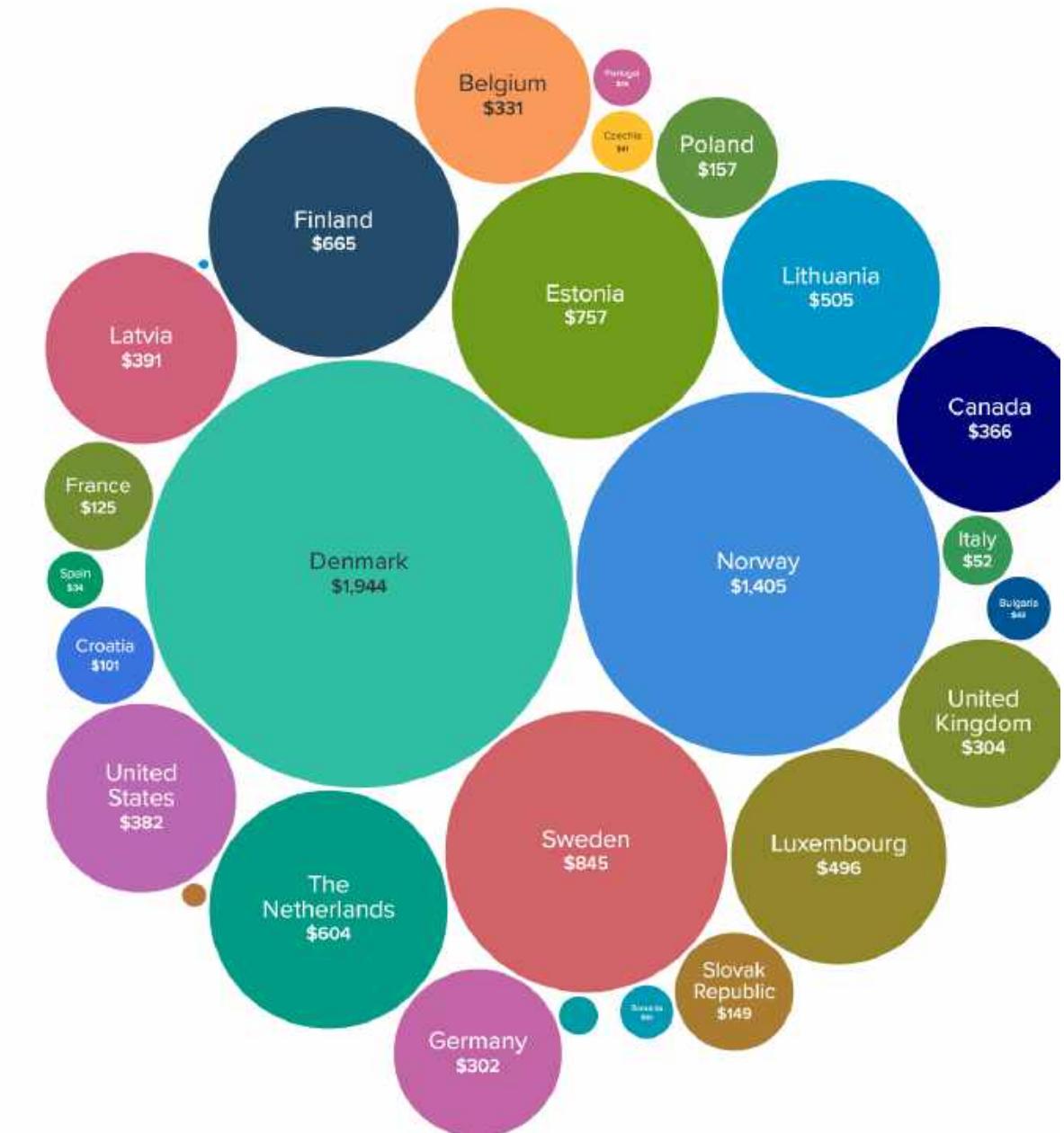






Per capita aid to Ukraine (2025)

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."



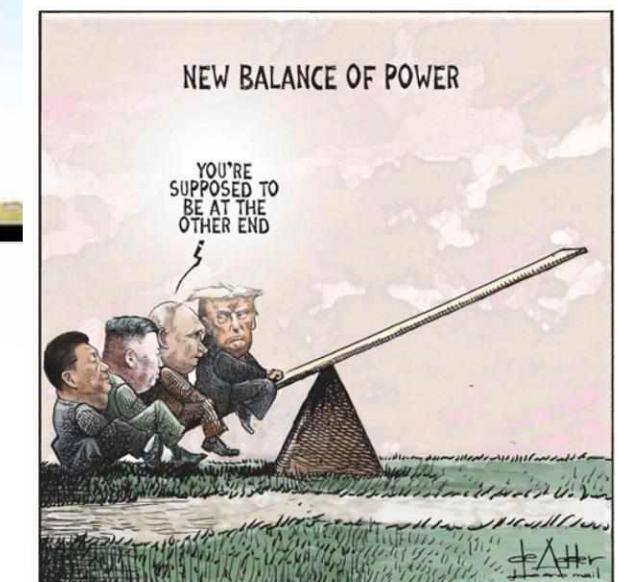
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'We're in 1938 now': Putin's war in Ukraine and lessons from history

The Next Global War

How Today's Regional Conflicts Resemble the Ones That Produced World War II

By Hal Brands



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.^[84]"

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 Wadephul considers Ukraine's path to NATO irreversible.

