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SECURING THE POST COVID FUTURE

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TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY

SECURING THE POST COVID FUTURE

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Partnership for Peace Consortium

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Nothing contained in these summaries is intended to, nor shall have the effect of, creating any warranties or representations from IBM or partners of the JAM.

Introduction

Raphael Perl

Executive Director, Partnership for Peace Consortium

"There is no going back to the pre-COVID world order. The Western democracies should use this opportunity to either reform current institutions and security arrangements to make them more robust and resilient or develop new ones. Nevertheless, we must stay strong on our key principles. Democracies must show that they work better than any of the alternatives—with good governance, openness and transparency—in failures as well—to constantly counter the empty space used by the adversaries in information operations."

This report and policy recommendations are the outcome of a 50-hour, online interactive brainstorm from 12 to 14 May 2020 to address national security and geopolitical implications of COVID-19 in the transatlantic region. The Transatlantic Security Jam identified the issues, the best ideas and suggested action by decision makers. The "jam" was organized by (as an all-volunteer effort) AFCEA, IBM and the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfPC), with thematic forums hosted by leading think tanks and defense educational institutions in North America, Europe and Asia. 2,750 participants from government service, international organizations, educational institutions, and the commercial sector participated, including over 160 "VIPs", many at the ministerial and ambassadorial levels.

Noteworthy about the event were: (1) the speed with which the event was organized: roughly three weeks from conceptualization to completion; (2) the international stature of the institutions recruited to host the six issue-focused forums of the jam; (3) the number of participants; their geographic and national diversity, and their professional credentials; (4) the high level of engagement of officials from NATO other regional organizations and (5) the comprehensiveness of issues addressed in the jam: a full gamut of COVID-19 issues in context of transatlantic security and options for cooperative responses.

The Transatlantic Security Jam model provides policy makers with a robust and action-oriented example for dialogue, issue identification and consensus building, aimed at producing actionable ideas and recommendations.

IBM's Innovation Jam™ platform was the platform to deliver this Transatlantic brainstorm, whilst IBM's advanced analytics and Artificial Intelligence was used to extract insights from the comments and posts in the Jam. The combination of these technologies generated a list of (best) ideas and also harvested a list of prioritized arguments in support or against a statement for each forum.

This combination of innovative technologies was the driving force supporting this event.

The Partnership for Peace Consortium (PfPC) is a multinational network of defenses academies and security studies institutes engaged in defense education and defense capacity building. This summary report was produced under the direction of the PfP Consortium. Principal authors are Professor Todor Tagarev, Dr. Raphael Perl, Amb. Valeri Ratchev and Dr. Dinos Kerigan-Kyrou.

Foreword

Paul M. Bennett

CB OBE
Vice Admiral, GBR N
Chief of Staff
Headquarters
Supreme Allied
Commander
Transformation
Norfolk, Virginia

"The Transatlantic Security Jam took virtual collaboration to a new level; 2,750 people from across the world collaborated for 50 hours, generating over 4,000 perspectives on a range of important security topics. There is no doubt that the volume and intensity of the Jam's intellectual horsepower could not have been generated in any other way. "

One of the COVID-related revelations for many of us has been the power (as well as some of the limitations) of virtual communications. The Transatlantic Security Jam took virtual collaboration to a new level; 2,750 people from across the world collaborated for 50 hours, generating over 4,000 perspectives on a range of important security topics. There is no doubt that the volume and intensity of the Jam's intellectual horsepower could not have been generated in any other way.

Clearly the report that follows is fascinating, but perhaps more important is the dialogue and policy recommendations generated. We know that there are no straightforward answers to disinformation, COVID, NATO/EU cooperation, China or the development of military/industry relationships. Notwithstanding, whether one is in politics, operations, warfare development or technology, I challenge you to be stimulated–if not awed–by the richness of the perspectives captured in the report.

As I write, NATO's Secretary General has just launched NATO2030, demanding that the Alliance 'stays strong militarily, be more united politically and take a broader approach globally'. Navigating a path through the conflicting pressures of adapting to the challenges we face, retaining sufficient foundational stability and maintaining the resilience to respond to unexpected events is a test for us all. For those charged with this endeavor within the context of Transatlantic Security, this report provides a compelling canvas from which we can implement and test our assumptions and our intended solutions.

I commend this report to you, encourage you to review its findings and recommendations and congratulate the team who are responsible for its genesis and conduct.

View from Washington, D.C.

"The IBM Innovation Jam™ platform utilizes Watson technologies together with human facilitators to validate emerging themes in real time: this ensures that the best ideas and most important recommendations emerge in the final analysis."

Michael C. Ryan

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for European and NATO Policy

Congratulations to the organizers, hosts, facilitators, VIP guests and participants from around the world for a truly remarkable set of conversations. I would like to thank, in particular, my fellow Defense Policy Directors from the NATO nations and EU member states whose support was absolutely essential for our success as we collectively turned an idea into a remarkable reality so very quickly.

The timing of the Transatlantic Security Jam could not have been better. The thoughts and ideas expressed during the Jam now constitute an important part of our collective way ahead.

The Defense Ministers of NATO, along with their counterparts from Finland, Sweden and Australia, as well as the High Representative of the European Union, met virtually 17-18 June to discuss the very same challenges addressed during the Transatlantic Security Jam. The Defense Policy Directors, with whom we debated during the online event, prepared our ministers for this important meeting and were on hand to listen to the debates. Together we will draw from the mutually reinforcing conclusions of the Jam and the Defense Ministerial to build the post-COVID-19 future we all desire.

The Alliance's objective since the beginning of the pandemic has been to prevent the health crisis from becoming a security crisis. State and non-state actors are working to undermine our security by taking advantage of the health crisis. Our adversaries, however, have misjudged our unity, our resolve, our adaptability, and our clarity of thought. The Secretary General of NATO during his post-ministerial remarks highlighted all of these characteristics while detailing ministers' conclusions:

- Credible deterrence and defense requires ready, vigilant and prepared forces.
- National resilience is our first line of defense, and our collective security depend on it.
- Resilience must include cyber defense, supply chain security, and foreign direct investments.
- Effectively countering disinformation requires that NATO work closely with the European Union and all Allies and Partners.
- Going forward, "NATO 2030" will make us politically stronger and more global; our key partners such as Australia embrace the same values and face the same challenges that we do.

The Transatlantic Security Jam report that follows is a rich compendium of thought, analysis, and recommendations synthesized from the flood of ideas and suggestions debated and refined during the 50 hours we were online together. This is a valid and highly credible result given the enormity of the data input – 500,000 words by 2,750 registered participants – and the cutting-edge, data analytics running in the background. IBM Watson, working together with human facilitators, enabled objective and subjective conclusions to be merged and validated in real time, thus ensuring that the best ideas, analysis, and recommendations emerged as the most important results.

On behalf of all the Defense Policy Directors, thanks to everyone for an incredible demonstration of cooperative security and an exceptionally robust result. The alignment of the high-level policy conclusions of the NATO Defense Ministerial and bottom-up practical recommendations from the Jam demonstrate that the Transatlantic defense and security community can operate at the speed of relevance to set the global agenda to NATO 2030 and beyond. I look forward to working with all of you to implement these recommendations as quickly as possible.

Transatlantic Security Jam: Opening remarks

Tod D. Wolters

General, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR)

"We must remain mindful, threats and challengers to the Alliance seek to leverage this situation as an opportunity to advance their interests, conduct provocative action, and sow discontent. Cyber-attacks, disinformation, and the use of aid for provocation and political favor are their tactics. This pandemic will alter aspects of world order and its full consequences remain to be seen."

The following was posted in the Transatlantic Security Jam by General Tod Wolters, Supreme Allied Commandeer Europe, to help set the stage for the online event.

"From the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, good morning to all in North America and good afternoon here in Europe. We begin by thanking U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Mike Ryan for the opportunity to participate in this innovative forum. We're excited to have such a broad and diverse group of experts leaning into the collective effort to think about and shape our post-COVID-19 future. This forum is a tremendous example of a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach in action. This collaborative event will undoubtedly inform our efforts as we move forward together.

"COVID-19 is a global strategic shock that has wrought grief and disruption in a relatively short time. We offer our most heartfelt condolences to all who have lost loved ones to this invisible enemy. We want to add professional praise for the relentless and compassionate work our brave health care workers, in and out of military uniform, are doing on the front lines of this pandemic.

"Pandemics are global, but impact regions unevenly in time and geography. In areas hit hardest by COVID-19, health care systems have been overwhelmed. When access to quality care is reduced, additional lives are lost. Nations must continue to implement prudent measures to protect their populations and arrest transmission of the virus. These measures are flattening and turning the curve of this outbreak, but are disrupting social function, supply, and distribution systems.

“We must remain mindful, threats and challengers to the Alliance seek to leverage this situation as an opportunity to advance their interests, conduct provocative action, and sow discontent. Cyber-attacks, disinformation, and the use of aid for provocation and political favor are their tactics. This pandemic will alter aspects of world order and its full consequences remain to be seen.

“Every nation has responded to the crisis, demonstrating the solidarity and commitment to one another central to NATO’s success for more than 70 years. Forces from across the Alliance are playing a vital role providing direct and indirect support of these efforts to save precious lives. Unity and resilience characterize our response within Allied Command Operations. We remain vigilant to our collective deterrence and defense, with a sharp focus on sustaining the well-being of each of our nations.

“Forces from across the Alliance have deployed in their homelands to strengthen civil responses by providing planners and constructing alternate care facilities. They assist with the decontamination of affected areas and deliver critical resources to vital points of need. Between Allies, forces from across the Alliance are employing military transport capabilities to move medical personnel, equipment, supplies, and treatment capabilities to areas under greater stress. Military capabilities are also being used to transfer patients to treatment facilities less impacted by the pandemic. Our goal continues to be to facilitate these activities and add value without disrupting national response efforts.

“Nations of the NATO Alliance maintain unique capabilities to directly address the challenge to health care and distribution systems impacted by COVID-19. We must leverage and support a whole-of-Alliance, whole-of-partner, and whole-of-society approach to assist regions in most need, alleviate the effects of COVID-19, and strengthen our posture to respond to future pandemics. The NATO Alliance is more than robust—it is antifragile. Times of adversity strengthen our resilience and resolve. NATO will be stronger and more unified on the other side of this health crisis.

“As a Commander privileged to lead the men and women of NATO’s Allied Command Operations and U.S. European Command, we continue to focus day-in and day-out on the preservation of peace in the Euro-Atlantic. As we continue to deter and defend, to ensure this health crisis does not become a security crisis, our ceaseless efforts to improve our collective posture, speed, transparency, and alignment are as essential as ever.

“We wish you all good health, a productive week, and look forward to hearing your perspective and ideas. Given the speed this pandemic affected nations during its 1st wave, this forum is a great venue to continue our work here in Europe, to ensure our response to a possible 2nd or 3rd wave of COVID-19, or any pandemic, is rapid and effective. Thank you all for what you do to sustain peace in the Euro-Atlantic and around the world.”

Innovation Jam™ platform and analysis

When COVID-19 raised its ugly head, it had an immediate impact on both public and private sector organizations, and most employees started working from home. It is in this environment that the idea was born to brainstorm about the impact of COVID-19 on the security landscape. Based on experiences with four Security “Jams” between 2010 and 2016, it made sense to use the IBM Innovation Jam™ solution again, to reach security professionals across the transatlantic community. The combination of the Jam platform and its associated AI-based analytical tools, generated insights at a pace and scale that would be very difficult to achieve in physical conferences.

The Innovation Jam™ is a proven management tool for driving innovation and online collaboration, at scale. Jams help organizations unleash the brainpower of their enterprise to generate and evolve ideas around business-critical issues. The platform has been used by audiences ranging from several hundred to tens of thousands.

The online interaction typically occurs over two to three days in several forum areas guided by hosts, facilitators and VIPs. Given that the Jam platform is template-based and free-standing (not dependent on any other organization’s back end systems) – the Transatlantic Security Jam was assembled and delivered with resulting outcomes in a matter of weeks. This allowed the online Jam to take place whilst participants were still working from home.

The approach for the Transatlantic Security Jam involved several key components of the Jam technology and research program.

The Transatlantic Security Jam featured six discussion forums delivered from a Hybrid Cloud Services hosting environment—with multiple datacenter redundancy for always-on availability. This is the same infrastructure and security used by IBM during Wimbledon, the Masters, and the US Open for massive scalability information reporting needs.

In the case of Transatlantic Security Jam, there were 2,750 registrants, approximately 17,000 logins, 2,000 unique logins, and 4,300 comments (nearly half a million words) produced in 50 hours. This was a targeted audience with NGOs, government employees, military leaders, academia and private sector participants. The event size was moderate—IBM has handled Jams with over 50,000 participants online simultaneously and the Jam technology has been tested on upwards of 1M hits per minute.

The Jam Administrator dashboard provided for visualization of participation and real-time data on levels of engagement (e.g., rate of posting by demographic segments, posts by Forum, etc.) to inform live event marketing and communications implementation. It also helped inform final statistics counting and reporting. It was interesting to note that those who selected “30+ years” of experience in security, defense, or development issues accounted for the most content (31%). Most posts were made by participants that rarely worked from home before COVID-19 (46%). Most logins came from participants who selected “National Government/civil service.” Based on the analytics of participation data, the Transatlantic Security Jam brought a relevant audience of senior experts from governments together from their homes.

Text analytics and natural language processing produced topic models, keyword entities and clustering analysis to iteratively identify key themes in the Transatlantic Security Jam. These analyses utilize SPSS Modeler for Text Analytics, Watson Natural Language Understanding (NLU), and IBM’s new Project Debater AI System (discussed later). Reports from these tools (see appendices), as well as tagging of recommended and best ideas by facilitators, allowed participants to see emerging key content across the Jam and within the six forums. Post-event, these tools facilitated the rapid identification of themes of interest at the Jam level, by forum, and by demographic segments.

Overarching observations identified in the Jam:

- The 'Dragonbear' Effect: The overriding impact of China as a primary actor in the post COVID-19 response, with Russia close behind;
- Fake news and disinformation make the pandemic an Infodemic;
- Strong mixed views exist on how to define European Union and NATO objectives and collaboration;
- Nationalism versus Globalization tension is evident;
- Climate Change makes a surprising appearance in many conversations about pandemic solutions.

Watson Natural Language Understanding was also used to conduct sentiment and emotion analysis during the Jam. These analytical tools highlight the levels of positive, neutral, and negative sentiment in the conversations, as well as levels of intensity (i.e., emotion) to explore and understand the valence of ideas presented in the event. During the Transatlantic Security Jam, the discussions containing the highest negative sentiment focused on Russia, Disinformation, 5G, and a new Cold War.

Watson Personality Insights (WPI) was applied to the Jam corpus afterwards and provided an experimental snapshot of its "organizational" persona. The characteristics of the persona are based on three primary psychology-oriented models – Big Five, Values and Needs – and indicate multiple factors, including willingness to adopt new ideas and embrace change. Insights about a Jam's persona can help leaders to adjust their messaging and approach.

Watson personality insight portrait:

- Clever, disciplined and active;
- Philosophical: open to and intrigued by new ideas and love to explore them;
- Authority-challenging: prefer to challenge authority and traditional values to help bring about positive change;
- Self-controlled: control over desires;
- Choices driven by a desire for discovery;
- Preference for activities with a purpose greater than just personal enjoyment.

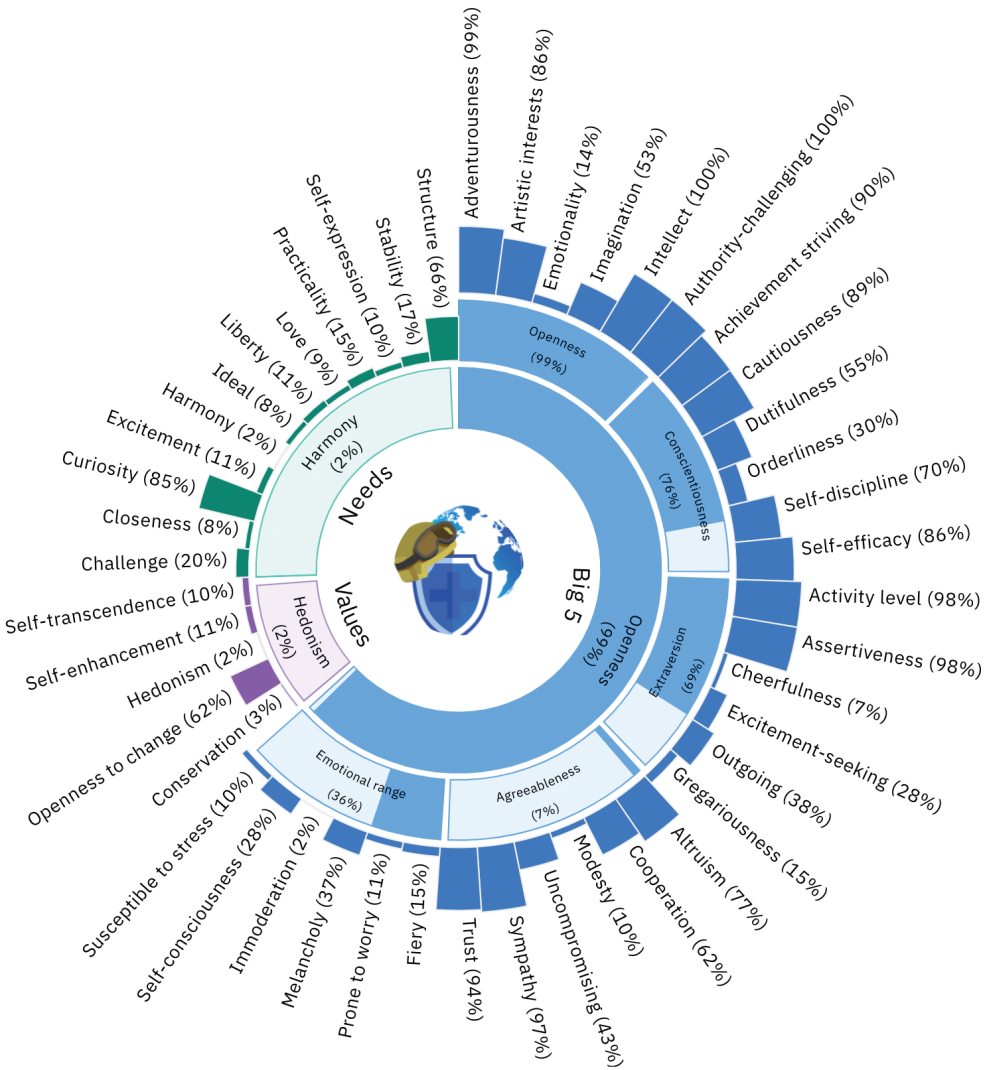
The participants clearly demonstrated their ambition to bring positive change to the transatlantic security landscape and to contribute to a greater purpose.

For the first time, IBM Project Debater software was applied to the analytics of the Jam content. Developed by IBM Research, Project Debater is the first AI system that can debate humans on complex topics—to help people build persuasive arguments and make well-informed decisions. The algorithms seek to construct the strongest argument for (or against) a statement supplied by event management based on the Jam content. An analysis was completed for each of the six forums in Transatlantic Security Jam. Debater's AI rapidly identified arguments from the Jam content.

For example, in the forum "Competition for Influence in a World Transformed by COVID-19," the management team supplied the Debater software with the prompt statement: "The post COVID-19 Forum will be dominated by increased competition for mindshare in the transatlantic community by Russia and China." The lead supporting post found in the Jam corpus was: "China and Russia use cyber means to embark on disinformation campaigns to capitalize on the weakened resiliency of Western societies." Conversely, the lead opposing post found in the Jam corpus was: "Democratic states have to focus on safety and security of its citizens versus countering Russia and China." The Debater software provided several sample quotes to support and counter each argument, and the software helped supplement other forms of text analysis ongoing during and after the Jam.

The full analysis of Project Debater for each of the six forums is included in the appendix

IBM's Innovation Jam™ platform, associated AI and analytical tools helped the analysts to rapidly generate strategic insights and a roadmap of ideas for policy makers from the NATO allies on both sides of the Atlantic. It is now up to decision makers to take these ideas forward and to secure the post-COVID future.



Source: Transatlantic Security Jam WPI analysis

Note: WPI analysis is based on comments from Jam participants only
Reference reading on WPI:
Https://console.bluemix.net/docs/services/personality-insights/science.html#science

The recommendations contained in this report are the outcome of an online virtual transatlantic security brainstorming event designed to look at securing the future post COVID-19, flag issues and develop recommendations for policymakers. Leading think tanks and defense educational institutions hosted the discussions on six main topics, featuring 2,750 registered representatives from government, international organizations, academia, and the private sector. This number included over 160 VIP's, many at the ministerial and ambassadorial level.

Recommendations and courses of action
How to secure the post-COVID future

Todor Tagarev, Raphael Perl, and Valeri Ratchev

The COVID-19 pandemic had a swift and severe impact on our societies. In the midst of this pandemic, many of us are facing new challenges and are asking what comes next. This report is designed to highlight outcomes of an online Transatlantic Security Jam event that focused on how to secure the post-COVID future.

Despite the lack of a clear picture of what will eventually happen with COVID-19, the Jam provided a unique opportunity to start learning, thinking and discussing how to prepare better not only for future disease outbreaks, but also for various threats that may have global source and coverage. Nations can emerge stronger and more secure if they learn from the COVID-19 experience that genuine safety and security are not possible without international cooperation and coordination.

In the words of Jam participant United States Assistant Secretary of Defense, Kathryn Wheelbarger:

> "Given the nature of our adversaries' actions, success going forward will require whole-of-government and whole-of-society solutions, which highlights the need for greater integration between the efforts of NATO and the European Union, a more comprehensive approach to operations and activities, and a transatlantic investment strategy that rewards innovation, relevance, and the rapid fielding of cost-effective solutions."

The 11 theme summaries that follow were extracted by the authors from the proceedings of the event. Highlights of the themes are positioned in a roadmap (Figure 1). Each theme summary has been formatted into three components: (1) findings, (2) policy challenges and (3) response options. The findings, challenges and response options contained in this report summary are the outcome of Jam discussions and are not necessarily endorsed by all Jam participants.

Key recommendations:

- The transatlantic community should initiate an in-depth leadership discussion (using G7, NATO and US-EU formats) on leveraging and strengthening historically established strategic advantages.
- Achieving “strategic complementarity” between NATO and the European Union is a strategically desirable goal. Both NATO and the EU should initiate comprehensive reviews of the US-Europe strategic dialogue on all topics from trade to security with the goal of reaffirming and enhancing transatlantic solidarity.
- NATO and the EU should establish task forces to examine balancing allocation of resources devoted to traditional external threats with those devoted to emerging global threats.
- NATO and the EU should establish and formalize mechanisms to examine and develop comprehensive response strategies to Chinese global efforts to expand influence. Beijing’s European policy during the pandemic provides strong evidence that the EU-China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation should be seriously overhauled. It is important scrutinize Chinese geo-economics through a security prism, with resulting guidance to the EU Members and aspirants on a unified strategy for their relations with China. A similar approach guiding relations with Russia is also warranted.
- The timing of catastrophic events is often not predictable – but effective responses to such events have much in common. NATO and the EU should formalize mechanisms to develop and robustly coordinate all hazards response capabilities to catastrophic events with the pandemic experience as a driving force. Important here is to ensure supply chain continuity. Resilient, dependable and diverse supply chains, involving trusted allies and partners, are essential for effective national and regional responses to pandemic-like threats.
- The EU should create a Strategic Communications Task Force dedicated to countering hostile competitor campaigns designed to undermine EU public opinion; e.g. Chinese, Russian, Iranian, Islamist, and others.
- Artificial Intelligence (AI) has much to offer in enhancing readiness and response to pandemic-type events, but often not without potentially far reaching implications for individual freedoms and civil liberty. Creating EU or NATO task forces or advisory/study groups charged with enhancing compatibility of legal and ethical frameworks with the use of AI in military applications is an option worth considering.

1. International Order: Will the COVID-19 pandemic turn into a systemic shock?

> "This pandemic will alter aspects of world order and its full consequences remain to be seen."
>
> -**General Tod Wolters**, *NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe*

The pandemic did not create new global power conflicts; however, neither did it result in enhanced cooperation and solidarity needed to limit human and economic losses. Its spread along the China–Russia–Europe–United States axis exacerbated the processes already threatening the international order, compromising rules-based trade and interdependence, neglecting multilateral cooperation and coordination, and eroding democracy with disruptive populism. The pandemic's scale, speed and consequences sharpened mutual suspicion, inflammatory rhetoric and general concerns for the future of the world. If the pandemic turns into a global economic recession with concomitant de-globalization and rise in nationalism, it may severely challenge the international order. China, Russia, and other adversaries already regard it as a constraint on their power and as a factor promoting and institutionalizing transatlantic leadership to their disadvantage.

The systemic effect of the pandemic is still unclear; it could drive national attitudes and international actions towards either reinforcing or weakening the international order. If the latter dominates, the geopolitics of control may broaden and deepen fragmentation. Those who see in the pandemic an opportunity for improving the global arrangements must unite along the principles of freedom, prosperity and democracy.

Courses of action for policy makers:

The transatlantic community needs an in-depth leadership discussion (using G7, NATO and US-EU formats) on:

- Modernizing and strengthening the historically established strategic advantages;
- A common approach to prevent an authoritarian turn worldwide;
- Pragmatic principles of constructive multilateralism.

2. Allied Militaries during the Pandemic: Supporting civilian authorities, maintaining readiness

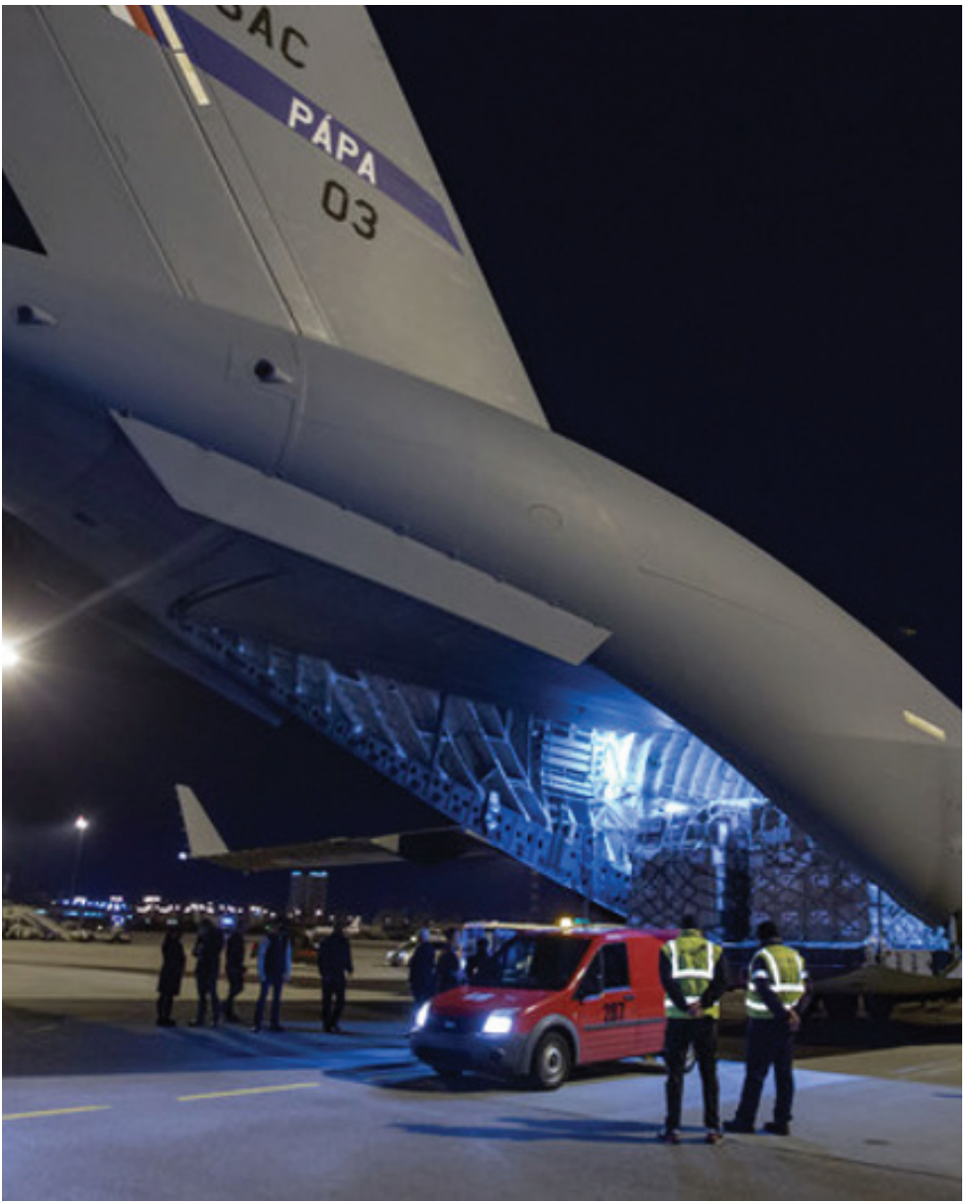
> "Now more than ever we must be vigilant, we must maintain our readiness to act and to react, and we must demonstrate our solidarity, our resolve, and our commitment to protect and defend our populations, our economies, and our political systems."
>
> **- Mike Ryan**, *Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, USA*

Allied militaries play a crucial role in national responses to COVID-19, supporting civilian authorities with logistics and planning, field hospitals, transport of patients and supplies, disinfection of public areas, border control, or by establishing checkpoints and patrolling streets under lockdown. Military hospitals and laboratories are part of the first line of response, and military medics share their unique know-how of working in a bio-hazardous environment. On the other hand, COVID-19 demonstrated the fragility of present armed forces and alliance capabilities, and the challenges of maintaining cohesion and operations in a pandemic.

In the spirit of solidarity and cooperation, the squadron of C-17 Globemasters of the Strategic Airlift Capability, operated by seven NATO allies and EU partners Sweden and Finland, as well as SALIS An-124s, delivered critically needed diagnostic kits, medical supplies and equipment, while the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center (EADRCC) managed the support on the request of the United Nations, allies, and partners from four continents. Since military personnel are not immune to infections, armed forces had to scale back operations and exercises following the COVID-19 outbreak. Some units and ship crews required quarantine. This impacted readiness, particularly for troops deployed in operations or as a forward presence.

During a pandemic, the safe and rapid movement of military personnel and equipment is crucial to support civil exigencies, while maintaining deterrence and defense capabilities:

> "Military mobility … in the European theatre is essential … for collective defense purposes or for crisis management. It calls for improving NATO's logistical capabilities by adjusting legislation and procedures to facilitate border crossing; upgrading infrastructure (e.g., roads and bridges with the right parameters for heavy military equipment) … Many of those elements are to some extent within the scope of the EU regulation and funding."
>
> **Amb. Tomasz Szatkowski,** *Permanent Representative of, Poland to the North Atlantic Council*



A C-17 Globemaster from the NATO-supported Strategic Airlift Capability squadron delivers protective equipment and medical supplies to Bulgaria.
Image source: NATO

The NATO-supported Strategic Airlift International Solution (SALIS) has played a key role enabling NATO nations to airlift urgent medical equipment and respond to the crisis.
Image source: NATO Support and Procurement Agency

Courses of action for policy makers:

- Enhance allied capabilities to support civilian authorities in a pandemic, e.g. by introducing a pandemic scenario in the NATO defense planning process, conducting exercises in simulated biohazardous environment, developing online training courses, etc.;
- Develop a robust all-hazards response capability with the pandemic experience as a driving force;
- Better equip and train the military for action in bio-hazardous environments;
- Improve the resilience of Allied forces by promoting common health standards, assessing critical material dependencies, and pooling stocks of medications and vaccines for troops;
- Speed up the flagship initiative of NATO-EU cooperation for establishing a “Military Schengen Zone” by adapting legislation and procedures and upgrading dual-use transport infrastructure to facilitate military mobility in Europe;
- Improve resilience of supply chains and stockpile availability of vital equipment and supplies;
- Exercise innovative ways to enhance deterrence and demonstrate solidarity during a pandemic (e.g. B-1s flying over the Black Sea).

3. The Future of US-Europe Strategic Alliance - An invaluable pragmatic partnership for rule-based international order

> "The basic argument for NATO is so obvious it is often ignored. Western security depends on cohesion and solidarity of like-minded states to use collective power for the common good."
>
> - **Harlan Ullman,** *Atlantic Council, U.S.A.*

The US–Europe alliance established rule-based international order, turned democracy into a global trend, and created the most attractive socio-economic space in the world. Failing to sustain this historic achievement would be a recipe for a historic defeat. However, both sides currently oppose significant internal and strategic challenges, leading to disagreements and emerging rifts between Allies. To oversimplify the roots of friction would be a mistake. The tragedy of COVID-19, along with increasing confrontation with China and Russia, is challenging the resilience of the Transatlantic Alliance. But this will also help the Alliance focus on foundational principles and values.

Nearly 80 % of the polled participants disagree with the statement that COVID-19 may result in the termination of transatlantic security relations (see Figure 2).

Consolidated and effective transatlantic leadership is both desirable and indispensable for preserving the prosperity, freedom and democratic perspectives of the world. More rigorous cooperation is necessary to maintain global influence beyond COVID-19 and to cope with multiple threats – nuclear, kinetic, pandemic, cyber, hybrid, and space.

Courses of action for policy makers:

US-Europe strategic dialogue on all topics from trade to security is indispensable; it must be re-invigorated on leadership, bureaucratic, military and intellectual levels to reaffirm and enhance transatlantic solidarity.

- This dialogue must support the aspirations of both NATO (political/military) and the EU (political/economic);
- Promising areas for NATO-EU cooperation include counter disinformation, crisis management, cyber security, hybrid threats, contingency planning, and cooperative, comprehensive resilience;
- Possible defense budget cuts may provide an incentive for cooperation and collaborative projects in bilateral and multilateral formats.

4. Nuclear Deterrence: Unyielding commitment to non-proliferation and arms control

> "The role of nuclear deterrence in the security of Europe has not changed because of COVID-19. The fact that a lot of domestic attention is turned elsewhere does not change its relevance."
>
> **- Marjolijn van Deelen,** *Ambassador for the, Non-Proliferation Treaty*

During the expanding pandemic, most nuclear armed governments declared the situation would not affect the combat readiness of their nuclear forces. However, President Putin exploited the world's diverted attention and announced new political guidelines for Russia's nuclear deterrence policy, which already includes several new missile systems. Moreover, China is rapidly fielding a nuclear triad for the first time. Unilateral disarmament initiatives do not appear to be trending positively. Transatlantic nuclear capabilities remain critical for global stability, the security of the NATO area, and the defense of Allied nations.

In the civil nuclear sector, China and Russia dominate the export of nuclear power to both developing and developed countries. This gives them substantial influence through control of energy-related supply chains and leverage over the use of nuclear technology dissemination for military purposes

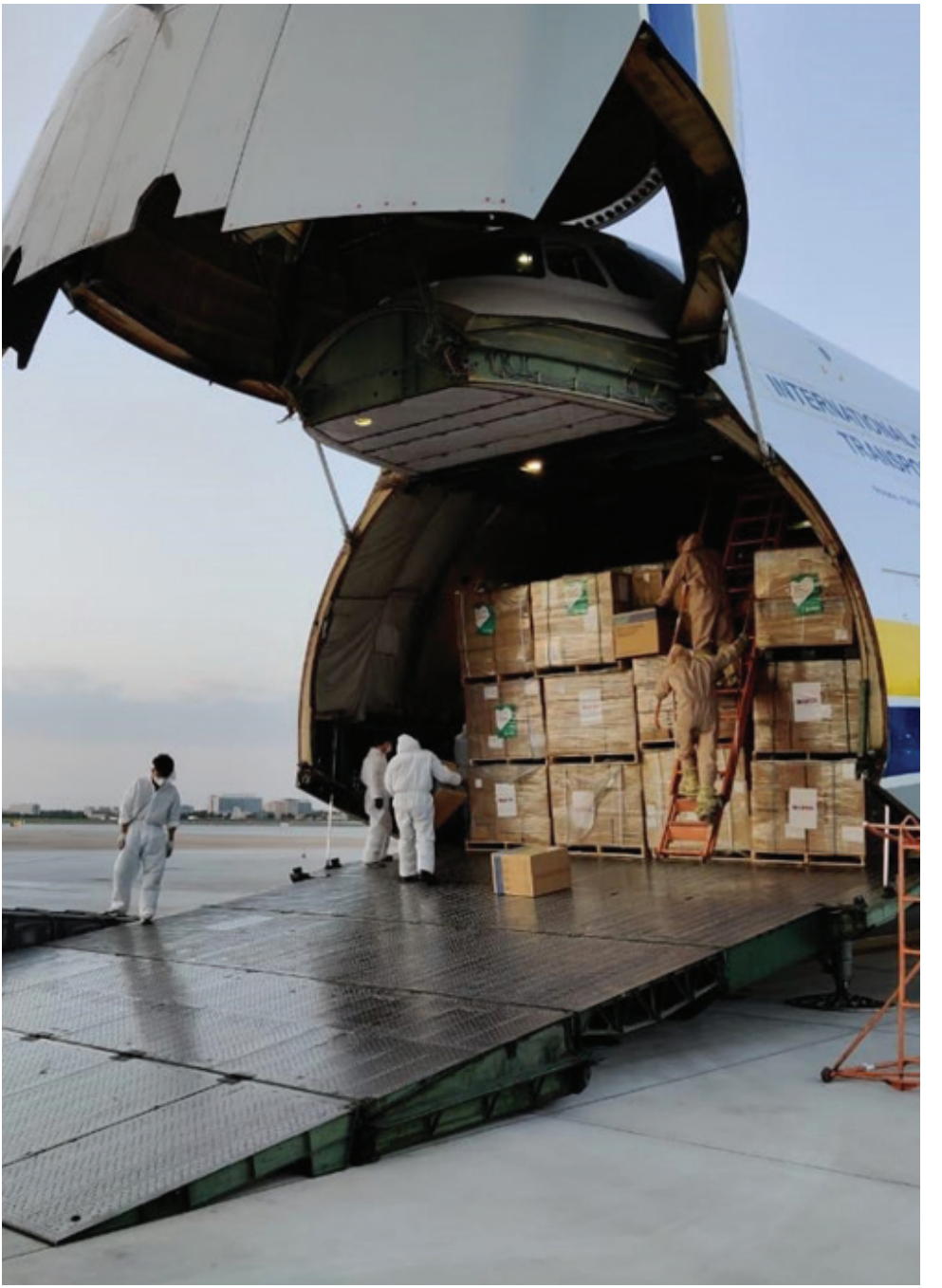
The ongoing negotiations on nuclear arms control are necessary and promising, especially if China joins. However, until achieving a mutually binding agreement, measures should be undertaken by the US and NATO Allies not to hand the initiative and advantage to Russia or China.

In the civil sector, allowing foreign government companies to build and operate a dangerous piece of energy infrastructure in Europe carries serious risks.

Courses of action for policy makers:

Allied nations should coordinate a three-layered approach to tackle the nuclear issue:

- The progress on nuclear arms control and disarmament should continue to be highly prioritized;
- Allied nations may support intensive diplomatic efforts to reduce risks at regional levels;
- In the civil nuclear sector, the US and EU should continue working to enforce safety regulations at the production lines and with purchasing states to reinforce their security.



The NATO-supported Strategic Airlift International Solution (SALIS) has played a key role enabling NATO nations to airlift urgent medical equipment and respond to the crisis.
Image source: NATO Support and Procurement Agency

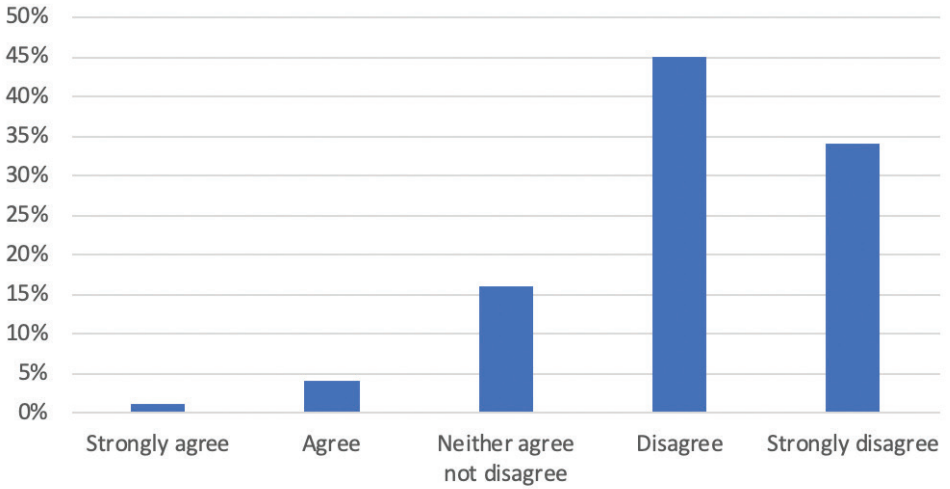


Figure 2: Is COVID-19 the beginning of the end of Transatlantic cooperation? Source: Transatlantic Security Jam poll (N=538)

5. China's Role in Europe: The end of illusions

> "In Central and Eastern European member states and Eastern partner countries, the EU could do a much better job…. The EU's support of these states still far outweighs that of China, but public and political leaders in these countries sometimes don't realize this."
>
> **- Andrew Cottey,** *University College Cork, Ireland*

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is a communist dictatorship with giant production capabilities based on European and American technologies. The regime is oppressive at home and economically aggressive abroad. PRC leadership sees a global Pax Sinica based on production, demography, superior military, and "Wolf Warrior" foreign policy. This strategy has already impacted Europe, raising concerns about the use of direct investments, trade and aid as a platform for interference in the political, economic and security decision-making in Europe. During the pandemic, Europe has depended on China for medical supplies and this gave Beijing another opportunity to get a foot in the door of many European capitals. At the same time, in Europe, there is an increasing distrust of China.

PRC activities are targeted to undermine cohesion and promote fragmentation between NATO and EU member states. China's economic largesse ruins democratic ideological scruples in the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and other financially fragile nations. Beijing has initiated the "17+1" initiative with the East European countries as "supplement" to China's relationship with the EU that actually led to growing trade deficits and Chinese Communist Party "dialogue" with selected political parties. While there is shared concern over PRC's overall strategy and immediate actions during the pandemic, there is less agreement on strategies for confronting China, despite its designation as "systemic rival." It is time to discuss whether Europe wants to continue to see its cutting-edge technologies and critical infrastructure sold off with the consequent political, social, and security repercussions.

Courses of action for policy makers:

Beijing policy in Europe during the pandemic provides strong evidence that the EU-China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation should be seriously revised to scrutinize Chinese geo-economics through the security prism and provide clear guidance to the members and aspirants for their relations with China (as well as with Russia).

- The EU needs to secure and expand its investment and trade interest in China – a comprehensive investment agreement should precede a possible free trade agreement;
- China's supply lines, international commerce research and development, and financial markets contain vulnerabilities that joint EU-US pressure might encourage Beijing to follow the international norms more closely;
- The transatlantic community should more closely control and monitor third parties' investments in critical sectors and assets.

6. EU Security and Defense Goals: Strategic autonomy or stronger transatlantic partnership?

> "Nobody seriously believes that the crisis should produce less Europe rather than more Europe. The crisis has shaken multilateralism while demonstrating that multilateralism is our only viable exit strategy."
>
> **- Jamie Shea,** *Senior Fellow, Friends of Europe*

The EU Global Strategy announced the goal to achieve strategic autonomy through Europe's ability to promote peace and security within and beyond its borders. The strategy was followed by introduction of capability planning and review mechanisms, launching PESCO projects and the multi-billion European Defense Fund, as well as other practical steps.

Strictly national responses prevailed in the first days of the pandemic, showing how fragile European solidarity actually might be. However, the European Commission and member states, with NATO's important participation, fairly quickly introduced measures to reinforce national healthcare systems, contain the spread of the virus while assuring cross-border mobility, and a plan to support an economic recovery from the crisis.

Future developments will depend on the hitherto unclear impact of the recession and recovery funding on defense expenditures. Most Jam participants expect that defense budgets will come under strain and warn that slashing defense expenditures would be a "cardinal mistake."

Still, 60% of the participants think that the COVID-19 crisis will not infringe on the EU's strategic autonomy aspirations.

In the opinion of Jiří Šedivý, Chief Executive of the European Defense Agency, COVID-19 may turn to be the wake-up call that will unleash Europe's extraordinary potential, by engaging member states in "real, deep and sincere cooperation, at all levels, including on defense policies and capability development."

Some see the drive to strategic autonomy, and in particular technological and industrial autonomy, as long-term insurance in a turbulent world. Others, including Raimundas Karoblis, Minister of National Defense of Lithuania, state that strategic autonomy can be pursued as a transatlantic endeavor by NATO and the EU, and not just by the EU.

Courses of action for policy makers:

- A number of participants underlined that, at least in the foreseeable future, the European Union would not be able—and should not aim—to deploy the full spectrum of required security and defense capabilities autonomous from NATO;

- Not surprisingly, in response to a poll, 51% of the Jam participants stated that EU security policy should be defined in cooperation with NATO, 45% called for EU-wide coordination, and the remaining 4% consider security policy a national responsibility;

- The current lack of definition of the purpose of strategic autonomy (see Figure 3) and its scope (e.g. in terms of geographic areas, domains of conflict, capability types, technologies and industrial capacity) hinders the transatlantic debate. Better specificity and exchange of information concerning shared goals would facilitate the identification of most relevant and mutually accepted solutions;

- Ralf Roloff, Deputy Dean for Academics of the George C. Marshall Center, wraps up this debate well stating that instead of "strategic autonomy" we should rather aim at "strategic complementarity" of NATO and the European Union.

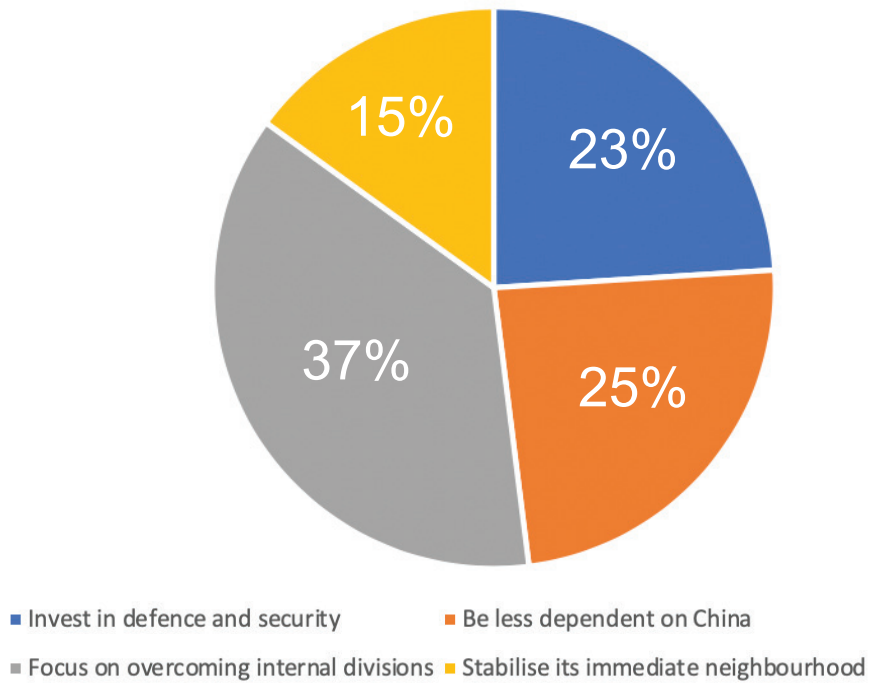


Figure 3: What is the best approach for the EU to achieve strategic autonomy? Source: Transatlantic Security Jam poll (N=251)

7. The pandemic information battleground

> "There's definitely a deliberate element of using this pandemic to destabilize our democracies by means of information operations, but we're also seeing many homegrown conspiracy theorists emboldened to spread disinformation. They are creating a sort of co-production of disinformation pieces that recycle and transform Chinese and Russian propaganda."
>
> **- Nathalie Van Raemdonck,** *EU Institute for Security Studies, Belgium*

The tensions between Russia and NATO, and the US and China, created another front during the COVID-19 pandemic, continuing a long-running information war. China and Russia sought to take advantage of the early lack of solidarity in the EU through disinformation campaigns, efforts to showcase their modest contributions, and attempts to exert diplomatic and economic pressure on the EU and member states.

Russia generated propaganda in a traditional KGB manner – Sputnik News launched the false information that the virus was produced by a US laboratory and followed with a comprehensive campaign aimed at increasing the psychological impact of the pandemic, creating panic and sowing doubts. Meanwhile, China engaged in a classic propaganda campaign by sending messages of false solidarity, criticizing the EU crisis management, promoting China's own success, and suppressing dissident voices at home.

Massive disinformation and false attributions targeted against the West and coupled with the opportunistic delivery of aid during a global human tragedy demonstrates Russian and Chinese exploitation of the crisis. The propaganda campaigns aim to create an impression of the overwhelming importance of China as a primary actor in the post-COVID-19 response, with Russia a close second. Nevertheless, these countries were not able to increase their prestige and respect in the eyes of Europeans; instead, excessive propaganda amplified current fractures and may complicate future relations.

Courses of action for policy makers:

- The EU should create a Strategic Communications Task Force dedicated to countering hostile competitor campaigns designed to undermine EU public opinion; e.g. Chinese, Russian, Iranian, Islamist, and others:
- It is mandatory to initiate positive public diplomacy to promote the EU story and build solidarity among member states;
- EUvsDisinfo and the US Global Engagement Center should enhance their cooperation and prevent the creation of a Russian-Chinese “ecosystem” and further boom of disinformation.

8. Artificial Intelligence: Cooperation opportunities or the "new battleground"?

> "AI is ranked with fire and electricity in its power to transform the world."
> **- AFCEA Technology Committee**

Seeking to optimize enterprise operations and supply chains, the private sector rapidly adopts Artificial Intelligence (AI). In the military domain, AI applications can improve intelligence analysis, decision-making, logistics, the operation of autonomous vehicles and swarms, and weapon systems. Most participants in the Jam believe that in no more than five years AI will be widely used in military operations (Figure 4).

Of particular interest is the concept of "Mission Command 2.0" establishing decision-making faster than that of adversaries. A new AI will enable leaders to oversee complex operations, while allowing decentralized execution by human-machine teams.

This concept is applicable also to COVID-19 and other emergencies, where AI will equip lowest tiers of decentralized institutions to manage safety net programs, community health, logistic supplies, and funding.

AI offers much faster and potentially more accurate assessment of enemy actions. For example, AI-based predictive analytics hold the promise of anticipating cyberattacks and the best counter actions.

The competitive advantages of AI are understood by leading powers. China pursues global technological supremacy, aiming to become the global leader in the development of AI theory and technology by 2030.

The use of AI in mission critical tasks faces considerable challenges. AI can be hacked, might be biased, could make dangerous mistakes, and is hard to understand and control.

The integration of AI into mission command, e.g., in the use of armed drones, may be politically controversial, even among allies, due to differing legal and ethical frameworks. Furthermore, Dr. William Wieninger from the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies stated: "We don't fully understand how AI processes information, and it is very possible that in a crisis AI could misinterpret the data – believing an attack was imminent – and thus starting a war that nobody wants."

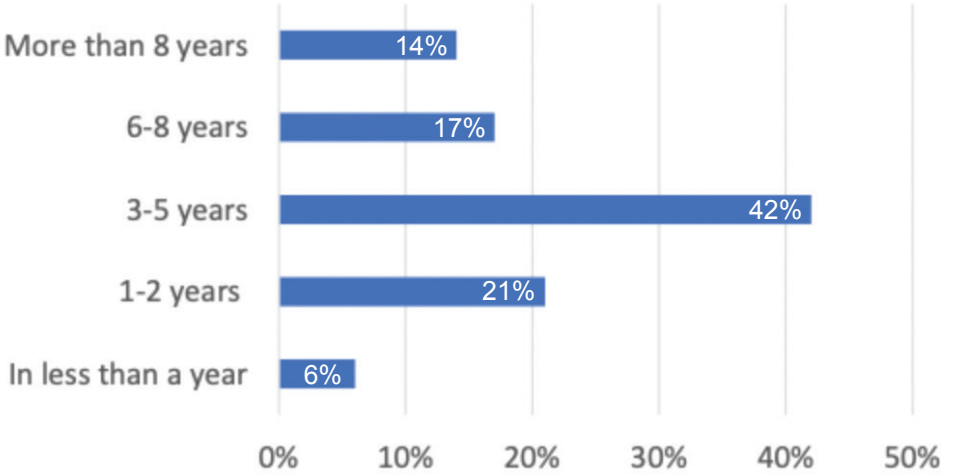


Figure 4: When will AI be used widely by the military for stability operations? Source: Transatlantic Security Jam poll (N=539)

Courses of action for policy makers:

Closer collaboration between industry, government and academia, as well as between NATO and the EU, is essential to maintain a technological and industrial edge.

Allies must determine how to incorporate AI into defense readiness and response systems. It is important to clarify:

- The mission critical tasks that preserve the indispensable human role in decision-making;
- The best platforms to exchange data, validate, and certify mission critical AI applications;how to make legal and ethical frameworks on the use of AI in military applications compatible;
- How to select AI systems and evaluate their efficacy;
- How to engage with China to avoid—or win—a new arms race in the field of AI.

9. Accelerating innovation

> "The solid basis of transatlantic cooperation in the field of innovations lies in complementarity and synergy of our economies.... We have the same competitors, we need our markets and we need our investments."
>
> **- Krzysztof Szczerski**, *Chief of Staff to the President of the Republic of Poland*

Allies need to innovate continuously to preserve a technological edge and maintain the ability to get the latest technology to the warfighter faster than anyone else.

Multi-year capability development projects, driven by requirements defined by military planners, will increasingly be seen as an exception, rather than the norm. Much of the expertise in today's new technologies rests in the civilian sector.

Further, the private sector is more willing to introduce innovative solutions, even if they are not fully configured and tested, and then make necessary adjustments along the way. China uses a similar approach to speed up AI-based innovation.

Through the Allied Command Transformation Innovation Hub and the NATO Innovation Network. Allies already leverage open innovation by providing mutual support, sharing best practices, and identifying issues to solve and proposed solutions.

Courses of action for policy makers:

To enhance agility, maintain a technological edge and field superior capabilities rapidly, NATO Allies, partners, and the EU should consider the following:

- Provide a robust platform for exchange of information and ideas between the requirements-definition community and solution providers;
- Increase flexibility of the defense acquisition processes, allowing contractors and non-defense companies to contribute knowledge and expertise to requirements definition and experimentation;
- Expand the opportunities for exchange of personnel between the military and industry;
- Increase funding for innovative government research laboratories and projects;
- Create an International Security Innovation Network to amass a knowledge base and identify promising technologies, while promoting a new culture innovation.

10. Over the Horizon… Volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity

> "The whole point of NATO's breadth and (I hope) flexibility will be its capacity to adjust to new threats and new ways of thinking."
> *- Cameron Munter, Consultant, New York/ Czech Republic*

The shape of international conflict is evolving in cyberspace, failed societies, human health, climate change, space, transportations system, technological competition, financial systems, and in other areas. Each threat may have amplifying effects on some other non-conventional security threat, creating a chain of mutually reinforcing risks. As much as Allied nations are experiencing greater vulnerabilities across various domains, the number of threat actors is also on the increase. COVID-19 provides a real-life sense of what bioterrorism could look like. It is a grim illustration how complex and poorly understood the contemporary security landscape is, and how unprepared we are for threats.

The main point of NATO's breadth and flexibility will be its capacity to adjust to new ways of thinking and to find its place in the broad resilience debate. The dilemma is whether the Alliance should broaden its mandate to embrace a spectrum of new security threats or to focus on its traditional core defense mandate; it may be difficult to do both. The former may mean an enhanced civilian role, or for NATO to develop standing defense plans for response to various non-military threats, and therefore may come at the expense of NATO's cutting edge military capacity; while the focus on the core defense mandate runs the risk of being inadequate for a large portion of conceivable threats.

Courses of action for policy makers:

- The lessons of COVID-19 should be used to establish a process of analysis and response to new threats' ecology, to allow NATO to augment its capabilities and response options;
- The allied strategic thinking should find a way to balance the resources devoted to traditional external threats versus emerging global threats.

11. The Increasing Importance of Resilience

The particular experience of COVID-19 demonstrates a number of general vulnerabilities to a pandemic. Health services lack adequate protective clothing and specialized equipment. Of particular note, institutions are functionally more vulnerable in delivering their objective when facing aggregate stressors, as demonstrated in the case of the Brno University Hospital, Czech Republic, which underwent simultaneous cyberattacks. Under stress, our societies are more vulnerable to the spread of fake news, disinformation, and propaganda campaigns. Western nations are currently exposed to international supply chains for critical materials (e.g. protective clothing, medical supplies, food, raw materials, chemicals, minerals, semiconductor chips, etc.).

Many participants in the Jam focused on resilience as the most important response to these security risks.

NATO considers resilience as an essential basis for credible deterrence and defense, as well as for the effective fulfillment of the Alliance's core tasks, such as cybersecurity, critical infrastructure protection, and civil preparedness. Increasing resilience against a broad and evolving spectrum of threats requires the capacity to anticipate and continually improve preparedness through better requirements analysis, contingency planning, foresight, and a whole-of-society approach. 91 % of participants in the Jam support the idea of increasing NATO's ability to foresee unfamiliar threats.

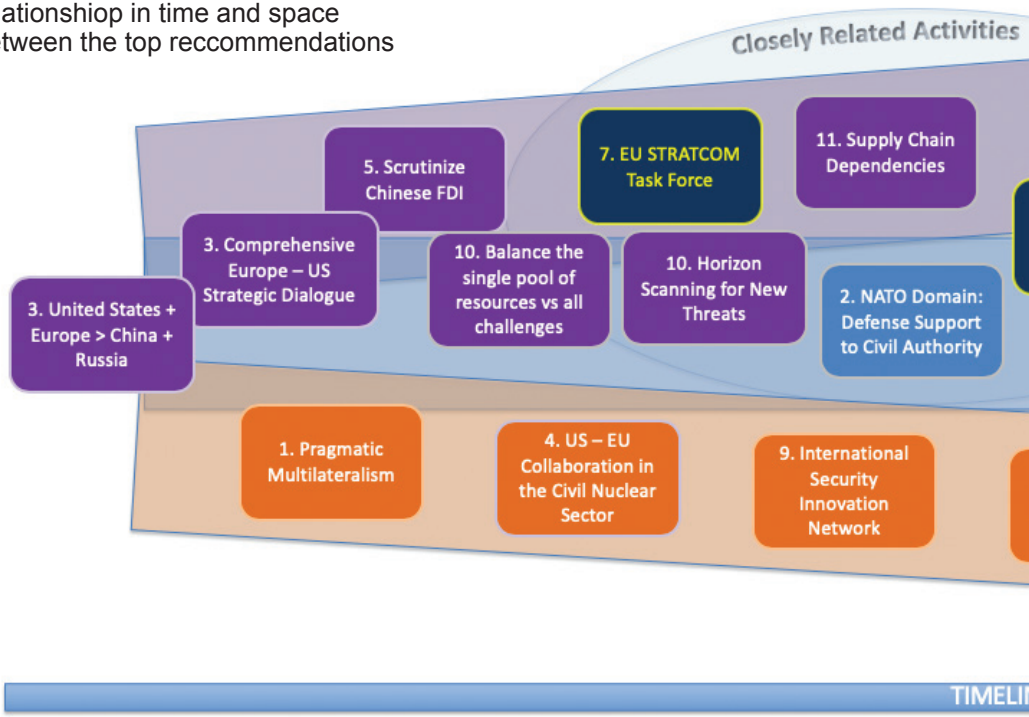
Courses of action for policy makers:

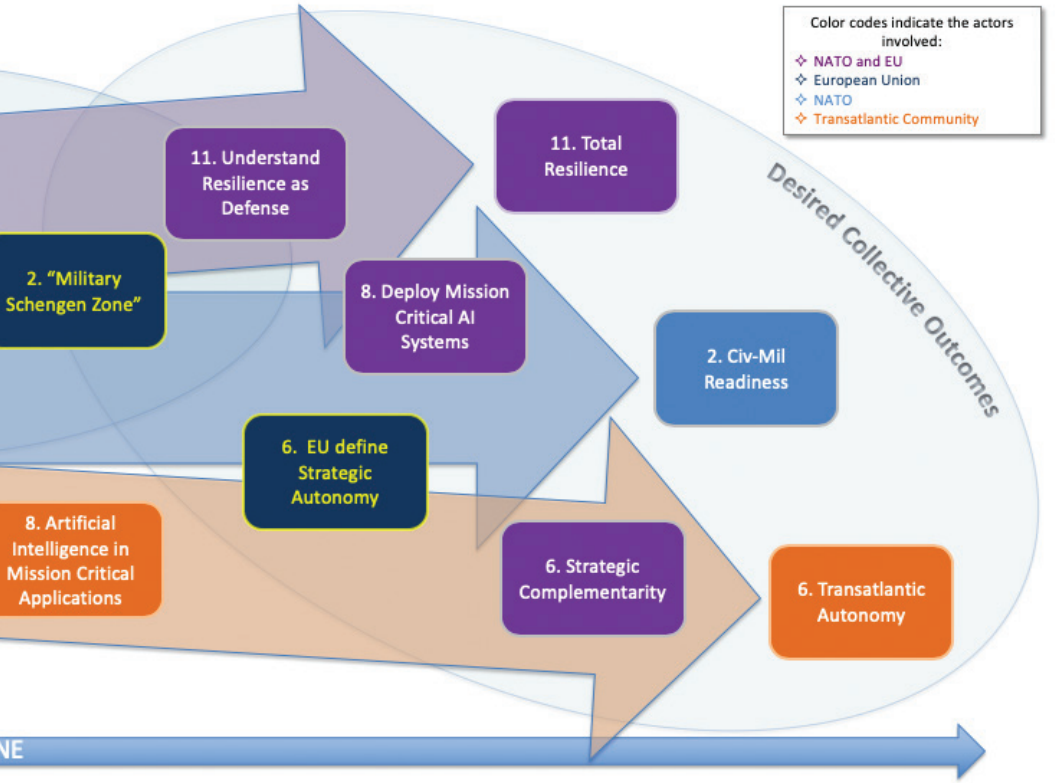
- Expand the understanding of resilience and defense to also include health systems, public trust, and cohesion;
- NATO and Allies, in close cooperation with the EU and Enhanced Opportunities Partners, should continue to invest in resilience against a full spectrum of threats, including asymmetric, hybrid, and low probability/high consequence threats;
- Study and build on the experience of Israel and Nordic-style civil preparedness, for example the organization of civilians in the Cyber Defense League of Estonia;
- Prepare for the long-term effects of COVID-19;
- Decrease reliance on China for supply chains of critical items; shift from "faster, cheaper" strategies to more resilient and diverse supply chains that involve trusted allies and partners;
- Determine optimal equipment stockpile levels and locations; formulate management strategies for pooled resources;
- Reduce response times through periodic drills;
- Enhance NATO-EU collaborative efforts for forecasting and early detection of future threats and potential crisis.

COVID-19 affects the political habits and atmosphere in individual countries differently, and the Jam reflected diverse cultural specifics and professional experience. Yet, the open and professional discussions during the Jam highlighted security issues of the highest concern for the transatlantic community, while also outlining response options for policy makers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Transatlantic Security Jam

The road map shows the relationshiop in time and space between the top reccommendations





Strategic insights:

- The pandemic's scale, speed, and consequences sharpened our understanding of the challenges of global interdependencies and the requirement for transatlantic cooperation.
- COVID-19 has brought home to us that each threat may have amplifying effects on other non-conventional security threats, creating a chain of mutually reinforcing risks; hence a holistic (big picture) approach to pandemics is indispensable.
- An important positive outcome of the tragedy of COVID-19 is a heightened awareness that the Transatlantic Alliance needs to focus on foundational principles and values and to enhance its resilience to Chinese and Russian influence.
- The pandemic once again underscores that cross-border military mobility in Europe must be accorded a top priority in NATO-EU cooperation not only for defense purposes, but to confront and mitigate pandemic-like events effectively.

Transatlantic Security Jam
Post-event research from IBM

The IBM Innovation Jam™ research team begins the thematic analysis process by reading and familiarizing itself with the longest and most liked discussion threads, as well as select other posts that intrigue the team or that are recommended by facilitators. With this foundation, AI-related tools are employed to assist in identifying key themes. Text analytics and natural language processing (NLP) produce topic models, keyword entities, and clustering to discover iteratively key themes for each of the Jam forums. The tools utilized include: SPSS Modeler for Text Analysis, Watson Natural Language Understanding (NLU), and IBM's new Project Debater software.

The consensus from this collection of analyses are presented as findings on the following pages. The findings are displayed by forum, each of the 6 forums has two displays: first, the top themes from text analysis are shown; and second, the results from one Project Debater simulation are shown. Debater allows the Jam management team to select one statement at a time for a "computational argument" –he software uses AI algorithms to analyze forum text and produce a rank ordered list of the strongest "pro" and "con" supporting posts. (For more information on Debater, see research.ibm.com/artificial-intelligence/project-debater).

Forum 1:
Competition for Influence in a world transformed by COVID-19

Center of Excellence (COE)	There is a need for a COE to coordinate: European Defense Agency has 500 programs, four plus one strategic projects (AAR, RPAS, GOVSATCOM, Cyber and SESAR JU); European Commission has a new Directorate-General for Defense and Space Cooperation; EU pooling & sharing and the European Centre of Excellence Hybrid Threats are working; there are currently 47 PESCO projects carried out by 25 EU Member States. NATO has about 500 initiatives: CNAD, DAT POW, Smart Defense (150 projects), Framework Nation Concept (GER, GBR, ITA a.s.o.), 50 Training Centers, 25 Centers of Excellence, 15 Agencies, S&TO, etc.
STRATCOM: Combat disinformation narratives from hybrid actors	What are the keywords for the strategic command Security Narrative? Apply operating principles (see Poytner) in FREEFLO: an open independent online information sharing platform. Apply rules globally (CERN administration) but allow local adaptations. An overall purpose is to apply AI to: fight disinformation and spam campaigns, and take back the information environment and narrative. Add cyber savvy education to usage.
Reaction Speed for Early Warning	Need to make decisions faster. Competitors are authoritarian leaders with fast decision making. As a consensus organization NATO needs ways to make good decisions faster, preferably before they are needed. The NAC will need to empower the SACEUR in certain areas and under certain conditions to take prudent action to reinforce deterrence and to support populations at threat speed.

Pandemic Security Organization	Need a Global Pandemic Impact Management Architecture to ensure effective coordination, communication, harmonization, planning and inclusive cooperation among countries and regional alliances. This is not only for the CV19 response, but also for better preparedness for future pandemics and global security threats. This could be known as the World Pandemic Security Organization (WPSO) for sustaining efforts to those beyond CV19. Need to discuss org placement for independence, e.g., UN, WHO, etc.
New World Disorder	CV19 has shown rules-based international order is in disarray with no "new world order." Some refer to this as a new world disorder with a breakdown of international rules, diplomacy, and subversion of truth. The West has contributed to the erosion of rules-based order--a reality reinforced by Beijing and Moscow who have exploited Western failings. The nexus between liberal democracy and good governance has been severed. It is time to show that liberalism is not only virtuous but also effective: this means moving away from stereotypes of great power rivalry, and focusing attention on meeting clear dangers, such as CV19, climate change, and global poverty.
Scientific Race	The scientific race for breakthroughs in developing effective responses to the pandemic will play into dynamics of competition for influence. Allies' strong record of scientific excellence and innovation are a key asset and worth preservation and investment.
Sino-centric Influence	China has been promoting parallel realities and recreating a more Sino-centric international order. For example, the BRICS mechanism (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa); the Shanghai Cooperation Organization--which includes China, Russia, Pakistan and India; and the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (2013), which brought together agreements with 120 countries, including several EU Member States and some G7 members.

Strongest argument: and Strongest opposing argument using IBM Project Debater

Statement used:

The post COVID-19 topic will be dominated by increased competition for mindshare in the transatlantic community by Russia and China.

Strongest supporting argument:

China and Russia use cyber means to embark on disinformation campaigns to capitalize on the weakened resiliency of Western societies

Strongest opposing argument:

Democratic states have to focus on safety and security of its citizens vs. countering Russia and China

Other arguments identified:

(Read down the columns. Lists are ordered with strongest entries at the top.)

Supporting arguments	Opposing arguments
Better collaboration by democracies can help compete with growing influence of emboldened and more ambitious authoritarian regimes	China has a damaged international reputation post pandemic
Unified messaging around the virus and actions taken to deal with it from EU and NATO can help counter disinformation influenced by Russia and China	The transatlantic security community along with the United States should play an important role to secure the post COVID future
Threat of Chinese firms acquiring companies wrecked by the crisis	China and Russia have very different views toward global order, while US leads the global order
China and Russia created the impression of their selfless support to countries most hit by COVID-19 through symbolic gestures for strategic communications purposes	COVID-19 reveals the domestic failures of the Russian government

Forum 2: NATO Mission and Core Tasks in Action Resilience readiness and responsiveness

European Defense Initiative	Does the EU abandon its security and defense ambitions because of a 'sanitary crisis'? Do more health and economics and less military? This is the question for the EU because budgets (as well as the US') will be under constraints. For Europeans to walk away from defense would be dangerous, kill the transatlantic relationship and offer no return. Few Europeans understand the warfare revolution underway or the growing over-stretch of US forces and implications for the Alliance and European defense. NATO must return to its roots as a high-end, war fighting, military deterrent that affords strategic insurance.
Disinformation	The pandemic has opened opportunity for global spoilers. Both NATO and the EU have reported a rise in the number of malicious information campaigns--especially those from Russia and China. How can NATO best respond to disinformation campaigns, especially during a crisis? There is a need to set the record straight through public diplomacy and media corrections.
Resilience of NATO Forces	CV19 crisis has revealed challenges for NATO members to maintain defense posture: forces are at risk of infection. How can NATO countries ensure the health/immunity of soldiers? This may require a collective effort in capability and preparedness. How to assess critical material dependence? Should NATO pool future stock and viable vaccines (or supply chains) for troops? Can common standards for the safety of soldiers be guaranteed by countries hosting NATO forces? In addition, "resilience" includes day to day survival resources--especially for emergency responders-- including water, energy, food, protective gear, shelter, etc.

Reaching Millennials and Gen Z	Education during the pandemic is via digital exchange. How do we stimulate engagement in security topics with the next generation of citizens and political leadership? Proposals: A Model NATO. Incorporate more environment and climate issues into the security agenda. Show diversity of all types, including political tolerance. There are digital communities (which lead to physical meet ups, at least pre-CV19) that young people use to discuss, learn about, and craft solutions to contemporary challenges. The Atlantic Forum hosts virtual events and dialogues aimed at connecting young rising leaders. These communities also allow young people without access to the traditional focal points of youth engagement (e.g., elite universities, internships, etc.) to become involved. Get senior leaders to engage/mentor youth.
Define National Security	The CV19 crisis threatens to turn security perceptions, policies and resources inward. EU members of NATO, already questioned on security commitments, will favor adopting a new definition of national security--health and environment threats would compete for resources with military security. What would that mean for NATO and for transatlantic relations? Will it help make the West more capable of responding to current and future CV threats, or will it undermine traditional contributions to security? One approach to preserve NATO's traditional missions while adapting to the new challenges would be to get out in front: A broader NATO definition of security to include protecting national and communal well-being and responding to environmental challenges.
Budget and Finance	To the extent that new spending can be dual-purposed, so much the better for effective use of resources and public support. Embracing a broader definition of national and alliance security might have better results for the defense of military establishments than defensively resisting redefinition. There has been EU growth in NATO funding, but still a way to go to the 2% by 2024 target. As we exit the CV19 crisis, we enter an economic one. (And the pandemic will not change Russia's aggressive foreign policy.) The world had become more, not less, dangerous for democracy; the Alliance's resilience, readiness and responsiveness needs to be maintained. This requires defense investment to be firewalled against budget cuts; otherwise, Trans-Atlantic relations will suffer—a devastating blow to NATO's resilience.

Strongest argument: and Strongest opposing argument using IBM Project Debater

Statement used:

The COVID-19 crisis is undermining NATO's effectiveness.

Strongest supporting argument:

NATO forces are at risk of being infected by the virus

Strongest opposing argument:

NATO claims that the impact of COVID-19 on its operations and readiness has been limited

Other arguments identified:

(Read down the columns. Lists are ordered with strongest entries at the top.)

Supporting arguments	Opposing arguments
NATO and EU members targeted by Chinese and Russian disinformation campaigns with malicious intentions	In response to COVID-19 pandemic, NATO provided credible and effective deterrence and defense
NATO still unprepared for the pandemic and future biological threats	NATO has developed the seven baseline requirements for resilience, which include guidance on a range of health issues
NATO members need to reassess priorities in areas of biodefense and disaster relief owing to the pandemic	NATO has the resources to identify disinformation and bust myths around the pandemic
China and Russia created the impression of their selfless support to countries most hit by COVID-19 through symbolic gestures for strategic communications purposes	NATO used the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRC) response mechanism to fight the pandemic

Forum 3: Cooperation and Autonomy
The global role of the EU post COVID-19

Multilateralism and the EU	Addressing global challenges requires critical mass which, on the continent, can only be provided by the EU. Member States are too small to count in 21st Century world affairs: major global challenges are transnational in nature, and they cannot be tackled effectively only through the nation-state. The pandemic highlights this reality: Just as individual Member State cannot chart separate paths out of the health/economic crisis. In a world torn by escalating confrontation between the US and China, in which CV19 wreaks havoc in the Union's fragile regions, and aneeded, hibernation is not an option for European foreign policy. CV19 is a defining moment for the EU.
Infodemic	Since the CV19 outbreak, the world has been fighting an infodemic and the pandemic, while access to accurate information is crucial. Avaaz found CV-related misinformation shared over 1.7Mx and viewed 117Mx on FB. Sometimes such fake news is simply irresponsible, but mostly they are coordinated efforts to infuse division and mistrust on how particular institutions manage the crisis. Some state and state-backed actors have exploited the health crisis to advance geopolitical interests. For example, China and Russia have attempted to undermine Europe's response to the crises through disinformation campaigns, directed at both EU MS and Western Balkans (WB), suggesting that the EU was not tackling the pandemic, that it was turning its back on WB, and that Moscow and Beijing were the only ones providing a robust strategy to combat CV19.
Latin America	The EU should devote strategic attention to LA as an asset. LA may be the least integrated world area, and regional architecture is piecemeal and historically influenced by ideological divides. Yet, there are ample like-minded countries where meaningful EU engagement can impact trade, investment, democracy, digital transformation, climate change and security. The EU is already connected through Agreements covering most LA States, making it, paradoxically, the world region with the most EU ties. The 2019 EU Strategy for LA offers a framework based on four partnerships — prosperity, democracy, resilience, and international governance. While CV19 may exacerbate regional inequality and unrest, the EU should continue to engage in LA.

Nuclear	In the midst of a pandemic, it is clear that the international community needs to reconsider the current security status quo. Weapons of mass destruction do not cure viruses, nor do they solve climate change and other threats. The billions spent each year to maintain the world's nuclear arsenals have done nothing to keep the global community safe from CV19. Today's security environment demands international cooperation to find solutions to the challenges that threaten citizens of the world, instead of short-sighted investment in weapons that put everyone at risk. Pandemics and climate change know no borders. Neither does the humanitarian and environmental damage from a nuclear weapon explosion. European countries should join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and support a cooperative security policy to tackle today's emerging security threats.
United Nations Role	The UN, celebrating its 75th anniversary, is running out of funds while fighting to maintain a strong multilateral rules-based order. The Security Council has expanded recognition for threats to international peace and security, such as climate change. What about CV19? The Security Council - while never known for prompt-decision making – has been unable to respond. What actions can be taken to "build back better," as the Secretary-General has asked?
Space	Various sectors have benefited from space technologies in light of CV19. Satellite navigation technology is used to monitor motorways and aims to improve the flow of freight traffic. Healthcare workers use satellite communications to connect to patients virtually, as well as using GPS satellite data and AI technologies to monitor social distancing measures. Schools have moved to distance learning; corporations in the Fintech, legal, retail, banking, and other sectors are using online platforms; and Arts institutions are holding livestreamed performances. The UAESA staff plans for an Emirates Mars Mission remain unaffected by the current situation—they plan to launch the Hope Probe in July 2020 and enter Martian orbit in early 2021.

Strongest argument: and Strongest opposing argument using IBM Project Debater

Statement used:

The EU's response to COVID-19 will determine its stand on transatlantic relations and its global ambitions for strategic autonomy.

Strongest supporting argument:

Close international cooperation based on common values, interests and a shared vision such as the establishment of a task force can help mitigate COVID-19

Strongest opposing argument:

EU's response to COVID-19 is not the only determinant for achieving strategic autonomy

Other arguments identified:

(Read down the columns. Lists are ordered with strongest entries at the top.)

Supporting arguments	Opposing arguments
Cooperation between EU and NATO is important in better identifying and calling out fake news and disinformation	Nuclear related security threats will not change post COVID-19 so progress on nuclear disarmament should not take a backseat
EU can invest in establishing safe, stable and secure societies to mobilize and strengthen its geopolitical role during the pandemic	Strategic autonomy is capability, technology and security driven, not nationally-driven
COVID-19 situation is being used as an opportunity by the EU to minimize conflicts and work towards a shared goal	
The EU has a solid legal framework in place to address common threats	

Forum 4: Transatlantic Security
NATO-EU Relations Challenges and collaboration

European Union (EU) Capability Development Plan	The EU CV19 recovery program and the reshuffling in the EU budget 2020-27 indicate that defense budgets will come under strain soon. Common capability development will become attractive, as well the European Defense Union. But the Defense Union must prove that military capability development is complementary to civil protection, countering/deterring hybrid threats, cybersecurity, and climate change. It is not a question of a more "geopolitical" EU, but rather how to secure an interdependent international environment in a larger polycentric security context.
Climate Change	"I have been asked many times whether climate change is a greater threat than those we currently plan for, and the answer is simply that it is the wrong question. Climate change isn't more important or less important than the threats we have always faced, instead it shapes and influences all of them." (John Conger, Director of the Center for Climate and Security)
The Dragonbear (The Chinese Dragon and the Russian Bear)	A trend towards nefarious systemic coordination and cooperation between China and Russia (the Dragonbear), particularly redarding (cyber)security issues, might lead to the intensification of coordination and cooperation between the EU and NATO. The EU and its members have shown some naivety towards China, despite the definition of Beijing as an economic partner and a strategic competitor by the European Commission. NATO needs to devise principles and guidelines for dealing with Russia and China.

Military Mobility	NATO's Rapid Air Mobility Process has been extensively used in the current crisis, and serves as an example to educate the public about the importance of rapid transit. It remains to be seen to what extent EU budgetary constraints will allow current Military Mobility programs to unfold. Defense spending, a likely casualty of CV19, may have to reinvent itself. Common endeavors like military mobility that meet very concrete and shared needs -- such as faster cross border transit, by land and sea and air, as well as in the cyber domain – warrant priority.
Nationalism v Multilateral Coordination	NATO and the EU have had significant challenges that have caused many to question the viability of the organizations. CV19 has exacerbated these fissures. For NATO, if the crisis causes the US to turn inward, it will further complicate the alliance's ability to meet security needs, in either Strategic Direction East or South. NATO and the EU, while cooperating in certain ventures, have also shown early signs of security competition. Some EU bloc members look to strengthen the EU security apparatus likely at the cost of NATO commitments. There must be closer coordination.
EU-NATO Strength	COVID-19 could be an opportunity to promote the strengthening of collaborative projects and bi-and multilateral defense cooperation mechanisms, in the EU and within NATO. This will depend in part on budgetary adjustments that are yet to be made in most capitals. Is there political will and leadership on both sides of the Atlantic to see this as an opportunity to strengthen transatlantic and EU-NATO relations?

Strongest argument: and Strongest opposing argument using IBM Project Debater

Statement used:

EU-NATO's improved cooperation and coordination can strengthen transatlantic security after COVID-19.

Strongest supporting argument:

EU-NATO cooperation is important for military mobility

Strongest opposing argument:

EU-NATO political–level coordination seems difficult to achieve owing to current geopolitical circumstances

Other arguments identified:

(Read down the columns. Lists are ordered with strongest entries at the top.)

Supporting arguments	Opposing arguments
NATO is best suited to provide security and promote cooperation in coordination with the EU	EU-NATO cooperation in capability development is still at a premature stage
NATO-EU cooperation should enhance transatlantic cooperation with defense industry taking the lead	Procurement, third party access and strict IPR rules remain controversial issues despite EU-NATO cooperation
Cooperation between EU and NATO is very important with regards to curbing disinformation	COVID-19 implications for European defense budgets could produce a negative impact on the transatlantic relationship and NATO
Prioritizing the various EU-NATO cooperation around crisis management, cyber, hybrid and resilience	EU-NATO while cooperating in certain ventures have shown early signs of security competition

Forum 5: Technological and Industrial Edge
Bringing technological and industrial cooperation to bear

Artificial Intelligence (AI) Applied	Mission Command seeks to establish decision-making that works faster than adversaries. New AI (Mission Command 2.0) will enable leaders to oversee complex ops, and support an AI assisted emergent type of intent instead of top down bureaucracy. Decentralized execution of small teams will be replaced by decentralized execution of human-machine teams, which could make the Alliance more resilient in disruptive events, like COVID-19, and could help to re-imagine dealing with NATO core tasks more efficiently.
Intellectual Property (IP) Theft	There must be focused action between US and EU on common controls to protect information from cyber risk. As all nations and industries become dependent on virtual links for business, technology, medicine, etc., the issue is paramount—especially with a rise in nefarious actors. Who should lead--NATO, IMF, World Bank, UN, G-7, others? Should tech companies lead; if so, how do they collaborate with regulatory agencies.
The Dragonbear (The Russian Bear and the Chinese Dragon)	Effort is ongoing to increase the robustness of EW radar capabilities and munitions, including. GPS devices, the EU's Galileo, Counter-UAS, directed energy weapons, EW jammers, projectiles. Must increase cyber/EW capabilities, collaboration and intelligence sharing among the cyber capable nations. This includes a network of radar for the invisible continuous biological 'threatscape," which requires CERT-type information sharing between collaborating nations. This also includes remote access security (e.g., WFH) for staff.

A Manhattan Project for Supply Chains

CV19 has shown, the exposure of supply chains (air travel, food) and the reliance on critical materials (e.g. medical, food, raw materials, chemicals, minerals, chips, etc.) poses new security risks for NATO and the West. NATO countries must address dependencies on ISCs to support national security. A “resilient” NATO requires a new mix of military capabilities and investment in security tech (e.g., AI, chips, exascale computing) to address broad threat perspectives. This is a new security domain and a major pivot -- “A Manhattan Project” -- is needed to establish a resilience agenda with cross-NATO collaborations.

Design Bridge Planning

In response to the disruptive changes brought on by CV19, NATO should introduce ‘defense applied design thinking’ and use this approach to solve wicked technology problems. In the current contemporary security environment, NATO needs the ability to get the latest tech to warfighters fast. There is now an unprecedented need to increase operational agility, and the ability to sense. NATO needs to augment the existing planning system with an international innovation network, supported by a mindset of defense applied design. NATO needs a Design-Planning bridge--connecting defense planners and defense designers--to maintain its technological edge.

Nuclear Energy Systems

China and Russia dominate the export of nuclear power. They fund plants (with mortgages) in both developing and developed countries. This gives China and Russia years of influence not only in energy, but also leverage in general. The EU, the US and partners who have capabilities in nuclear power must work together to develop future nuclear power with agreements to reduce the proliferative aspects of nuclear power exports. The Russians and Chinese have few constraints in their export deals. Nuclear power plant exports by China and Russia are a major threat to the leverage, influence and security of NATO, the EU, and others.

Strongest argument: and Strongest opposing argument using IBM Project Debater

Statement used:

The security of the transatlantic alliance benefits from harnessing European and US technology and industry expertise.

Strongest supporting argument:

Building increased cyber-resilience and developing resilient modern technology - AI, quantum ML, big data applications - can prove beneficial

Strongest opposing argument:

Need for more holistic approach to cybersecurity in Europe

Other arguments identified:

(Read down the columns. Lists are ordered with strongest entries at the top.)

Supporting arguments	Opposing arguments
Leveraging AI to create links between the public health authorities, defense and security agencies across NATO is the way forward	Unrestricted theft of IP and R&D will result in China developing countermeasures and exploiting vulnerabilities
The creation of the European Union Cyber Rapid Response Teams (CRRTs) has made allies more secure in the cyber domain	Increase in malicious attacks against the critical infrastructure of transatlantic allies due to limitations in its cyber domain
Retaining innovation, transatlantic defense cooperation and supply chain security while guarding against protectionism and national policies is important	Lack of coordinated international risk management action to provide economies of scale for secure supply chains
NATO is focused on how best to identify and leverage emerging and disruptive technologies like AI, autonomy, data analytics and quantum to maintain NATO's technological edge	

Forum 6: NATO's China Challenge
Understanding the implications of COVID-19

China's Economic Power and Influence	Before NATO can address a revisionist PRC working (with Russia) to undermine European unity as well as the Transatlantic alliance, NATO must rationalize China policies. The Chinese Communist Party employs the lure of their market and the promise of foreign direct investment (FDI) to divide liberal democracies. NATO member countries must discuss the costs and benefits of this relationship. Until some consensus is reached, it is difficult to imagine how NATO or the EU will be able to formulate coherent policies that span security, trade, technology and commercial domains. Some NATO and EU members have begun this process, others have not.
San Tzu	China protects its national interests using teachings of the military strategist San Tzu: 1) Supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting; 2) Attack is the secret of defense, defense is the planning of attack; 3) All warfare is based on deception. When the West and NATO were busy in Afghanistan, the Middle East, etc., China was silently profiting from economic investment across the globe. China gained its present status without firing a shot. Understanding San Tzu is fundamental to understanding Chinese strategy.
Cold War	The rise of neoliberal economic policies that globalized supply chains, financing, and labor, while off-shoring manufacturing from the West where labor costs were rising, turned the PRC into a global trade powerhouse. China had literate people to train for the manufacturing offshoring the West sought. Europe and America did not foresee a China enriched from capitalism that, instead of liberalizing, sided with communists. China's geo-economic strategy delivered advanced tech to a state now determined to lead. This makes for a paradigm shift that some have called a Cold War (as a descriptor, or as a reference for lessons learned in 1947-91). Who leads negotiation includes discussion of the roles of the US, EU, NATO, UN, China, among others. There remains a division between how US foreign policy elites see China (a security threat) and how Europeans do (an economic issue).

Huawei and 5G Expansion	China is seen by many as the high tech provider post-CV, with a particular focus on the role of Huawai and 5G internet pipe install. Some see the Chinese Communists using the internet as a control mechanism, not a tool to support free flow of information. Further, a free press is known to be viewed by Beijing as a threat. Thus, there is reluctance, but perhaps no choice, in many European areas concerning Huawei 5G expansion.
China and Disinformation	There should be no surprise at the sophistication and breadth of Chinese propaganda, or its use of disinformation during the pandemic. Who has not heard China's tourist portrayals of the Belt and Road Initiative or China's Peaceful Rise? Nor is there anything surprising about the Party's wide use of disinformation. China's efforts to remake history in support of its territorial aims are decades old. But it is important to recognize what is routine so as to distinguish what is remarkable during the spread of cyber spam during this pandemic.
NATO and China	NATO cooperates with the EU which is mainly an economic society. China has one of the strongest world economies. Economic relationships with China will have a huge impact on Member States' hesitation to address Chinese threats in security. The world's biggest concern, post-CV19, will be the economy. With the world economy almost shut down, countries may need China, a big market with a cheap labor force.
Strategic Significance of South China Sea	Mixed opinion on the role of the US and NATO here—from some diplomacy to no action. On the "no action" side: NATO has no role in SCS. NATO was created to provide collective defense in Europe and NA. Moreover, NATO would find it difficult to operate with non-US allies in ASEAN. NATO should focus on the implications for trans-Atlantic security of Chinese related activities in the Atlantic, Middle East and Europe. NATO needs a China strategy to respond to China's growing influence in the Atlantic and not in the SCS.

Strongest argument: and Strongest opposing argument using IBM Project Debater

Statement used:

The COVID-19 crisis has strengthened China's influence in Europe, weakening NATO and the transatlantic security.

Strongest supporting argument:

China overcoming the first wave of pandemic could emerge as a big influencer worldwide

Strongest opposing argument:

China does not pose a direct military threat to Europe

Other arguments identified:

(Read down the columns. Lists are ordered with strongest entries at the top.)

Supporting arguments	Opposing arguments
China is gaining from lack of solidarity among the European countries	Chinese technology can be an ally to address global problems in the current crisis
Chinese investment in critical infrastructure such as ports, railways and telecommunications has implications for military mobility	NATO along with EU could be the right organization for communication and negotiation with China
NATO should take cognizance of China's expanding economic & strategic footprint in Europe	NATO and EU can work on cyber defense and cyber diplomacy with China
Increased Chinese participation in technology supply chain can be a security issue for EU	

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https://www.friendsofeurope.org/

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https://www.marshallcenter.org/en

GLOBSEC
https://www.globsec.org/

IBM Industries: Defense and National Security
https://www.ibm.com/industries/federal/national-security

NATO Defense College
http://www.ndc.nato.int/

Partnership for Peace Consortium
https://www.pfp-consortium.org/

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Partnership for Peace Consortium

The Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfPC) is a multinational, voluntary, network of hundreds of academics who have a background in the defense and security sector. Since 1999, it has connected over 800 defense academies and security studies institutes across 60 countries, and the unique group of the Consortium's stakeholders results in an organization that includes neutral and non-aligned countries, yet still works in cooperation with NATO's PfPC program.

In many ways, the PfPC operates as an "applied academics" organization. For example, conferences yield policy recommendations, or act as track-two diplomatic forums. Working groups provide policy makers with historical research or forecasting. Meetings offer reform advice to institutional and government leaders, to include parliamentarians. An editorial board publishes a peer-reviewed, quarterly journal called Connections. A technical group helps participants incorporate learning management systems into their schools. An education-focused group assists with faculty development and also publishes reference curricula, several of which are approved by NATO.

These curricula can be a starting point for professional military education course development. Notably, the PfPC and NATO co-founded the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) in 2007, which has grown to well over 9 participating countries and provides subject matter expert advice for new courses under development at military academies or war colleges. Annually, the PfPC organizes up to 70 DEEP and 30 conference events with nearly 1,400 participants.

To produce this activity, the Consortium is organized into nine Working and Study Groups, which are either thematically or regionally focused, each led by a chairperson or academic co-chairpersons. These chairpersons, as well as national stakeholder representatives, convene in a working-level Consortium Steering Committee (CSC) to plan, synchronize, and fund activities through multinational partnership. A small Operations Staff provides day-to-day administrative support to the CSC and is based at the George C. Marshall Center in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, which accepts activity and research proposals for consideration.

Meanwhile, senior national representatives at the flag officer level provide additional PfPC governance in a Senior Advisory Council (SAC), which meets twice, annually. These individuals represent the stakeholders who voluntarily provide the Consortium its primary financial and human resources: Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States of America, and NATO International Staff.

Transatlantic Security: Securing the Post COVID Future provides recommendations for national, EU and NATO decision makers for responding to security challenges in a COVID and post-COVID world.

This report and its seven key policy recommendations are the outcome of a 50-hour online interactive brainstorming event that addressed national security and geopolitical implications of COVID-19 in the transatlantic region.

The virtual international event using IBM's Innovation Jam ™ technology was organized by the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfPC) and IBM. The thematic forums were hosted by leading defense, security, and national policy think tanks as well as defense educational institutions in North America, Europe and Asia. The event was attended by 2,750 participants from government service, international organizations, educational institutions, and the commercial sector, including over 160 high level notables, many at the ministerial and ambassadorial levels.

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TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY
SECURING THE POST COVID FUTURE