# **Ontario Model United Nations III**





## North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Background Guide

April 7<sup>th</sup> to April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2018 omun.ca

#### Letter from the Chairs

Dear delegates,

Hello and welcome to OMUN III! My name is Uche Ochuba and this is my second year involved with Model United Nations, and I have had the privilege of participating in several conferences, including SSUNS at McGill University in Montreal, and CMUNCE at Columbia University in New York City. Throughout my adventures in MUN, I have raided the Holy Roman Empire, negotiated with dictators, and very nearly elected a made-up person as Pope! I hope that you all find as much joy and learning as I have through MUN and I anticipate lively and interesting debate within the committee.

My name is Joe Hill and I am currently a Year 12 at Upper Canada College. This is my third OMUN and I have been a part of the MUN team at the College for several years now. I have recently participated in CMUNCE in New York City and SSUNS in Montreal among other conferences. Model United Nations has truly given me experiences that will last a lifetime, and I hope this conference does the same for you.

The primary objective the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since its inception in 1949 is to protect its allies' security and freedom and mitigate the influence of the Soviet Union and its satellites. Since then, NATO has grown from its 12 founding countries to 28 member states and counting. It has effectively dealt with a multitude of issues throughout the decades, and we expect that you all will continue the tradition.

There are many interesting and pressing topics set before you going into the first committee session at NATO's Summit Meeting in Brussels, Belgium. The newest military frontier has appeared in the form of cybersecurity, and without action the information of billions could potentially be at risk. Additionally, NATO has declared that "defence and deterrence [against Russia for the Baltic States] is set to be high on the agenda" for this summit meeting. It is your choice as a collective to decide what we should deal with first.

We would like to take this opportunity to remind you all that position papers are due by the beginning of the first committee session on Saturday, April 7th in order to be eligible for awards. Position papers can be preferably sent in to the committee email found on the website prior to the conference, but they can also be handed in as a hard copy at the beginning of the first committee session. If you have any questions don't hesitate to reach out.

Best of luck,

Uche Ochuba Joe Hill Chair Chair

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#### History

## PART I: Rise of the Soviet Union and the Birth of NATO



Figure 1: A map of the USSR superimposed over modern political borders.<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Union, whose correct full name is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), stretched from Eastern Europe to the Pacific Ocean at its height and included 15 modern-day nation states. namely the Federation of Russia, derived its inception in 1922 after the Red Army defeated the White Movement in the Russian Civil War. The Red Army was a group of ragtag forces primarily composed of peasants and workers who followed socialist ideology inspired by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,<sup>2</sup> while the Whites wanted to see a more fiscally moderate USSR and were

supported by many of the World War I allies, including several current member states of NATO, including France, The United States of America, and Britain (and The Dominion of Canada by default).<sup>3</sup>

The USSR had a nuanced and complicated 68-year history. The newly instated Communist party was led by Communist revolutionary Vladimir Lenin, and stood for principles including the collectivization and centralization of goods and services, as well as a strict policy of isolationism for the former part of its history. This stood in stark contrast to the more capitalist and individualist ideas expressed throughout the majority of the Western world. The USSR went on to play a critical role in World War II on the side of the allies, sustaining more casualties than any other state, estimated at any where from 8.8 million - 10.7 million military personnel lost, along with an additional 24 million civilian fatalities.<sup>4</sup>

The USSR is also infamous for harboring a series of vicious and relentless dictators at a time when democracy was becoming popularized throughout the world. The most famous of these, Joseph (Josef) Stalin led the country to capture defeat Nazi Germany and capture Berlin ahead of the Southern and Western invading allied forces.

At a time when all of Europe was left in ruins, the USSR was quick to pick up the pieces and then pick up its share of Europe. The old Third Reich was carved up into 4 different sections (see figure 2): one under the influence of the US, and two more aligned with the US but under the jurisdiction of Britain and France. These three culminated to form the capitalist and

generally prosperous West Germany. The fourth and final sector was under the influence of the USSR, and it was renamed to East Germany. The USSR's sphere of influence now covered all of

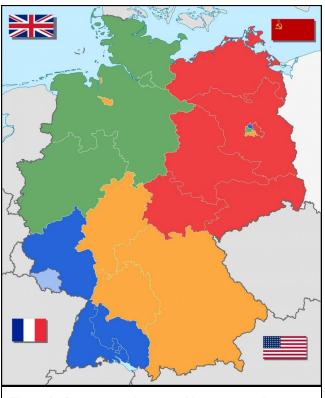


Figure 2: Germany at the start of its reconstuction era, 1946

Eastern Europe up until West Germany, creating a land buffer should any country opt to invade the USSR. The United States and its future NATO allies worked to create an aid and rebuilding initiative for its aligned European nation states called the Marshall Plan, valued at over 13 billion dollars. This was enacted due to concerns that the populous would gravitate toward Communist sentiments and that countries aligned with the US eventually defect to the side of the USSR due to the rampant poverty and unemployment during the WWII reconstruction era, and the promise of socialist egalitarianism.

Following the advent of nuclear armaments and the defeat of Nazi Germany, two new major superpowers began to arise: the United States and the USSR, each racing to accumulate as many of these new weapons as possible, in order to deter an attack from one on the other. This marked the start of an era called the Cold War.

One of the many nuances of the Cold War was the issue of Berlin and its famed

wall. As can be seen in figure 2, the capital city of Berlin, which was at the time encompassed by East German territory, was also divided among the US, Britain, France, and the USSR. The quadrants were divided among West and East Germany in an identical fashion by a physical wall running North-South. Economic hardship, authoritarian action, and general oppression were rampant in the newly formed East, and Berlin served as a loophole for many East Germans to escape to the more democratic West without having to travel across the country. Tast East Germans were killed by Soviet officers while trying to escape, and the Berlin Wall went on to serve as a physical representation of the 'iron curtain that [had] descended across Europe', dividing it into East and West, communist and capitalist.

Many new crises arose as countries across the globe were forced to choose sides - they were either a satellite of the capitalist, democratic US, or the Communist, autocratic USSR. In light of this, most countries formed the Non-Aligned Movement, a group of 120 nations and 17 observing nations that refused to join either side. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization itself stemmed from this divide, declaring that "an armed attack against one or more [NATO member states] in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking [action] forthwith."

In order to counter the creation of NATO, the USSR created the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, or simply the Warsaw Pact on May 14, 1951. 
This treaty included the Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland, and Romania, most of which eventually left and are currently members of NATO. 
The Warsaw Pact additionally aimed to strengthen the USSR's grip over its satellites.

The United States and NATO proved to have a difficult time enlisting members from Africa and beyond, primarily due to the civil rights issues that it was dealing with throughout the 1960s. This caused several African and Asian countries such as Angola and China to gravitate toward the USSR. This resulted in all member states of NATO being located in Europe or North America.

#### **PART II: Fall of the Soviet Union**

As countries began to settle into alliances and the new world order, the Cold War evolved into an economic and ideological showdown. Which monetary philosophy would more effective: capitalism or communism?

Capitalism is a free-market economic system, generally dominant throughout the Western world after the dissolve of feudalism. <sup>11</sup> Classical capitalism was generally characterized by Adam Smith in his book, *A General Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, and believes in the ability of autonomous markets to distribute wealth. This ideology generally opposes the interference of government in economic workings, and was best exemplified by the US and its satellites during the Cold War.

At the root of Communism is a belief that private property and a market-based economy inherently lead to an unequal society and distribution of wealth, best characterized by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their book, *The Communist Manifesto*. <sup>12</sup> This ideology generally proposes that all property should belong to the State and should be distributed more equitably amongst its constituents, best exemplified by the USSR and its satellites during the Cold War.

Throughout its existence, the USSR and its satellite states found that their system was not effective in lifting most of its citizens out of poverty or at providing people with the luxuries that could be afforded in more capitalist and democratic states. Although information was suppressed within these areas, the low quality of life created dissatisfaction and unrest throughout the population. This resulted in several uprisings against the authority of the USSR, including the Prague Spring in 1968 Czechoslavakia, the demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. Subsequent Soviet heads-of-state gradually loosened Soviet influence throughout Europe and the world under direct duress. One such action was dealing with nuclear weapons. By the mid-1960s, it had become apparent that both the US and USSR were so well armed with nuclear weapons that should any of them attack the other, they would both be destroyed by volleys of nuclear weapons. This was called mutually assured destruction (MAD). This threat of attack effectively kept both nations relatively safe and away from conflict for several decades. Later on, the US would work on nuclear disarmament; getting rid of some of its weapons to reduce risk.

By the end of the 1980s, it had become clear that citizens were not satisfied with the Soviet Communist Party. In attempts to appease his constituents, Mikhail Gorbachev, the final leader of the USSR, adopted policies including *glasnost* (openness), resulting a wider and broader dissemination of information through a more free press, and *perestroika* (restructuring) which aimed to promote more open markets, the "democratization of social and economic life", and the decentralization of the State's power.¹

In the late months of 1991, instability was rampant throughout the USSR as a coup-attempt failed in Moscow, the capital of the USSR itself. Despite its lack of success, the putsch manage to destabilize Gorbachev and before long, several satellite and member states had taken steps to secede from the Union, including the Baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, as well as Belarus and Georgia. By December 25, 1991, all USSR institutions had ceased to function. The USSR had fallen.

#### **PART III: The Modern Day**

Although one of NATO's threats had been averted, a new one was born from the ashes the Federation of Russia. Under Boris Yeltsin, the new Russian President, Russia aimed to move toward a capitalist market-based system while on the verge of economic collapse.<sup>14</sup> When Vladimir Putin took power in Russia in 1999, he aimed to modernize Russia's economy and convert the nation back into an economic superpower. The Russian economy boomed during Putin's first two terms, growing to approximately 197% its original size by 2008, mainly due to the rising prices of oil. <sup>15</sup> Putin's approval ratings followed suit as he became one of the most popular Soviet/Russian presidents in recent times. <sup>15</sup> However, approaching the end of his second term, Putin turned his attention more toward his second goal of empowering Russia, while centralizing and personalizing state power. <sup>15</sup> According to Russian law, no president can serve more than two consecutive terms. To avoid this wrinkle, Putin served as Prime Minister from 2008 - 2012, and then returned for a third term as president. Upon restoration, Putin set a "new social contract" with the people of Russia. His grip on state media was tightened, and the new Russia was portrayed as "a fortress surrounded by enemies who wanted to steal its resources and raw materials."15 Putin also aimed the emphasize that Russia's new influence should now extend past its borders, into the old scope of the Soviet Union and beyond. In early 2014, Putin took direct action by annexing Crimea, the southern Ukrainian peninsula. Russia now possibly looks to the Baltic States, former members of the Soviet Union, to increase its sphere of influence.

## **Topic One: Russia, Baltic Security, and Collective Defense**

#### The Issue

The Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, all share direct land borders with the mainland or exclaves of the Federation of Russia and became member states of NATO in 2004. Since Russia's "illegal annexation of Crimea in March 2014", pressure has been mounting in the Baltic Region, and the potential for invasion and Russian influence have been on the rise. The Baltic States are increasing in importance in upholding the defense and order of modern Europe, and NATO declared in July 2017 that "defence and deterrence is set to be high on the agenda" at the next summit meeting.



Figure 3: A map of the greater baltic states, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In recent years, Russia has taken part in several military exercises, most notably the Zapad 2017 exercise in September, which Western observers commented involved "over 100,000 Russian and Belarusian forces", "resembled practicing for war with NATO", and involved "up to 70 aircraft and helicopters", "about 250 tanks", and "rocket launchers". <sup>18</sup> Members of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which includes Russia, agreed to the terms of the Vienna Document, which states that military exercises exceeding 9,000 personnel are subject to advance notification of the OSCE, and that exercises exceeding 13,000 personnel must have observers from each OSCE member state. <sup>19</sup> While Russia claims that the number of personnel was 13,000, NATO has concerns that personnel was in excess of this figure and therefore violated the Vienna Document. <sup>19</sup>

According to NATO, Russia is using the veil of military exercises to intimidate its neighbors, primarily Ukraine. PRussia effectively asserts that Crimea should rightfully be Russian territory, given that 77% of dwellers in Crimea are native Russian speakers, passport holders, or ethnic peoples. Russia also supposedly used this veil of military exercises to aid Russian-aligned separatists in the Georgian regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia in August 2008. Russia sent in unarmed troops to help, saying that they were needed for "railroad repairs" in the area. NATO countries called for a ceasefire after conflict arose and sent in humanitarian aid to the Republic of Georgia at this time.



Figure 4: 77% or more Crimeans are ethnic Russians, native Russian speakers, or hold Russian passports.



Figure 5: Map of the Republic of Estonia, with county lines.

Sweden and Finland represent other countries potentially threatened by Russian overreach, however they are not part of NATO's joint defense clause and will not necessarily be aided in the event of Russian military action. Another issue stems from loyalty. During the Crimean crisis, Russian officers offered Ukrainian soldiers the opportunity to defect in exchange for food and lodging. Additionally, almost all Ukrainian soldiers failed to resist the Russian advance in Crimea.<sup>21</sup> Making sure that forces are a better organized,

equipped, and have high morale in order to deter a Russian progression should be a high priority as NATO deals with the Baltic Region.

More concerns arise from the Ida-Viru county in Northeastern Estonia, as pictured in figure 5 (written as Ida-Virumaa on the map, with 'maa' meaning 'county'). As seen from figure 4, 73% of residents within this county are Russian by ethnicity, native language, or passport possession. This would make this area most likely to be taken over by Russian influence or invasion, or to defect to Russia altogether. This area should be of utmost concern when NATO is deciding what steps to take next.

#### **Past Actions**

NATO has asserted that it is "a defensive alliance, whose purpose is to protect [its] member states" not "start a war". 19 "NATO has taken defensive and proportionate measures in response to a changed security environment. Following Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine, Allies requested a greater NATO presence in the region." A Gallup poll found that 62% of Estonians, Lithuanians, and Poles saw NATO as an important source of protection, while 67% of Russians view it as a 'threat'. 22

The four most prominent NATO allies, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, continue to aim to solve this crisis through diplomatic means. Nevertheless, NATO took action by initiating its Readiness Action Plan, or (RAP) during its Wales 2014 Summit, which is still widely regarded as a work-in-progress. Delegates should aim to seal up the holes and make changes to this plan if necessary. RAP's main component consisted of placing a Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) composed of 5,000 personnel in the area. NATO does not foresee the complete overhaul of RAP in the near future. Several NATO exercises have been conducted in the region, and NATO aims to deter Russian military action while being ready for aggression from any opposing forces while remaining favourable with the local population.

#### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the potential for Russian military action or coercion undoubtedly exists within the Baltic region. NATO has taken several past actions to combat this threat, but its work is far from done. In cooperation with other nations, delegates should aim to fix any perceived potential for error within NATO's RAP plan, working to deter Russian aggression, as well as remaining favourable in the eyes of local residents. Delegates are reminded that under article 5 of NATO's treaty, "an attack against one is an attack against all".

#### **Guiding Questions**

- 1. How can NATO work to de-escalate issues within the Baltic States peacefully and diplomatically?
- 2. What are the problems with NATO's current actions, more specifically RAP, and how can they be fixed?
- 3. How can NATO take action that is favourable in the eyes of local governments and citizens?
- 4. What, if anything, should NATO do about Ida-Viru county?

## **Helpful Sources**

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More essential sources can be found in the bibliography at the end of the background guide; delegates are encouraged to conduct their own research. It is <u>strongly recommended</u> delegates fully read through the second link in the above list, titled "Securing the Nordic-Baltic Region".

### **Topic Two: Cybersecurity**

#### **The Issue**

The cyber-frontier continues to increase in relevance as its effects become more "common, sophisticated, and damaging."<sup>23</sup> Cyberdefense has become one of the key aspects of NATO's affairs as member states move in attempts to protect the data of their citizens. In 2016, NATO's institutional networks received 500 attacks per month, up by a factor of 160% from 2015.<sup>24</sup> It is important that NATO works to protect itself, or critical and confidential information could be at risk. At its summit in Wales 2014, NATO included cyberdefense as one of the core elements in its mantra of collective defense.

There are many examples of cybersecurity breaches throughout history, and in order to make effective policy, NATO needs to take into account past occurrences as well as how future violations might play out. While protecting government intelligence is of utmost concern, the private sector and average citizens also experience cybersecurity breaches, and NATO needs to seriously consider taking action to help these interests as well. As stated in NATO's Strategic Concept, "any armed attack on the territory of the Allies, from whatever direction, would be covered by Articles 5 and 6," which could be interpreted by saying that NATO is responsible for protecting these entities. The problem stems from the fact that sometimes neither the target nor the attacker are affiliated with any particular nation. Sometimes they are companies, sometimes they are individuals, and sometimes they are even non-governmental organizations.

One example of a cyber attack in recent times is the WannaCry ransomware virus. This autonomous worm affected hundreds of thousands of computers running Windows, rising to prominence in May 2017.<sup>25</sup> It went on to infect Britain's National Health Service, and was first detected by the US National Security Agency and connected to the Lazarus Group, "a cybercrime organization that may be connected to the North Korean government."<sup>25</sup> WannaCry infects Windows computers by exposing a susceptibility in the Server Message Block (SMB), which can be tricked into sending arbitrary packets of information.<sup>25</sup> It is believed that the US National Security Agency discovered but did not report this vulnerability, but created a set of code called EternalBlue to use it for their own purposes. The Lazarus Group stole this code, and began using it to spread the WannaCry virus. An update that fixed the EternalBlue loophole actually came out 2 months earlier, however many systems were not yet upgraded with this patch. Once WannaCry, disguised, had infected a system and initiated its attack sequence, it encrypted the computer's files and demanded a bitcoin ransom ranging from \$300 - \$600 (USD) for the files to be restored. Countless files and data were lost in this way, and it now serves as a hard-learned lesson and painful reminder of the sometimes gaping holes in modern computer systems and cybersecurity.

A less technologically nuanced example comes from the Sony Pictures hack in 2014. Business Insider notes that, at the time, Sony Pictures had not implemented what "any rational administrator or security professional would consider 'the absolute basics [of cyber-protection]."<sup>26</sup> This hack unveiled the personal information of tens of thousands of people, unflattering emails sent by high-ranking actors and executives, cost tens of millions of

dollars and the job of one top executive, Amy Pascal, and a large share of the public's trust and image of Sony.<sup>27</sup> North Korea is potentially a suspect in this attack, given allegations that they supported the Guardians of Peace (satirically the 'GOP', after the Republican (Grand Old) Party). The GOP leaked confidential Sony information, and demanded that Sony pull its movie, *The Interview*, which painted a distasteful picture of North Korea's dictator. Many citizens of the of the world were alarmed to see a billion-dollar, widely-held company effectively brought to its knees by a faceless group. This is an example of how hackers can influence and nudge culture in their favour.

The face of cyberattacks has changed throughout the years. Hackers now attempt to influence the world using coercive and insidious tactics. For example, the Congress of the United States of America motioned for more sanctions against Russia after perceiving meddling in the 2016 American Presidential Election in favor of US President Donald Trump. A new concern arises, as NATO is almost powerless to deal with these sorts of issues. Article 5 only calls for action during an armed attack, and actions like these which do not meet the threshold of "armed" are not included and do not allow NATO to take action. Additionally, can NATO take action against cyberattacks that do not directly attack NATO governments? According to the Atlantic Council, "NATO's Strategic Concept allowed for a wider definition, stipulating that 'the North Atlantic Treaty covers any armed attack on the territory of the Allies, from whatever direction or source.' Although this allows NATO to take defensive action against cyberattacks carried out by non-state actors, there is still some uncertainty within the community of allied countries as to when collective defense against non-state actors is permissible." The Organization should work to clarify these terms and allow for swift action in the case of a cyberattack.

NATO also needs to create a policy that helps it go after hackers. Right now, it only has the authority to act in defense, and even then the attack must reach a certain threshold before anything can be done. Should NATO go back on some of its principles and pursue pro-active, attacking tactics?

These are complex issues, and delegates should carefully consider what steps they take and what policies they enact on cybersecurity. Their actions on the new frontier of warfare will affect the world today and for decades to come.

#### **Past Actions**

In order to cope with cybersecurity threats, NATO created the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence (CCDCOE), a self-proclaimed "interdisciplinary hub of cyber defence expertise." CCDCOE created the Tallinn Manual, which outlines "how international law applies to cyberspace." While the CCDCOE definitely symbolizes strong first steps, much work still needs to be done, as NATO clearly lacks the infrastructure or policy to take action against a major cyber-warfare campaign.

At its Wales 2014 Summit, NATO committed to "the protection of the communications and information systems owned and operated by the Alliance." At the Warsaw Summit Meeting in 2017, NATO announced that "Heads of State and Government are expected to recognise cyberspace as an operational domain, in addition to air, land and sea. Treating cyberspace as an operational domain will enable the Alliance to better protect its missions and

operations, with more focus on training and military planning."<sup>30</sup> As quoted from NATO's article on Cyber Defence "NATO Computer Incident Response Capability (NCIRC) protects NATO's own networks by providing centralised and round-the-clock cyber defence support to various NATO sites. It handles and reports incidents, and disseminates important incident-related information to system/security management and users. NCIRC also maintains Rapid Reaction Teams, which can be deployed to support the protection of NATO or Allied networks."<sup>30</sup>

NATO additionally aims to "reinforce its capabilities for cyber education, training and exercises."<sup>23</sup> It aims to cooperate with industry, as well as the European Union, with which it signed a Technical Arrangement on Cyber Defence Cooperation in February 2016.

#### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the new frontier of warfare has opened up in technology, and it threatens to leave behind those who don't act fast enough. It is critical that NATO takes action at its next summit meeting in Brussels to better equip itself to deal with cybersecurity and warfare.

#### **Guiding Questions**

- 1. How can NATO better equip its infrastructure to deal with cyber-terrorists and cybersecurity threats?
- 2. Should NATO be able to take the offensive against cybersecurity threats? And if so, how?
- 3. Given that the new frontiers of war are land, sea, air, and cyberspace, is it NATO's responsibility to protect private interests and the interests of individuals? And if so, how?
- 4. How should NATO withstand hacking threats from Russia and North Korea?
- 5. NATO can only take action in response to an "armed attack". What qualifies as an armed attack, and how should NATO respond to an 'armed' cyberattack.

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More essential sources can be found in the bibliography at the end of the background guide; delegates are encouraged to conduct their own research. It is <u>strongly recommended</u> delegates fully read through the second link in the above list, titled "NATO Cyber Defence".

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