## Will 5 become 3? The Challenge of Not Taking 'Family' Partnerships for Granted An Abstract by Christopher Ankersen, PhD (New York University)

Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States have a strong defence relationship. Bonded by a common language and common experiences in the two world wars, the Cold War, and the various peace and stability campaigns of the post-Cold War era, these countries have formed the now famous 'Five Eyes' intelligence sharing agreement (1946) and the less well known ABCANZ Armies standardization programme (1947).

Recently, three of these nations have formed an even tighter arrangement. Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States have become AUKUS, sharing not only information but technology, including rare nuclear submarine capability. People now speak of 'Three Eyes', worrying many in Canada and New Zealand that their previous cozy and exclusive arrangements may be at an end. Indeed, America seems content to focus on a number of other ad hoc arrangements involving other countries, including the Quad (Australia, India, Japan, and the US). There are even calls for Japan to join AUKUS.

There have been bumps in the road before; these arrangements have always been somewhat uneven. Canada and the UK refused to join the Vietnam War in the 1960s. The US refused military aid to the UK during the Falklands. New Zealand has been staunchly anti-nuclear, even during the Cold War.

This paper will examine the quinpartite relationship, tracing its evolution so far and asking where it might head in the future. What will AUKUS and the Quad mean for the existing arrangements and those countries seemingly left behind? What can such 'familial' arrangements tell us about other, similar defence partnerships?