

Security in Northern Europe: What role for NATO and the EU?



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Setting the context – the Baltic Sea region

- Constructivist origins or region-building in early 1990s
- Establishment of regional cooperation frameworks
- Emphasis on soft security
- Kaliningrad as a pilot region of EU-Russia cooperation



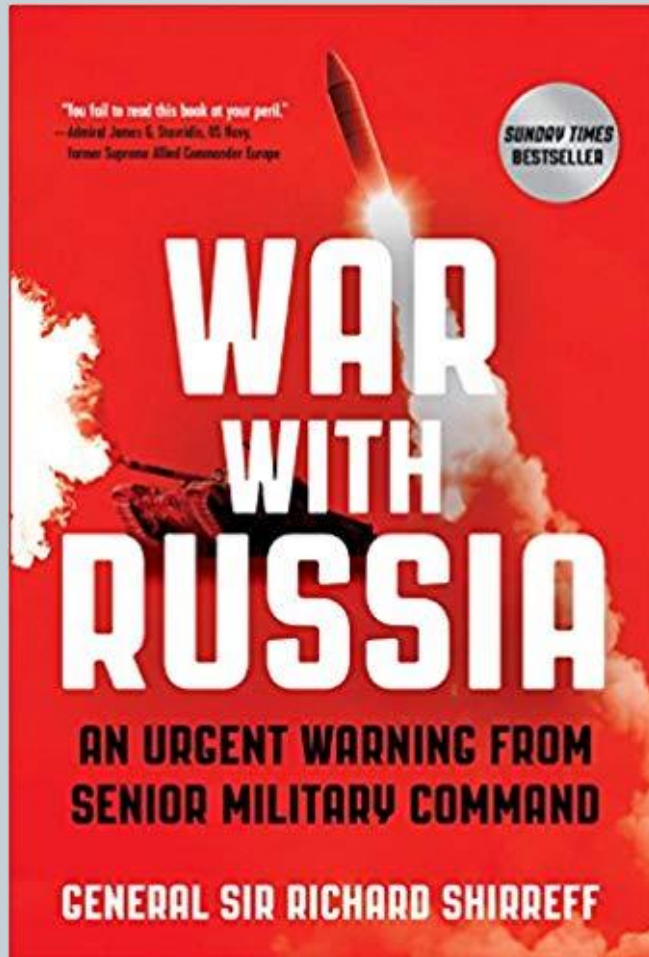
European security environment has changed



AP/Getty



European security environment has changed






European security environment has changed

Reinforcing Deterrence on NATO's Eastern Flank

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by David A. Shlapak, Michael Johnson

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What it Takes to Win

by David A. Shlapak

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Estimations about security environment



- Why did so many actors conclude after Russia's annexation of Crimea and the start of the military conflict in eastern Ukraine that European security environment had changed?
 - Russia had demonstrated formidable advances in terms of military modernization
 - Russia had broken a number of rules of European security order
 - Estimations of Russia's intentions had changed (Crimea, Novorossiia, Donbass region – was Crimea the peak or was it just the start of something bigger?)
 - Somewhat similar opportunities as in Ukraine existed in other countries as well

Theoretical aspects of security debates



- Back to the basics – the significance of hard (military) power in international relations (lesser interest in soft power)
- Renewed interest in deterrence (especially extended deterrence)
- More interest in personality studies (Vladimir Putin)
- Greater interest in state intentions (can state intentions be identified and what are the indicators of intentions?)
- Somewhat more interest in security dilemma (is the crisis over Ukraine the result of a security dilemma? has security dilemma worsened since 2014?)
- Eventually, more interest in arms control in Europe?

NATO response



- Reassurance (high profile visits to Baltic states)
- More military exercises and rotational military presence
- Establishing NATO infrastructure in the Baltic states (NFIU, Divisional headquarters «North»)
- NATO Enhanced forward presence (four multinational battalions in the Baltic states and Poland)
- More NATO cooperation with the EU, Sweden, Finland
- More planning and preparations to defend the Baltic states
- Military spending increase in most NATO member states

Has NATO response been sufficient?



- NATO has not changed the balance of forces which is still very much in Russia's favour in the Baltic region
- However, the deterrent should be sufficient if:
 - It is likely that Russia's interest in challenging NATO is low
 - If NATO demonstrates the ability to prevent a fait accompli in the Baltic region
 - If NATO demonstrates sufficient political solidarity
- Also, the answer to the question depends too much on what the US commitment to European security will be in the coming years
- Has the response been too much? Probably not.

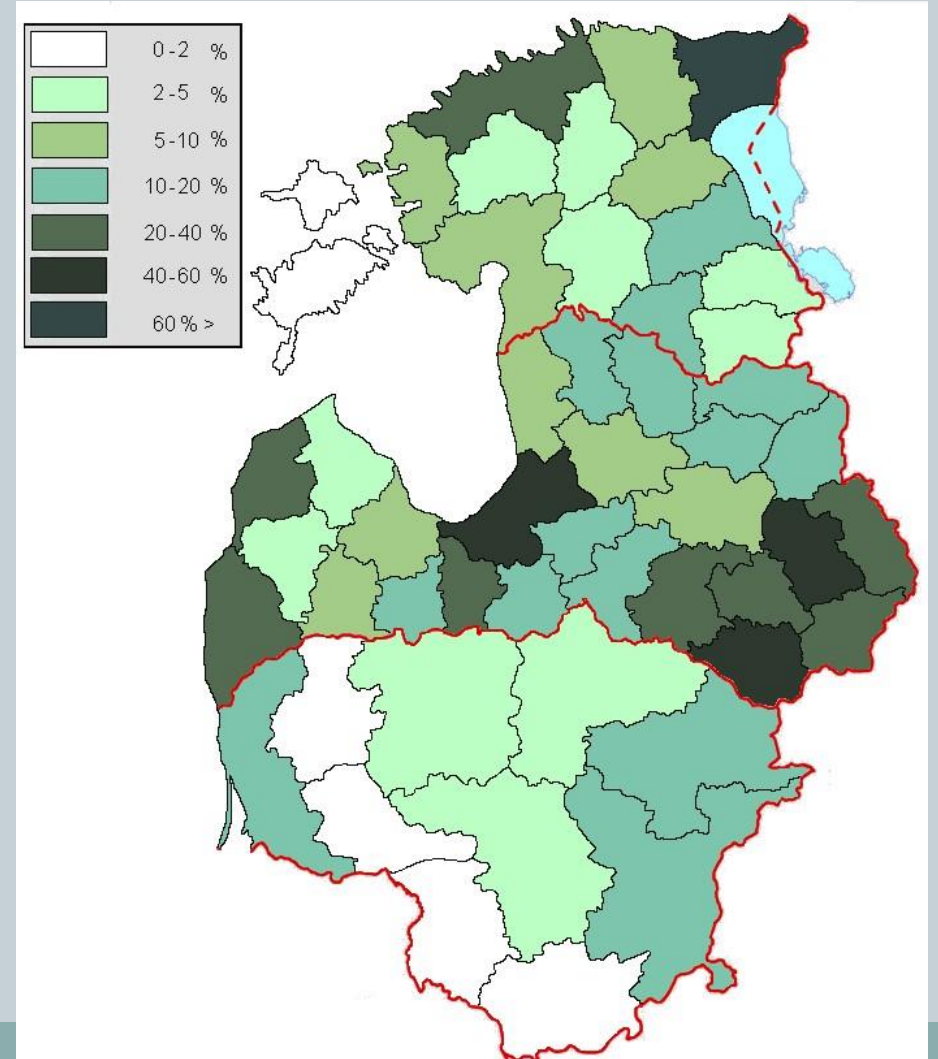
EU response



- The EU played a substantial role in the origins of the crisis over Ukraine
- The EU's response to the annexation of Crimea and the military conflict in eastern Ukraine has been measured and consistent (Russia sanctions)
- Eastern Partnership policy is consistently being carried out (2019 marks the 10th anniversary of EaP policy; DCFTAs have been signed with three countries; 20 key deliverables for 2020)
- Deepening of European defence cooperation (PESCO)
- Countering Russian disinformation www.EUvsDisinfo.eu/

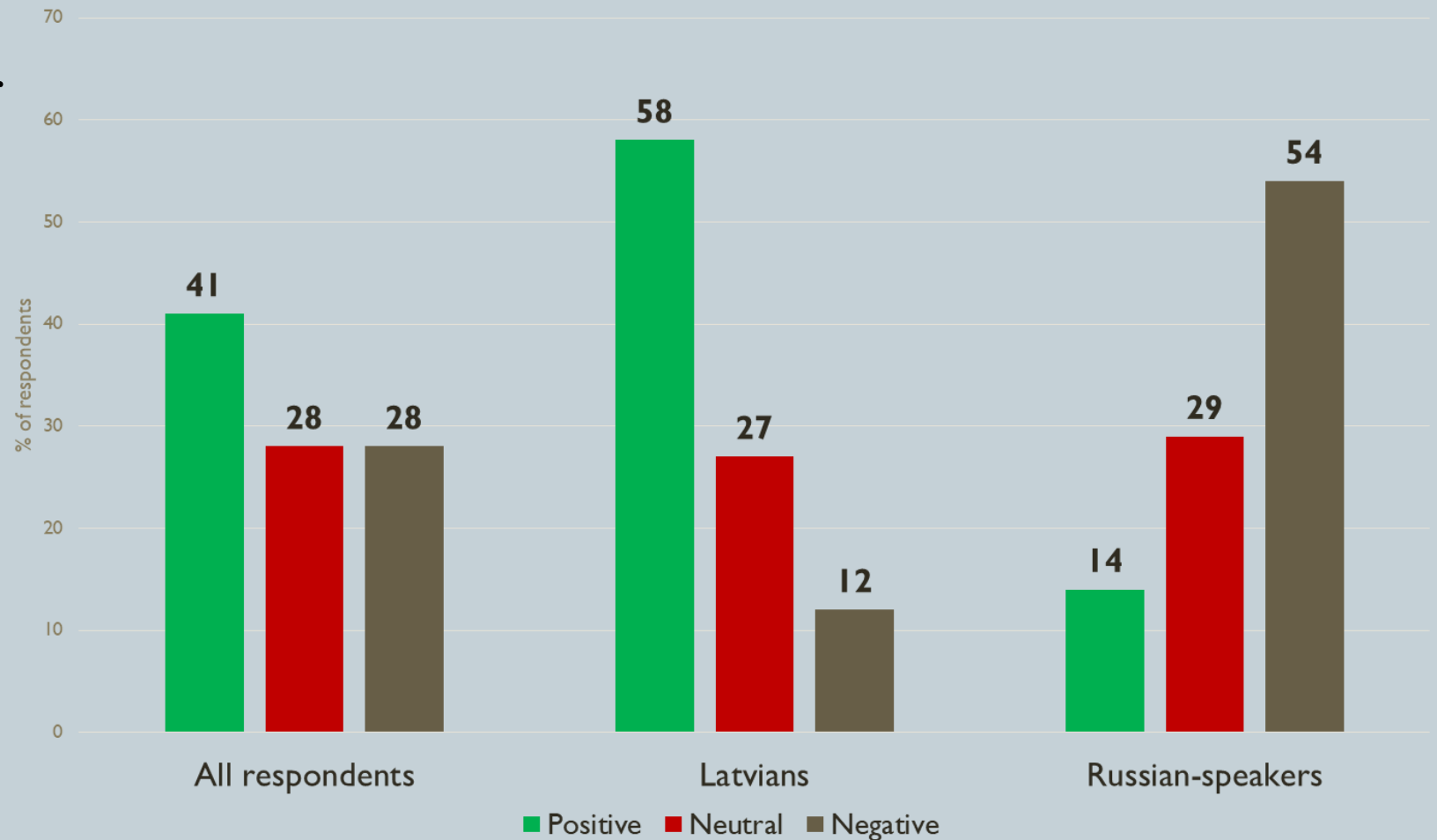
Russian speaking minorities

- There are substantial Russian speaking minorities in Estonia and Latvia (and to certain extent also in Lithuania)
- Russian speaking minorities are unevenly distributed across the Baltic states



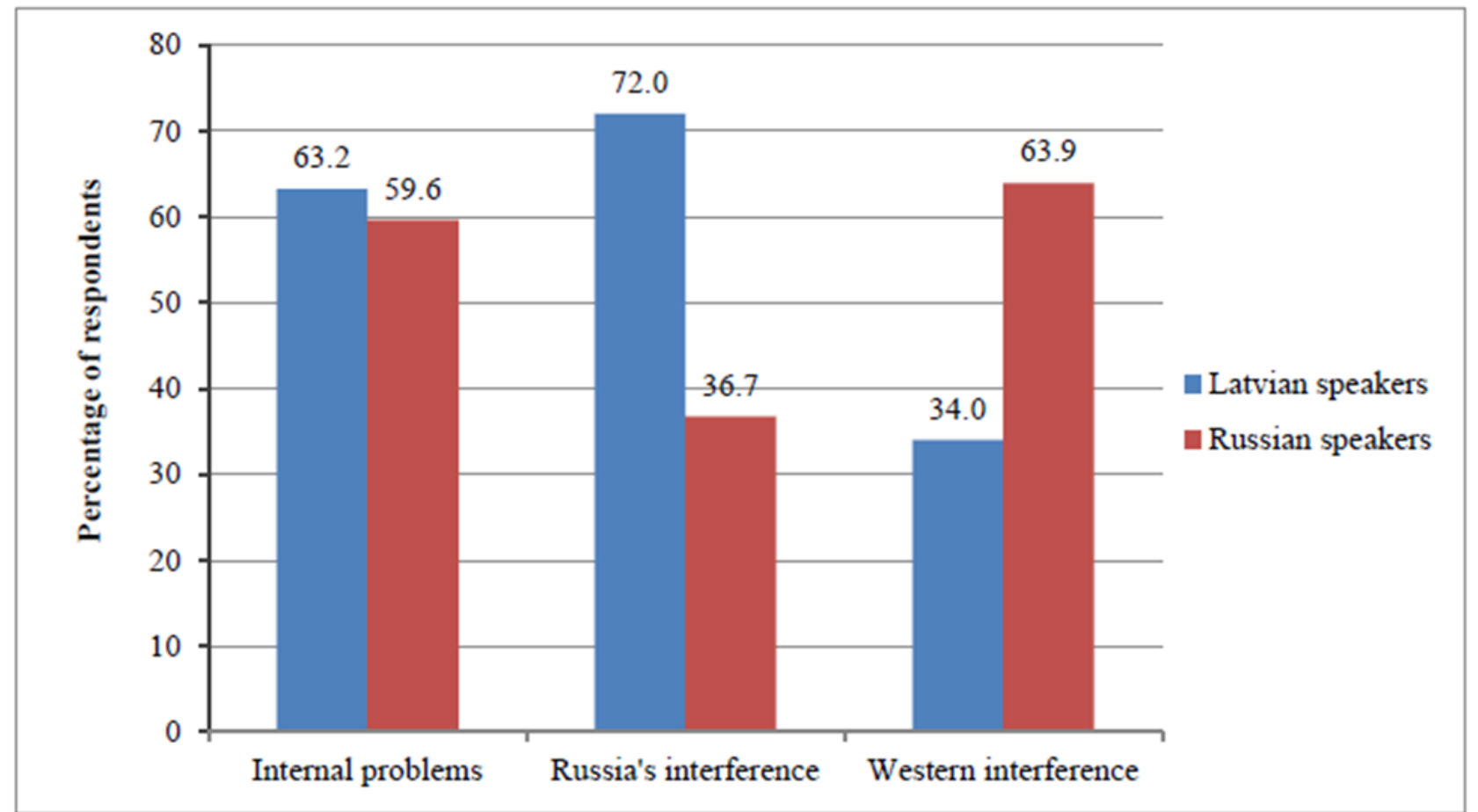
Differences in opinion: Example 1

- What is your attitude towards the presence of troops from other NATO member states in Latvia? (2016)



Differences in opinion: Example 2

- What caused the conflict in Ukraine? (2015)



Source: FACTUM. (2015). Aptauja NAA DSPC pētījuma „Aktuālas drošības problēmas Latvijā” vajadzībām [Survey for the LNDA CSSR study “Security issues in Latvia, 2015”].

Presence of Russian media



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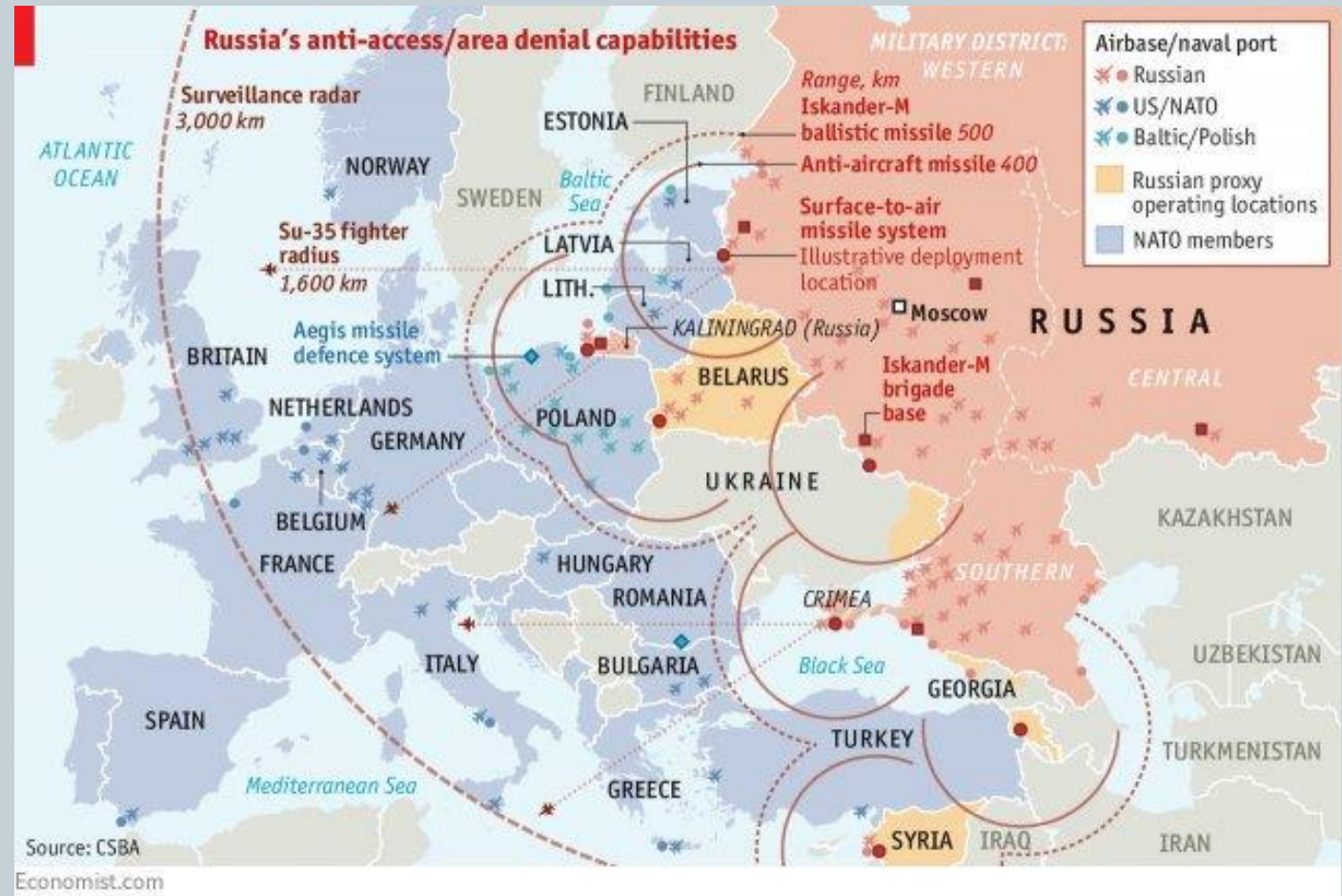
DANIEL KOCHIS AND LUKE COFFEY

ON 10/1/16 AT 4:00 AM EDT



Suwalki gap and Russia's A2/AD capabilities

The Suwalki Gap: NATO's nightmare



Russia's clandestine activities



"Russian nationalists" behind Montenegro coup plot

6 NOV 2016

A plot to kill Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic and replace the government with a pro-Russian regime was reportedly thwarted with the help of Serbia.



Canadian contribution to stability in Northern Europe



QUESTIONS?

