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NATO and EU

With the passing of the belief that Russia is part of the West's future, the view of Russian opposition to Western policies as a risk connected with a given policy also passes. Instead of being seen as a disruptive factor in a number of different areas, Russia is now seen as a risk in itself. "Ukraine cannot be viewed in isolation," concluded NATO's Secretary-General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, in a speech at the Brookings Institution on 19 March 2014. Fogh Rasmussen continued:

> And this crisis is not just about Ukraine. We see what could be called 21st century revisionism. Attempts to turn back the clock. To draw new dividing lines on our maps. To monopolise markets. Subdue populations. Re-write, or simply rip up, the international rule book. And to use force to solve problems – rather than the international mechanisms that we have spent decades to build.[37]

In this view, the consequences of the Russian intervention in Ukraine is that NATO must see Russia as part of its future rather than as part of its past. Where Albright talked about Russia's outdated fear in 1997, the fear of the NATO countries has now been aroused. In his speech, Fogh Rasmussen emphasised that "in times like this, when the security of the Euro-Atlantic area is challenged, the North Atlantic Alliance has not wavered. And it will not waver. For 65 years, we have been clear in our commitment to one another as Allies. And to the global security system within which NATO is rooted."[38] For a Secretary-General who had prioritised relations with Russia, the events in Ukraine were a confirmation of the need for NATO to formulate a joint strategy regarding Russia instead of seeing Russia in terms of concrete subsidiary challenges regarding other objectives that NATO might propose for itself. Fogh Rasmussen thus paved the way for NATO to place relations with Russia at the top of the agenda for the first time in many years at the Cardiff summit in September 2014. On the face of things, the choice of Jens Stoltenberg as Fogh Rasmussen's successor appears to be support for this new order. As the Prime Minister of Norway, Stoltenberg was responsible for a defence policy that prioritised the defence of the Norwegian border with Russia and power projection in the northern areas in the form of new frigates and new fighter aircrafts, and

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a foreign policy that resulted, among other things, in a treaty that concluded a long-standing conflict with Russia on its maritime boundaries. Stoltenberg symbolises the mixture of rigour and willingness to negotiate that NATO wishes to communicate to Russia.

The ISAF coalition in Afghanistan has dictated NATO's agenda since 2006. Discussions in NATO have dealt with running operations in Afghanistan and other operations that followed in the wake of 11 September 2001 and the allies' opportunities to contribute to these operations. Classic NATO questions, such as how much Europeans contributed to the alliance by comparison with the Americans, how much money should be invested in new technologies and how the alliance's power and command structure could best be organised, have been discussed over the past years at NATO's headquarters and in the capitals of the allied countries. However, these questions have often been put in the new operational context. With the prospect of this context dissolving with the withdrawal from Afghanistan, and on the basis of the cuts in defence budgets, NATO will be faced with the challenge of setting the agenda for the future at the Cardiff summit with no knowledge of what the future will bring. For NATO, part of the significance of the events in Ukraine lies in the fact that they are occurring at a time when they will come to define the agenda at the Cardiff summit and thereby NATO's agenda. In Fogh Rasmussen's words: "Later this year, in Wales in the United Kingdom, we will hold our next NATO Summit. We need to focus on the long-term strategic impact of Russia's aggression on our own security."[39]
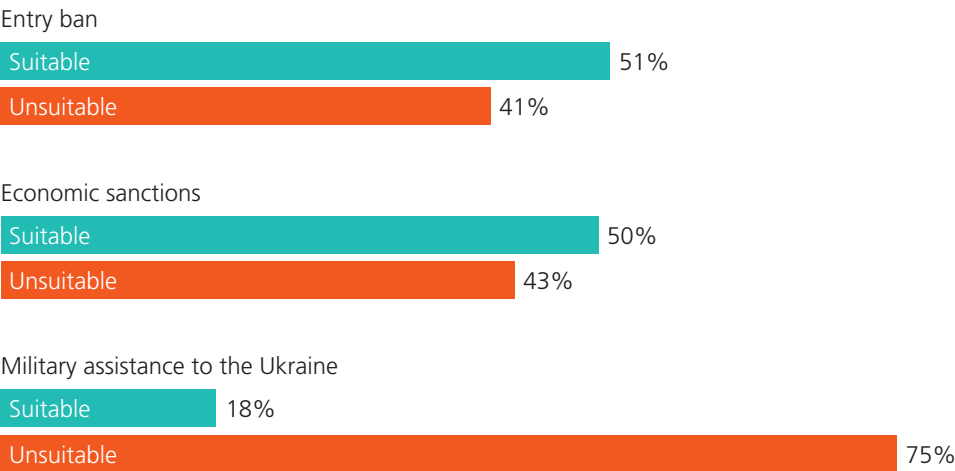
The West's reaction to Russian aggression: then and now

The long-term consequences of Russia's aggression for the West's strategy is, in the nature of the case, difficult to assess at present. However, two things can be taken into consideration:

- The reaction in connection with previous cases of Russian aggression. This will make it possible to predict the debate that will follow from the events in Ukraine.

- The initiatives, etc., that are already on NATO's agenda and will be furthered by the events in Ukraine and prioritised in the subsequent debate.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the initial reaction of the then US president, Jimmy Carter, was not unlike Obama's reaction to the events in Ukraine. Carter saw the Soviet use of power against a neighbour as a breach of the policy of détente that had characterised the 1970s, and feared "a return to the Cold War".[40] Whereas today we see the entire period as one long cold war from the end of the 1940s to 1989, the Cold War was regarded as a closed chapter in 1979. Since President Richard Nixon's policy reorientation towards the Soviet Union, the agenda called for cooperation rather than confrontation. This epoch ended in 1979 because, among other things, Carter, and not least President Ronald Reagan, who succeeded him, regarded the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as proof that the West had been naïve in believing that the Soviet Union wanted cooperation. In 1980, Robert Tucker summed this up as follows: "the United States has steadily moved throughout the past decade toward an insolvent foreign policy."[41] As is the case today with Russia's intervention in Ukraine, the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan led to a debate regarding how the Kremlin saw the world, what plans the leaders in the Kremlin had and what the West could and should do about them. As Carter said in 1979, the Soviet invasion "gives rise to the most fundamental questions pertaining to international stability".[42] The invasion was one thing, but what would come after? Was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan an isolated event that the Kremlin had felt obliged to carry out, or was it on the contrary a question of a Machiavellian plan in which Afghanistan was "a stepping stone to possible control over much of the world's oil supplies"[43], or was Ukraine an expression of a strategy that had "been in the making for a decade?"[44]

Then as now, analysing the Kremlin's intentions and capacity to realise them was of central importance. If the invasion of Afghanistan was seen as an expression of an attempt by the Kremlin to outflank the West and gain control of the Middle East's oilfields, , what was happening in Afghanistan was relevant for NATO and the rest of the world. Fogh Rasmussen regards the Ukraine Crisis as a wake-up call to the West regarding Russian intentions,[45] while former US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, compared the Russian arguments for annexing Crimea with Hitler's arguments for annexing the Sudetenland in 1938.[46] Seen from this perspective, the

Entry ban

Suitable	51%
Unsuitable	41%

Economic sanctions

Suitable	50%
Unsuitable	43%

Military assistance to the Ukraine

Suitable	18%
Unsuitable	75%

Source: www.tagesschau.de/inland/deutschlandtrend2234.html. Maj 2014.

events in Crimea were not isolated acts, but were part of a broader, strategic context.

Then as now, there was widespread criticism of the US president's "transparent failure to lead", as Carter's discharge of his office was characterised after the invasion of Afghanistan and the breakdown of détente.[47] When asked on American TV to characterise Obama's leadership during the Ukraine Crisis, Senator John McCain said: "I don't know how it could have been weaker besides doing nothing."[48] Professor Eliot Cohen was equally sarcastic when he said that "President Obama's history of issuing warnings and, when they are ignored, moving on smartly to the next topic gave a kind of permission".[49] This criticism stemmed in the 1980s, as it does today, from frustration over the options to react to a crisis that appear to be on the table and the consequent belief that better leaders would have been able to conjure up better solutions. Alternatives that could take account of the fact that Europeans were in mutual disagreement and in disagreement with the Americans as to what the correct policy with regard to the Kremlin would be. Lawrence Eagleburger, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, admitted in the 1980s, that "détente for you, for Berliners, for Germans has made a difference … but for us détente has been a failure".[50] The then West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, thus believed that "precisely because relations are dif-

ficult and extremely complex, we need not less communication but more".[51]

Different interpretations of what the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan meant led to disagreement on security policy in the individual countries (an example from Denmark is what was known as the footnote era), among the European countries (where the German and British governments, for instance, disagreed in their assessments of the situation) and between Europe and the United States. It is therefore worth noting how Hillary Clinton, who appears to be very interested in what voters will believe up to the next presidential election, carefully positioned herself far to the right of the president she acted as foreign secretary for a year ago. The explanation could be that 67 per cent of American voters were in favour of the way Obama handled foreign policy in 2009, while this figure fell to 47 per cent (with 45 per cent against) in March 2014.[52]

In 1980, Americans chose Reagan instead of Carter, not least because Reagan promised leadership on foreign policy that the events in Afghanistan and Iran had shown that Carter couldn't manage. The candidates for the next US presidential election may well have to compete on being the biggest hawk to make Europeans appear like a flock of sparrows. In this connection, Italian Prime Minister, Matteo Renzi, was more concerned about avoiding a new cold war than stopping Russian

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aggression. Renzi warned the EU not to introduce more rigorous sanctions as this could mean an escalation, "that does not take us back to an iron curtain scenario. A scenario that probably only exists in the nightmares of some of the key actors in this situation, but which we must avoid."[53] Helmut Schmidt had a similar nightmare and brushed up his arguments from 1981.[54] In Germany, the Ukraine Crisis has given rise to the coining of the designation *Putin-Versteher* to describe the influential elements of German opinion and the business community that show understanding for Russia's acts and reject introducing stricter sanctions against Russia.[55]

However, the 1980s can teach us how even weak European governments, that must operate in the face of divided opinion, can be influenced by a consistent US policy – not least because this policy reflects the influence of the US through NATO, the armed forces and members of the security policy elites, and can set an agenda that prioritises a policy of necessity. In the 1980s, Europeans and Americans could play "good cop-bad cop" with regard to the Soviet Union without either party realising that this was what they were doing, and while continually reproaching each other for conducting an irresponsible policy. The requirement for being able to play this game successfully once again, however, is an American commitment in relation to Russia that is possibly not in place today. The EU similarly means that Europeans have the opportunity to play a weakened hand far more strongly today than 30 years ago, which could have the paradoxical effect of weakening the European position.

The ability of the EU to conduct a collective policy with regard to Russia could be a problem in itself. This may have been the reason why Nick Witney from the European Council of Foreign Relations so harshly criticised those Europeans who believed that Russia constituted a serious threat that could best be combated under the auspices of NATO: "So let us thank the new Cold Warriors, but tell them they have mistaken their era. Let us celebrate NATO's value as an insurance policy, but not confuse it with an adequate vehicle for Europe's role in the world."[56] The Union's foreign policy is based on the idea of exporting the values of integration and commerce. As Witney pointed out, European policy is not concerned with shielding member states against risks, which is the traditional task of security and defence policy, but with creating security and managing

crises through what would be called aid and commercial policy in the member states. The defence policy dimension has been incorporated into these other policies. This approach to international relations requires not having problems oneself, but solving those of others. That the Union can gain advantages from its policy is naturally the point of departure, but these advantages are regarded in Brussels as something that the Union wins together with others. The cake grows in size through an increase in free trade and the climate becomes better for us all, etc. However, as previously mentioned, Russia is not playing such a plus-sum game.

The EU's handling of Ukraine's association agreement, which was the factor that initiated the crisis because the then Ukrainian president's rejection of the agreement in favour of an agreement with Russia sent demonstrators into the streets, can to a certain extent be explained by the fact that EU foreign policy focused on added value rather than on risks. "The European Union definitely miscalculated about Russia's reaction," concluded Lithuania's Foreign Minister, Linas Linkevičius in the *International New York Times,* "when you play soccer, there are rules of the game, but the other side turned out to be playing rugby with a bit of wrestling".[57] The EU's problem is that it does not have a rugby team, only a football team. If a new cold war is in the offing, the EU's ambitions for a common foreign policy in its existing form will be unsuitable. However, even if less confrontational scenarios come into play, the union will be fundamentally hampered by the fact that the world view that its policy is based on has been adjudged irrelevant in the Kremlin.

Challenges for new EU and NATO leaders
However, the EU is central in the areas where it really possesses competences and expertise. The challenge will be to mobilise them in a coherent foreign policy that is coordinated with other players, primarily NATO. Catherine Ashton's successor as head of the union's foreign policy must therefore:

1. Prioritise the Union's foreign policy measures in those areas where it will actually make a difference
2. Coordinate these measures with NATO and the United States
3. Stop over-ambitious plans for a common foreign policy.

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This will achieve the effect of harmonising what the EU respectively says and does. An effort in the three areas would dramatically heighten the Union's credibility, and credibility is exactly what the EU is lacking in relation to Russia. Finance and trade are central aspects of the EU and the EU therefore uses sanctions against Russia as a means to an end. However, the EU must rapidly decide whether sanctions work with regard to states that are governed like Russia.[58]

In September 2014, Stoltenberg will become the new Secretary-General of NATO. Stoltenberg must first and foremost work to increase NATO's credibility. This is a far more concrete issue for NATO than it is for the EU because it involves NATO's musketeer oath under Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. Throughout NATO's history, credibility in relation to the guarantee of security that the allies, and not least the US, gave the individual members has been decisive. Stoltenberg will thus have three main tasks:

1. Ensuring the credibility of Article 5 with regard to Russia.
2. Coordinating with the EU and the US.
3. Focusing attention on the European defence budgets and on how they can best be converted into practical

capacities. The financial crisis has led to dramatic cuts in defence budgets, especially in those countries that are closest to Russia. This is problematic for their ability to provide a credible defence system, not least because the other European allies have also reduced their defence budgets and therefore do not appear to be the best helpers in an hour of need.

The new heads of the EU's foreign affairs policy and NATO respectively are faced with a challenge that they can only meet together and they should grasp the opportunity to establish a prominent, energetic partnership that can power the reorientation of European security policy and anchor it in cooperation with the United States. The following deals with concrete challenges facing the EU and NATO.

Challenges for the EU

Trade agreement · After the Ukraine Crisis, the trade agreement between the US and the EU has taken on new significance that far outreaches commercial policy. As the US president's special trade delegate, Michael Forman, said on 13 March 2014: "Right now, as we look around the world, there is a powerful reason for

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European dependency on import of russian gas (% of total import of natural gas, 2012)   Figure 6

11,2 **Holland**		100 **Finland**
35,7 **Germany**	79,8 **Poland**	100 **Estonia/ Latvia/ Lithuania**
15,6 **France**		
	100 **Czech Republic**	99,5 **Slovakia**
71,0 **Austria**	45,2 **Slovenia**	43,7 **Hungary**	86,1 **Rumania**
28,1 **Italy**	59,5 **Greece**	100 **Bulgaria**

Source: Financial Times

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Europe and the United States to come together to demonstrate that they can take their relationship to a new level."[59] It will be the task of the EU's European External Action Service to communicate this strategic point in the European Commission so that negotiations on the trade agreement can lead to the establishment of a free-trade zone between the United States and the EU.

Energy · Unlike the United States, which is gradually becoming self-supplying with energy, Europe is a net importer of energy and is expected to import even more over the next 20 years. Today, 32 per cent of the EU's gas imports and 35 per cent of the EU's oil imports come from Russia.[60] The EU decided in March 2014 to initiate an analysis of the union's energy security and a plan to reduce energy dependence. The analysis should be completed in June 2014 and it will present the European Commission with the challenge of finding a formula for energy independence and the diversification of energy sources, at the same time as the union is bound by stringent environmental goals that oppose the use of atomic energy, shale gas and other energy sources that could effectively ensure energy independence.[61]

Turkey · European policy and the attitude to foreigners has in a similar manner meant that the EU has not been able to incorporate Turkey, which could well become the next Ukraine. Not in the sense that Russia will begin to interfere with the country's domestic affairs (it is more probable that Turkey will issue a critical statement about the treatment of minorities in Crimea), but in the sense that Turkey is another important strategic country in the EU's neighbourhood that the union has chosen to neglect, precisely because the union's foreign policy has not focused on protecting itself against future risks. The result is that Turkey, as was the case in Ukraine, has gradually moved away from the EU and that the union's ability to influence the country's development in a direction that is positive for Europe has steadily decreased. Europe's negligence has given Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdo an a number of arguments for rejecting the European way for the benefit of a regime that is becoming increasingly authoritarian, and a foreign policy that is similarly in conflict with European interests. A reflection regarding how Europe handled the Ukraine Crisis should include a reconsideration of partnerships and association agreements, etc., with the aim of preventing

the situation regarding Turkey developing to a point at which the EU could initiate a crisis due to an incoherent policy or an ill-considered move.

Challenges for NATO
The Ukraine Crisis came at a point when NATO was in doubt as to what its primary task would be after the war in Afghanistan. In 2015, government control will be transferred to the Afghans and the question will then become what NATO should do with itself. Fundamentally, a defence alliance has no need of a task, but can regard itself as insurance that member states should preferably not need. Although strident voices have spoken in favour of a NATO of this kind, NATO has defined its existence in terms of projects since the end of the Cold War. These have taken the form of stabilising missions in the Balkans and the enlargement in the 1990s, anti-terror operations and the war in Afghanistan from 2001 to date. These projects have been central to NATO's narrative about itself, even though NATO has in reality been involved in many other things. After the war in Afghanistan, NATO has therefore been on the lookout for a new project and a new narrative. On the one hand, a number of countries wanted continued focus on a global NATO that would find partners in Asia, train soldiers in Africa and gradually commit itself in the Arctic. On the other hand, a number of countries wanted NATO to turn its attention to Europe again and focus on the defence against Russia. The Ukraine Crisis has not done away with these two ambitions but has made it possible to combine them – not least because the need to deploy forces in the eastern NATO countries has suddenly become more concrete. Such deployments make the same demand for capabilities as deployments outside NATO's sphere and the challenge to strength structures and training that formerly lay in talking about a NATO that was more focused on its domestic challenges, has therefore decreased. At the same time, the view that there is a threat from Russia has drawn more attention to the need of the Eastern European NATO members to invest in their own defence – both from the old NATO countries and the Eastern European countries themselves. Furthermore, focusing on more traditional ground operations fits in well with the tendency of the armed forces' desire to focus on building up fundamental skills in connection with conventional operations after ten years of operations. Russia's intervention in

Ukraine therefore strengthens a number of existing tendencies and this is part of the explanation why it has taken on major importance for NATO.

Partnerships · Like the EU, NATO has found it difficult to define how to cooperate with countries that were not members of NATO or were not about to become members. At the Chicago summit in 2012, heads of state and governments adopted a declaration which stated that "partnerships play an important role in promoting international peace and security" and, at the coming Cardiff summit, partnerships have been identified as one of the central subjects. Today there is a wide range of partners in several different groups – from the Middle Eastern and North African countries in the Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative to partners across the world such as Australia and South Korea and a heterogeneous Partnership for Peace group with countries, such as Sweden and Austria, together with central Asian countries. Given such a heterogeneous mix, it is high time for NATO to begin reorganising and restructuring its many partnership relations.

Partnerships enhance NATO's ability to fulfil its own role (as a force multiplier) around the world. In the European region, partnerships are at the same time the central mechanism for stabilising and promoting neighbouring areas around the territories of the NATO members. After the crisis in Ukraine, which, from 1997, has had a special partnership relation by virtue of the NATO-Ukraine Commission, it is particularly important for NATO to strengthen partnership relations and the formal framework. This applies to partners in Western Europe, especially Finland and Sweden, to partners further east such as Ukraine and Georgia and to NATO's global partnerships in the form of countries (such as

Japan and Australia) and international organisations such as the UN and the EU. The heightened geopolitical insecurity in Europe makes it clear that the practical content and actual outcome of partnerships have risen considerably in strategic value. Unfortunately, NATO has not been correspondingly clear with regard to its allies and partners about the definition of a partnership, what it could be used for and what guarantees of security partnerships could potentially offer.

Because partnerships were an alternative to membership for a number of European countries, they never received major institutional attention. NATO's formal partnership structures were developed in the 1990s as part of the long-term reaction to the fall of the Berlin Wall and within the framework of the work on the later enlargement of NATO. During the ISAF mission in Afghanistan, partners' operative contributions were extremely valuable for NATO. Partnerships were seen as stable, while membership processes were seen as dynamic and were therefore prioritised. In 2011, NATO decided to group all partnership offers in a single framework (Partnership Cooperation Menu), from which all partner countries could choose the desired elements. The idea of a menu underplays the importance of partnerships, not least with regard to the need for special measures for special partners.

In general, NATO has underinvested in the potential transformative strategic effect of partnerships. Cooperating with NATO has a double function for partners. The first function involves security policy and provides access to a multilateral forum, formal consultations and an informal extension of bilateral relations with powerful countries. The second function involves access to the NATO network. NATO is the global provider of best practices regarding defence and security policy. By cooperating with NATO, partners also have access to operative cooperation and the acquisition of NATO standards in the broadest sense, including instruction, training and exercises. Partnerships can therefore be a means of changing a given partner. Through cooperation and substantial investments in building up institutions and capacities, partnerships with NATO – with partner co-ownership in conformity with sound development policy practice – can become a strategic tool for NATO.

NATO has developed a process (Membership Action Plan) that prepares countries for membership, but has found it difficult to create a process for countries that

cannot become members. With regard to Georgia and Ukraine, NATO has thus had interests in and cooperation with them, but they have not been adequate enough for a Russian intervention to be considered to constitute a violation of the alliances in accordance with Article 5. Russia's conduct similarly demonstrates that NATO's borders have advanced so far to the east and that Russia's policy has been so confrontational that admitting countries such as Georgia or, if it should once again become relevant, Ukraine, would involve considerable risk. These countries cannot live up to the central criterion for admission – that they would not bring security problems with them into NATO. Russia has made sure of this by creating insecurity with regard to their borders. On the other hand, Russia's conduct demonstrates the cost of not admitting them. Security conditions in the countries on the other side of NATO's borders are unclear and could lead to instability and crisis. This presents NATO with a dilemma in line with the EU's: how to manage risk in relations with the Eastern European countries that are not members.

Turkey and Syria · Turkey is a full member of NATO but this does not rule out the circumstance that the country constitutes a potential challenge for NATO that is far more concrete that the challenge for the EU in the same connection. One result of the confrontation between the West and Russia after the Ukraine Crisis could very well be a complete breakdown of the fragile cooperation on the civil war in Syria. Obama justified his refusal to intervene in Syria on the grounds that he could collaborate with Russia to remove the country's chemical weapons and negotiate a solution in the longer term. Negotiations now appear even less realistic than they did before, and the United States stopped collaborating with Russia on the destruction of the chemical weapons. The result was that the US and the West now really have no influence on the conflict, while Russia's influence is increasing. At the same time, Syria is an area that allows Russia to show the West the consequences of introducing sanctions. An escalation of the civil war in Syria is therefore highly possible and this escalation could draw Turkey into the fray. If the conflict in Syria – through the agency of Russia – came to involve Turkey, Turkey could invoke Article 5, which would bring NATO into the conflict. There is therefore a risk of a proxy war between the West and Russia in Syria.

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Conventional deterrence · Conventional deterrence has again become current for NATO due to Russia's use of conventional power in Ukraine and the pattern of Russia's actions in its neighbouring countries outside NATO's area. Deterrence is the effect produced by a country's military forces. The potential threat of the use of power reflected by the armed forces changes the calculation that a potential opponent's actions are based on. In other words, defence is an insurance mechanism – a lock on the door. Deterrence has assumed two forms since the beginning of the 20th century: nuclear and conventional. NATO and Russia possess a mutual nuclear deterrent and, viewed alone, this nuclear deterrent creates a stable situation. However, the nuclear deterrent is an abstract entity that is detached from specific geographical circumstances.

After the end of the Cold War, the general view of nuclear weapons changed focus. From being a question of mutual deterrence between the two blocs in connection with the risk of a nuclear war, and thereby the risk of what would manifestly be mutual destruction, the new world order appears to a greater extent to follow an agenda on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to unstable states or terrorists.[62] Iran's atomic programme in particular, since it became public knowledge in 2002, has been the object of a great deal of debate and has led to comprehensive sanctions.[63] In spite of the end of the Cold War, however, and the change of focus, the nuclear threat is still present and NATO has therefore not rejected the option of a nuclear defence.

NATO expressed a wish in the strategic concept at the Lisbon summit for a world without nuclear weapons, but made it clear at the same time that as long as nuclear weapons existed, NATO would be an alliance with nuclear capacities for the purpose of defence and deterrence via the nuclear powers the United States, Great Britain and France[64]. The president of the latter country, François Hollande, also emphasised at the Chicago summit in 2012 that a possible missile defence system under the auspices of NATO could complement the nuclear deterrent – but could not replace nuclear weapons.[65] This was a clear signal from NATO that there was both the ability and, in the appropriate circumstances, the will to counter the worst conceivable threat – the use of nuclear weapons – by using nuclear weapons in order to deter an opponent from using its own nuclear weapons. Furthermore, a missile defence system could help to reduce the effect of an attack on NATO with nuclear missiles whereby the effect of NATO's deterrent would be increased – as the message from NATO would be: we can hit you, but you can't hit us.

The conventional deterrent is far more bound up with time and space than the nuclear deterrent. The immediate, concrete ability to bring armed forces into action is decisive for a credible conventional deterrent, which depends on deployments and similar measures, which nuclear missile systems have made superfluous. There is therefore a great difference between having an aircraft carrier in the Pacific and having one in the Baltic. A comparison between Russia's defence budget and NATO's, or simply between that of the European NATO countries, shows that Russia's is far smaller. However, a comparison between the Russia defence budget and that of the three Baltic States shows that Russian expenditure and actual military capacities are far and away greater than those of the Baltic States. A comparison of the size and capacities of the Western forces and those of Russia shows that the West is correspondingly superior, but the calculation looks very different again if the Russian forces in the Western military district are compared with NATO's forces in the Baltic. In order to work, conventional deterrence must be based on the practical possibility of countering a concrete attack in a concrete place (or at least on the possibility of relieving those who are under attack in a convincing manner). Deterrence must not only be convincing to a potential opponent, it must also serve as a guarantee for an anxious NATO member. When analysing NATO's actions in connection with the Ukraine Crisis, it is worth differentiating between deployments that serve to reduce anxiety in the eastern member countries, and plans and deployments that really have a deterrent effect.

Considerations about conventional deterrence take on a new character if the aim is to deter Russia from waging what is known as special war where Russia, as it has done in Ukraine, exploits national minorities to create instability and contest borders. NATO's doctrines of deterrence are based on deterring a military attack and are therefore in danger of being bypassed because Russia can so to speak sneak an intervention in because it is beneath the limits of what NATO can be expected to intervene for. The Ukraine Crisis therefore makes a demand for the development of NATO's concepts for conventional deterrence.

Missile defence systems · Missile defence systems have been on NATO's agenda for many years and the US has already installed such defence systems in Poland and Romania that protect parts of NATO against a missile attack. Unlike the Star Wars Programme of the 1980s, NATO's plans for a missile defence system are not intended for defence against an attack by a major power with many missiles, but against an attack from a smaller state, such as Iran, with a few missiles. Nevertheless, every defence system will reduce a potential opponent's ability to hit the target and not least the ability to conduct a limited nuclear war. Russia has therefore taken the view of NATO's plans for a missile shield that it is a way of disturbing the nuclear balance which is, in a sense, in its place as it was during the Cold War era. NATO has answered that now, when the Cold War has ended, it was difficult to understand Russia's problem as NATO has no plans to attack Russia and, according to NATO, Russia can hardly feel it is under threat from a system that was designed to counter a threat from Iran and similar states. The discussion has not been very constructive and has basically involved different views of what the European security system is all about.

After the war in Afghanistan, a missile defence system was an obvious area to invest in because it demonstrated that NATO countries had common goals and could operate systems together. Therefore, there has been talk of supplementing the land-based systems with a marine-based system to enable five to ten warships to protect the rest of NATO. The most cogent argument against this investment so far has been that it would strain relations with Russia. Today, Russia's reaction is the most cogent argument in favour of the investment. A missile defence system would send Russia a clear

signal to the effect that the Kremlin cannot veto it, but at the same time it would be a defensive system that would be a far less aggressive reaction than deploying NATO's response force (NRF) in the Baltic. Furthermore, a missile defence system involves expensive, advanced equipment of the kind that the Kremlin (especially in the light of sanctions) could hardly afford. It would be a not particularly subtle reminder that NATO is militarily superior to Russia. Finally, a missile defence system would be an obvious point of departure for cooperation between US and European fleets. Cooperation on a missile defence system could also become even more important because a consequence of the Ukraine Crisis might be that Russia would no longer help to freeze Iran's nuclear programme. Even though Russia would only give Iran the green light for a nuclear arms build-up with a certain amount of trepidation, Iran, like Syria, would be an effective way of increasing the West's costs in connection with the sanctions against Russia and make it more difficult for the West to concentrate on Russia.

Interoperability and training · NATO's credibility depends on the ability of the member countries to cooperate. Operations in Afghanistan have provided practical experience in the field which was not the case during the Cold War, and which in many ways has to a much greater extent geared NATO and a number of member countries for concrete military cooperation. More specifically, a number of the smaller NATO states today have become accustomed to being at war, whereas until the 1990s this was a competence possessed only by bigger states such as the US, Great Britain and France. NATO's ambition has been to maintain this with the help of military exercises, for instance, during the periods after operations in Afghanistan. The Ukraine Crisis has made this need even more concrete.

NATO's ability to support the defence of allies in the event of a war or a crisis would be a central question at a time when the Baltic States, for instance, have good grounds to ask whether they are on the list of countries with Russian minorities that want to be liberated. During the Cold War, NATO's demonstrated its ability and will to relieve front line states such as Denmark through military exercises. The experience from these exercises helped to define NATO's requirements for the individual country's forces. The ability to operate together in the eastern part of NATO will probably play a far more

prominent role in the future. This also means that NATO will change the emphasis on operations outside its area to operations inside its own area. Whereas NATO's planning hitherto has taken its point of departure in a number of scenarios in which the defence of member countries was important, but not the most probable of them, the defence scenario will now be given greater weight and therefore be allocated more resources. The consequence of this could well be that NATO will not give such high priority to capacity building, etc. However, the challenge would still be that the scenarios are all probable to a certain extent and that NATO can therefore not simply go back to a cold war structure. On the contrary, the new Russian challenge requires a completely different flexibility than did circumstances during the Cold War.

Joint operations and joint capabilities · At a time of declining defence budgets, the best way to maintain capabilities has been to cooperate. This was the message in Fogh Rasmussen's idea of Smart Defence, and this message will under any circumstances be central to NATO's Cardiff summit and in the future. However, in this area too, the Ukraine Crisis has made abstract ideas more concrete. The airspaces of the Baltic States have been protected by a joint NATO operation since 2004. After the intervention in Crimea, this protection was strengthened by French aircraft, among others, and the United States sent planes to Poland. The purpose of this was not only to give the air forces in the Baltic more punch, it was also a classic NATO operation where as many members as possible moved their forces into the danger zone so that an attack would really be an attack on all (or certainly many) members. This is the declaration of solidarity that is intended to demonstrate that the musketeer oath is meant to be taken seriously. This was underlined by NATO at the meeting of foreign ministers on 1 April 2014 where NATO's focus on deployment and exercises was also emphasised.[66] However, the discussions at the meeting also showed that there was a limit to how far a number of NATO countries were prepared to go. Poland's request for the deployment of two brigades in its territory[67] was rejected at the meeting and even though

NATO has subsequently made much of demonstrating that the alliance's crisis management and mobilisation mechanisms are fully functioning, the Ukraine Crisis will lead to a discussion as to precisely what the Western allies can do to defend its eastern allies, who will probably want permanent staffs, bases and forces in their countries. Joint operations would therefore take on a new political significance that would go beyond the shopkeeper's accounts of the Smart Defence, but which precisely therefore could breathe new life into cooperative projects and the joint purchasing of equipment, etc.

In Sum: Ukraine is not an isolated problem
For the EU, the Ukraine Crisis demonstrates the problems with the Union's view of itself and the policy regarding its neighbours and Russia that followed from it. Where NATO is concerned, the Ukraine Crisis once again gives occasion to focus on regional security and on conventional deterrence. NATO and the EU must carefully consider which spoken and tacit guarantees they offer their partners.

Nor is the Ukraine Crisis isolated in the sense that we can learn from previous crises and the way they have challenged European and allied policies and in this way equip ourselves for future debates and initiatives. We can learn that the interpretation of Russia's motives and the role that concrete events, such as the Ukraine Crisis, will be central points in the debate. The various views that come to expression in that debate will presumably draw equally long dividing lines internally in the European countries, between the European governments and between the European governments and the US government. This will bring various problems connected with Russia into play. The refocusing of NATO and the debate about this will not be least important for the Baltic and Scandinavian countries. They have followed NATO away from its neighbouring area to remote regions such as Iraq and Afghanistan and stationed defence forces there as a replacement for the territorial defence of the Cold War in the assumption that Russia was a risk that NATO and the European security system had under control. The events in Ukraine are a challenge to NATO with regard to this premise and a challenge to Western strategy.