AD SECURITATEM

The best essays by students at the Baltic Defence College during 2016/17

BALTIC DEFENCE COLLEGE

Contents

Foreword

Welcome to the third edition of *Ad Securitatem* that features the best work written by the Joint Command and General Staff Course (JCGSC), Civil Servants Course (CSC) and the Higher Command Study Course (HCSC) students at the Baltic Defence College during the 2016/17 academic year.

Critical thinking and written self-expression are important aspects of the educational process at the Baltic Defence College. Writing is a critical skill for officers, as it allows to spread professional experience and ideas to many people, to influence superiors, colleagues and followers alike. The students of JCGSC, CSC and HCSC have actively engaged in research, academic and professional writing during their studies. With the support of the Baltic Defence College faculty acting as supervisors, students have demonstrated their outstanding ability to write insightful essays related to operations, leadership, political and strategic studies, and beyond.

The selected essays represent the aptitude of students of the 2016/17 JCGSC, 2017 CSC and 2017 HCSC. In their impressive work, the students share their professional knowledge, experience and ideas in an analytic and critical manner that hopefully provides food for thought to all readers.

Triinu Soomere

Lecturer, Critical Thinking and Communication

BEST ESSAYS OF THE JOINT COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COURSE
(JCGSC)

Will there ever be a Cyber War? MAJ EVIJA ŠULTE, Latvia

Introduction

In July 2016, during the NATO Warsaw Summit, the Alliance 'recognised cyberspace as a domain of operations in which NATO must defend itself as effectively as it does in the air, on land, and at sea' (CCDCOE, 2016). This decision is therefore reaffirming the necessity and requirement for regulations of cyberspace as a potential operational environment for the network-centric operations. With the accelerating speed of modern technological development along with the high demand for the connectivity of various digital systems, protection of networks and security of cyberspace have become a vulnerable and challenging realm for every nation. Furthermore, all domains of national and international system experience dependency on digital technology, relying on network infrastructure that provides the advantage of interconnectivity, near real-time communication and exchange of information and data worldwide. However, despite numerous benefits of modern technology, the cyberspace has also enabled a new platform for the opponents to exploit and a surface to launch an attack from. Cyber-attacks of diverse types are increasing in numbers continuously, thus causing a significant threat to the uninterrupted functioning of governmental and public communication and information systems, data centres, financial and banking systems, national and international networks and infrastructure. This consequently raises the question whether the world is currently entering a new era of warfare, where the means to wage war and cause disruption and destruction are purely digital. Are all the offensive cyber activities conducted by single hackers, hacktivists or state-sponsored individuals/groups heading towards a potential large-scale confrontation between states? Offensive cyber capabilities developed by many states today build a powerful and efficient weapon for the potential use against an opponent in case of a conflict to achieve political, military and/or economic goals.

The connection of systems and networks to the Internet enable them for the public access and thus, through the Internet, expose them to penetration, intrusion, attacks targeted at the systems themselves, the information these contain, and the processes these control and facilitate. There are scholars who contend that cyber-attacks cannot

constitute an act of war due to lacking criteria of an armed attack that should be instrumental, political, and violent per se (Rid, 2013). Nevertheless, this essay will claim that the cyber war will take place in the near future as a new form of warfare in the technologically developed world. Cyber war could be commenced because of its cost-effectiveness, less lethal and destructive form, the potential to deter or prevent enemy's ability to the conventional use of military force, or as an option for creating the supplementary effect for any conventional military operation in the initial phase of an armed conflict. To support this argumentation, the first part of this essay will define the terms "cyber warfare" and "cyber war" in the contemporary context of cyber security, whereas the second part will focus on the forms and effects of cyber war.

Defining the cyber warfare and the cyber war

The recognition of cyberspace as a domain of operations encompasses the current problem that there is no consensus and united understanding reached about the definitions and terms related to the cyber domain, that would explain the potential cyber operations. In particular, cyber warfare and cyber war are terms that are interchangeably used by nations and international actors without unanimously accepted definitions, and therefore are controversial in their meanings. States and international organizations have put in a great deal of effort in defining these terms, and on account of this, a wide range of definitions exist in the cyber realm. For instance, Russia and the United States have agreed on a definition that cyber warfare is to be regarded as 'cyber-attacks that are authorized by state actors against cyber infrastructure in conjunction with government campaign' (Godwin III et al., 2014, p.43). Furthermore, the research and analysis organization RAND Corporation suggests that the 'cyber warfare involves the actions by a nation-state or international organization to attack and attempt to damage another nation's computers or information networks through, for example, computer viruses or denial-of-service attacks' (RAND, 2016). Whereas International Committee of the Red Cross defines the cyber warfare as any adverse action against an opponent intended 'to discover, alter, destroy, disrupt or transfer data stored in a computer, manipulated by a computer or transmitted through a computer' (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2010). These various definitions lead to the conclusion that the cyber warfare is any offensive cyber activity within the cyberspace that has a political background involving another state or its

political actor to target opponent country's critical networks and infrastructure. As a result, these targeted cyber-attacks would significantly disrupt or damage the target country's ability to use the critical information and communication systems. Cyber-attacks as part of cyber warfare would therefore be referred to the instruments of national power of one state to influence another state by conveying political messages to the targeted state or causing social, financial or other economic damage without the use of physical force or employment of military force.

To distinguish the nature and scale of offensive cyber activities, the distinction between cyber warfare and cyber war has to be made. Herein, a wide variety of available definitions describes the aspects that would be related to an interstate conflict and would constitute the offensive cyber actions as cyber war. For instance, Belgium (2012) and Austria (2013) offer coherent and comprehensive definitions associating cyber war with rapid and large-scale acts of aggression executed by one state against another one by utilizing cyber means and conducting activities in support of conventional military operations to achieve national goals. Furthermore, the following definition is provided by Russia and the United States describing cyber war as 'an escalated state of cyber conflict between or among states in which cyber-attacks are carried out by state actors against cyber infrastructure as part of a military campaign' (Godwin III et al., 2014, p.32). In line with these definitions, it has to be underlined that a cyber war encompasses the means to launch digital attacks, applies the use of force against opponent's critical infrastructure, networks, and information and communication systems, as well as conducts military operations in support of overall political aims to resolve the matter of conflict between states. In this context, cyber war is referred to combined political and military actions using the cyberspace as the platform to launch the attacks from against another state in order to achieve strategic political goals. This essay supports the reasoning that cyber war will be related to a form of war between states, and will be used in conjunction with other military actions and campaigns. Cyber war could therefore be considered as a form of power wielded with specific weapons and capabilities to be used to gain power, influence the international system and execute military operations.

Furthermore, it has to be emphasized that the protection of networks, systems and data is essential to the safety and security of national, public and private actors, and

that the offensive actions through cyber domain against any of these actors can threaten their continuity, stability and prosperity. Well-prepared and coordinated offensive cyber operations can seriously disrupt disparate electronic systems, and infect and damage network infrastructure. Moreover, they can cause physical damage and limit access to the critical services thus paralyzing interconnected processes and functions of a state. In this context, states should have a novel approach to defining the current and future threats, risks and vulnerabilities, and carry out a realistic and comprehensive assessment of the potential outcome of any cyber related danger. For this purpose, as underlined by United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (2013), there are many countries (i.e. the United States, France, India, China, Russia) that have included the development of offensive cyber capabilities in their cyber security strategies. Hereinafter, the offensive cyber capability will be referred to 'a capability to initiate a cyber-attack that may be used as a cyber deterrent' (Godwin III et al., 2014, p.49). However, most of the countries do not state publicly the support of offensive cyber capabilities, practicing instead the term of active cyber defence. For example, CCDCOE (2017) defines active cyber defence as an anticipatory action aimed at disclosing any attempts of cyber-attacks or the actual breaches, or to identify any cyber offensive at the earliest stage by executing pre-emptive, preventive or retaliatory cyber actions against the origin of the cyber-attack. In this context, it is important to highlight that active cyber defence involves the proactive measures while defensive cyber capabilities, as defined in Russia-U.S. Bilateral on Cybersecurity (2014), foresee only the reactive or passive measures in relation to protection or repellence against cyber acts being used as cyber deterrents.

Moreover, it has to be taken into consideration that the growth and expansion of technological potential will continue to increase in the future, thus providing the capabilities to shape the future battlefield in the cyber domain. Taking these factors into account, cyber wars will not only be part of any interstate conflict in the future, they will also exist as separately planned and executed acts of war against the opponent states.

Cyber war as a less lethal and destructive form of war

In today's globalized and technologically developed world where every action is being recorded, any form of violence, unnecessary suffering and collateral damage is being strongly condemned by the whole society. From this perspective, a cyber war launched from any of the digital platforms would be chosen as a less destructive form of war causing less casualties than any other armed engagement. 'For to win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill' (Sun Tzu in Griffith, 2011). Following this logic, a cyber war would offer a potential aggressor an option of influencing its opponent without direct attacks against its force. Instead, it would allow the engagement by other, non-conventional means thus affecting its critical capabilities and not its conventional forces. As Farwell and Rohozinski (2012) note, there is no need to defeat the opponent in order to attain certain national goals, moreover cyber weapons would provide non-lethal means to disable the adversary's operational potential. Cyber weapons like digital codes and malicious software are being developed within the virtual domain. From this aspect, cyber weapons do not possess the kinetic qualities and can therefore be considered as non-lethal *per se*. As Rid (2013) points out, it is to be highlighted that the digital computer codes by their nature are not able to cause harm to any biological entity for the reason being developed within the digital environment, and from the technical perspective possessing the capability to affect only digital systems. In addition, Rid (2013) remarks that any system affected by hostile actions has to be changed to a weapon system first in order to enable the power and energy for further destruction of any kind, be it material or human life. All the conventional attacks and armed conflicts use traditional means and ways to achieve the strategic and military end-states by exploiting other operational domains. Waging a digital war through the cyberspace would enable the possibility to cause damage to the opponent without kinetic means being applied, thus causing less damage or destruction. Lewis (2015) argues that the majority of cyber-strikes would not result in a devastating outcome as after conventional military attacks, they would rather deny access to networks and degrade systems, thus throwing the opponent into a turmoil. Seen from this perspective, a cyber weapon in terms of a digital malicious code or a computer virus cannot be aimed directly at a human being as a conventional weapon system. The loss of human life as a consequence of the utilization of cyber weapons

can therefore only be a secondary effect created by the damage of the system that has been attacked.

Furthermore, cyber weapons can be developed with the aim to target specific systems or infrastructure thus not intended to cause additional, unnecessary collateral damage to achieve the political, strategic or military objectives. In parallel with the precision ammunition, cyber weapons may be used for sophisticated targeting aiming at definite components of a digital system. As in the case of Stuxnet that was created in the form of malicious computer virus aiming to affect Iran's nuclear program and caused the physical damage to nuclear centrifuges, it is reasonable to deduce that this type of cyber weapon is designed for specific cyber war actions. Professor George Lucas notes that Stuxnet 'shows that cyber war can be an effective alternative to conventional war' (Lucas, 2011, p.18). More importantly, cyber weapons and applied techniques could be conceived to launch surgically precise cyber-attacks thus being efficient and reaching proportionate effects on targets (Radziwill, 2015). Cyber weapons may therefore be used for incapacitation of vital systems without physical destruction, by damaging or temporarily disabling electronic systems controlling, for example, water plants, power grids, transportation systems etc. Another important factor to point out with regards to the less destructive effects of cyber weapons is the fact that the damage caused by cyber-attacks can be reversible, meaning that digital systems can be restored and brought back online easier and quicker than it takes to reconstruct and rebuild the infrastructure after any conventional use of weapons such as air strikes and bombardments. This aspect is supported by Farwell and Rohozinski (2011) who claim that cyber-strike has in this regard the advantage of reaching the ends with less casualties among the civilian population in comparison with air strikes. Moreover, as McGraw (2013) argues, it does not require large national and state resources to develop as effective cyber weapon as Stuxnet. Owing to the fact that the development of this sort of effective cyber war payload is less complicated and takes less effort than to develop conventional military capabilities, cyber war is for this reason cost-effective and thus also unavoidable (McGraw, 2013). In addition, evaluating the ethical side of cyber war, Arquilla (2013) notes that because of the fact that digital units like bits and bytes would disrupt rather than destroy the targeted system, a cyber war would be considered less problematic from the ethical perspective. Moreover, given the circumstance when a physical engagement does not

follow, cyber war would cause practically no physical damage or loss of life. With that in mind, digital weapons could replace conventional combat weapons, save extensive amounts of national resources and require comparatively less combat personnel to apply these weapons into actions, and by all this still achieving the political goals with less cost in resources and human lives.

Cyber war as a preventive war

With the development of operational concepts that are enabled by the sophisticated technologies, cyber war as a future form of war would be launched as a preventive war to stop the enemy state from starting the war be it of a hybrid or conventional character. This type of cyber war would be used as a separate deterrent act, and it would not be linked to the conventional military operation. Lebow (2007) describes deterrence as the influential process that allows to impede any unwanted activity by assuring the involved actor that the benefits gained could not be worth the expenses. Following this logic, the cyber war in form of preventive war would have the effect of deterrence that would either prevent enemy from engaging in war with the threatened state or it would compel the opponent to act according to the attacker's will and request. Researchers on cyber deterrence theories like Jensen (2012) highlight that cyber deterrence is to be regarded to all the parties be it individuals, groups or states, and it comprises the whole range of offensive cyber activities that could potentially create kinetic effects, thus achieving the desired end-state of respective party. When assessing the causes of such preventive wars and evaluating the justification of those, Lucas argues that the efforts to defuse a crisis prior a military offensive is launched would therefore justify the preventive war if other attempts of conflict resolution have failed. Moreover, he adds that the preventive cyber war would be 'focusing solely on threatening' (Lucas, 2011, p.18), and would be aimed at strategic military objectives, thus being directed against the critical and essential enemy military command and control infrastructure. With the accelerated sophistication of information and communication technologies, it would be possible to achieve a wide range of effects on the adversary by the application of various cyber-attack methods and techniques. These could vary from the disruption of critical services, denial of access to the essential infrastructure to the physical destruction of networks and interlinked systems or capabilities. On a national level most of the financial, media, communication

systems are interlinked already, and there is a tendency within the military domain to achieve maximum interoperability between various information technology systems, as well. The militaries around the world put in a considerable effort to interlink the systems not only internally within separate military services and components but also between the components and the higher commands. They use different digital and computerized systems like command and control information systems, weapon platforms and sensors that are linked together or interconnected with each other, as well as connected to the external networks via the Internet. Furthermore, the interoperability between various military systems is becoming more and more critical to enable faster communications, exchange of mission essential data and provide better situational awareness and control over ongoing operations. In addition to this, Richard A. Clarke and Robert K. Knake (2011) argue that besides the fact that ever increasing number of critical systems are put online, also human-made flaws in software and hardware development and the public Internet vulnerability should be considered as the potential drivers for the opponents to exploit the opportunities of accessing essential and critical information and data. In consequence, the interconnectivity and interlinkage of military networks, digital weapon platforms and communication and information systems can become large high value targets of external influence and attacks when being online. Based on this, the preventive cyber war would therefore be effective to deny the enemy the use of most critical infrastructure for its own military purposes, thus delaying or preventing the enemy to launch an attack with the conventional means.

Cyber war as a part of conventional war

The future armed conflicts and conventional use of military force between state actors would include cyber war as part of the generally recognized warfighting function to gain the effects of initiative, surprise and momentum while confusing the targeted state of the character and nature of the cyber-attack. Italian air power strategist General Giulio Douhet notes that ‘Victory smiles upon those who anticipate the changes in the character of war, not upon those who wait to adapt themselves after the changes occur’ (Douhet, 1921, p.30). In this context, it is of the highest importance for any nation to comprehend the challenges associated with the development of cyber domain and the contemporary (CCDCOE, 2016) and future threats it may pose. Many

countries are developing their capabilities incrementally to conduct an offensive cyber action, and many more will ultimately procure and improve these capabilities as active defence means. According to Lewis (2015), cyber-strikes are part of the current military doctrine of potential adversaries with the aim to design the early stages of conflict and delay NATO's capability to react. Offensive cyber actions in advance of any conventional use of military force would enable the potential enemy to gain advantage and surprise while the target state would not be able to react and respond immediately to the imminent conventional threat. Arquilla (2013) describes the cyber war as an exceptionally powerful and covert instrument to be utilized at the early stage of the war. Moreover, a war initiated by cyber-surprise could contribute to the victory, at the same time reducing the number of casualties, and causing less harm to the adversary, as well as own forces (Arquilla, 2013).

As James A. Lewis (2015) points out the possible target to be chosen before the actual conventional use of military force would be the so-called 'war-supporting infrastructure'. Thus referring to the most critical infrastructure, networks and systems that provide electricity and power, transportation services, access to different financial and media systems, information and communication systems and official websites of targeted state's government (Lewis, 2015). He also adds that these objects would be valuable and interesting targets for cyber-strikes as part of military campaigns. The initial cyber war activities would allow the external control over the critical networks, systems and infrastructure thus denying their use by the targeted state. One of the aims for the initial cyber war to take place would be to incapacitate the targeted state in terms of taking over the control of its surveillance and control systems thus "blinding" it for a specific period of time. In case these systems have been disabled to the extent required for the conventional attack to be launched, the attacking state would enjoy the advantage of not being seen by land, air or navy surveillance systems, and would require the targeted state to use its conventional military forces to acquire the necessary operational information. Clarke and Knake (2011) argue that modern societies and governments are excessively relying on different computer systems that enable their functioning. The current dependency on cyberspace expose each and every nation along with their military forces to the vulnerabilities coming from and through the public access to the Internet. With different systems and networks being interconnected within the military realm and beyond it, the opponent might be able to

exploit this opportunity in order to take out all vital and essential systems of the target state, and even get access to the restricted networks through the gateways interconnecting the different systems. Farwell and Rohozinski (2012) emphasize that effective use of cyber weapons may disrupt the opponent's military forces to be used efficiently by reducing the speed of mobilization, assemblage and deployments thus ruining the momentum of attack. They underline that disabling adversary's critical networks and services could be a wiser approach than physical destruction of the adversary. Moreover, future cyber weapons will be targeted at enemy's capability to operate within the operational area, limit its command and control, and therefore hindering the enemy decision makers from accomplishing the mission and furthermore, from reaching operational or strategic goals (Farwell and Rohozinski, 2012). This being said, the cyber war will be the initial crucial phase for any conventional warfighting scenario providing the advantage and freedom of action to the party having the offensive incentive to strike first. Furthermore, the cyber war as a covert part of future military offensive actions will enable the initiative, momentum and surprise thus confusing and incapacitating the targeted state, and will therefore, without doubt, be a part of every military operation or campaign in the future.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it has to be reemphasized that the latest decision of NATO to recognize the cyber domain as a potential operational domain reassures the crucial role of cyber realm in the contemporary global security arena. With the sophistication of technology and increased development of cyber capabilities, both defensive but especially offensive ones, the cyber domain becomes a potential future battlefield for countries to achieve their political, strategic, military or economic goals. The proliferation of cyber weapons constitutes a threat that might be directed against opponent country to wage cyber war in order to influence the targeted state's decisions or actions. In this context, cyber war creates the possibility to engage the targeted state with less resources than a conventional military action would require, therefore cyber war as a form of war is highly possible, if not inevitable. Reconsidering the possibilities and the goals of countries to launch a cyber war, and reassessing the current trends of recent and ongoing armed conflicts, the future cyber war could be associated with either a preventive type of action or as a part of conventional war. The former type of cyber

war would be aimed at stopping the enemy state from starting the war, therefore having either coercive or deterrent effect. Whereas the latter form of war would be waged in order to achieve the moment of surprise and at the same time degrading enemy state's capabilities to accordingly react and respond to the conventional military engagement. The cyber war in either form would carry the potential of disabling targeted state's critical infrastructure, command and control information systems, governmental and military networks. This would constrain its ability to coordinate actions and efforts, organize forces and operate within the battlespace be it only within the cyberspace or in other operational domains. In comparison with the conventional armed conflicts and the use of military force, and being embodied within the cyber domain, cyber weapons and cyber war carry no lethal energy per se. From this perspective, cyber war would be considered as a less lethal and less destructive war, causing less human casualties and collateral damage than any form of conventional use of arms and weapons. Taking all the aspects into consideration, it has to be noted that the reasons and causes of wars will be mainly the same, be it political, economic or social, however, the forms and ways to wage wars will continue to change in the future. With the ever-evolving technologies, development of sophisticated cyber capabilities makes one to assume that cyber war is inevitable in case of potential confrontation between states. Nowadays, living in an era of pervasive digitisation and with many vital and critical systems being online and interconnected, it is almost not possible anymore to avoid the dependency on cyberspace. Nevertheless, in anticipation of potential threats nations should build resilient and robust cyber capabilities and envisage alternatives in case of cyber-attacks against the most vulnerable and critical infrastructure, systems and networks. In addition, states should change their pure defensive cyber posture towards a more proactive one in order to detect hostile cyber activity and be prepared to launch a counter-operation to prevent the further damage, deny or destruction of the systems the country is the most dependent. Only by planning preventive measures, the effects caused by potential cyber war would be less destructive and paralyzing.

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Afghanistan: Long War CPT DAVID AAMIDOR, United States of America

A War of Necessity

In the autumn of 2001, the Taliban refused to comply with America's demand that they cease their sponsorship of Al Qaeda and hand over those who were responsible for the attacks of September 11, 2001. "The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists or they will share in their fate" (Bush, 2001). The Taliban were hosting Al Qaeda training camps and senior leadership who claimed responsibility and their resistance to America's demand was regarded as evidence of their complicity by the United States and its allies. As a result of the Taliban's recalcitrance, America began combat operations in order to capture Al Qaeda leadership, rout the Taliban, eliminate the terrorist threat emanating from Afghanistan, and prevent its return. In November of 2001 the Taliban were forcibly removed from the city of Kabul, less than two months after the first coalition bombs began to fall. The beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) resulted in the swift removal of the Taliban from power and was viewed as a decisive victory and the liberation of Afghanistan. However, almost 16 years later, America and NATO remain entangled there, conducting counter terrorism and advise/assist operations which are designed to build capacity and achieve similar goals to those sought in 2001. The course of this conflict has been overseen by three different American Presidents and numerous senior leaders who have observed periods of success amidst complex challenges. Throughout the changes in political level leadership, policies began to morph as the realities on the ground were better understood.

Regardless, the methods required to destroy Al Qaeda, defeat the Taliban and prevent their return to power necessitated a major commitment to post-conflict reconstruction. This strategy focused on civilian reconstruction operations, supplemented by military power, was potentially more crucial than simply finding and destroying the enemy. With that, the initial military successes within the Afghan conflict could not be exploited because of a failure to address two crucial areas: (1) adequately addressing post-conflict reconstruction following the initial military victories; (2) denying insurgent

forces access to safe haven sites within Pakistan; and despite arguments to the contrary, there is no evidence to support an assertion that present conditions in Afghanistan would be more favourable had the coalition avoided so called nation building or major stability operations. However, the coalition's failure to adequately address reconstruction and governance allowed the Taliban to return to the areas where they had been ejected while safe haven areas in Pakistan allowed the Taliban, Al Qaeda and other insurgent forces to reconstitute and project power back into Afghanistan. Addressing this aforementioned notion while also reviewing the links between (re)construction vis-a-vis security and the supportive role that permissive geography within Pakistan played continue to be relevant points for Western powers to consider. Increasingly, the West is at odds with opponents who claim no state, have no regard for international boundaries, and exploit unfortunate civilian populations living in ungoverned areas in order to fuel their insurgencies. Understanding the conflict in Afghanistan and the costs associated with long term stability operations, reconstruction requirements, and their connections between counter-insurgency operations can help nations make informed decisions prior to beginning such operations.

Reconstruction Policy

The rapid military success of the United States and the Northern Alliance over the Taliban government in late 2001 was not met with an equally rapid transition to (re)construction which set conditions for the Taliban's resurgence. The initial and most consistent policy of the United States in Afghanistan was to destroy Al Qaeda and force the Taliban from power but to also, initially, avoid so-called nation building with a large troop presence. The idea of nation building was unacceptable, for the prospect of creating dependency while giving the perception of colonialism would have little to no benefit for any nation's foreign policy objectives. During a February 2003 speech in New York, Donald Rumsfeld stated, "the objective is not to engage in what some call nation building. Rather it's to try to help the Afghans so that they can build their own nation" (Rumsfeld, 2003). Donald Rumsfeld, the US Secretary of Defense, recognized the challenges associated with building a functioning society in Afghanistan but failed to appreciate or act upon how closely this concept was linked

to preventing the return of the Taliban and possibly Al Qaeda. Moreover, for civilian leaders such as Rumsfeld, this conflict was to be part of a comprehensive effort to address global terrorism and the prospect of committing to years of costly nation building was viewed with scepticism. “Past involvements in Vietnam and the Balkans had convinced these officials – and many military officers – that US Armed forces should be involved in state reconstruction only to the least degree possible” (Nicoll, 2011). However unpopular the prospect of nation building was during the early years of the conflict, the newly ungoverned spaces within Afghanistan would eventually require assistance - a prospect which became increasingly difficult with time as the Taliban began to return to their former strongholds. Furthermore, it was not merely US policy-makers who viewed major efforts to re-engineer Afghanistan as unsupportable. Lakdhar Brahimi, Special Representative of the United Nation’s Secretary General of Afghanistan from 3 October 2001 to 31 December 2004, coined the “light footprint” for Afghanistan. He emphasized the need to avoid a large foreign presence within Afghanistan which, following the Taliban’s tactical defeat in 2001, allowed for their pernicious return. In other words, when the Taliban were at their weakest (immediately following their removal in late 2001) we were not focused adequately on addressing the civil (re)construction needs of this region.

Of course, simply stating that the focus was inadequate is overly vague. The early efforts to build capacity within Afghanistan must be addressed. In fact, in 2002 the US and the coalition had plans to create a 60,000-man Afghan National Army and were providing civil affairs specialists to Pashtun (the Taliban’s ethnic majority) dominated areas in order to build schools, wells, and trust (Cordesman, 2002, pp. 49-50). However, the establishment of the Afghan National Army was challenged by illiteracy and desertion while its formation and employment was not sufficient to counter the resurgence of the Taliban in coming years; early efforts to stabilize the nation and win hearts and minds through (re)construction, although accompanied by millions of dollars, were faced with personnel shortages and at times degraded trust due to civilian casualties (Cordesman, 2002, pp. 52-54). Aggressively, supporting efforts to rebuild (but in most cases build) a functioning government within Afghanistan by assisting it with basic services, legitimacy, and the creation of reliable indigenous security forces fosters support and undermines the ability of insurgent forces to exploit the privations of the local populace (US Army FM 3-24, 2014).

Although a policy explicitly described as nation building was avoided in Afghanistan during the Bush administration from 2001-09 there was an increased recognition in the importance of civil reconstruction as the conflict progressed. The most punctuated adjustment of the United States' policy towards Afghanistan occurred in 2009, following the election of President Obama and his adoption of General David Petraeus' (CENTCOM Commander) counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy. This emphasis on reconstruction, couched inside of General Petraeus' COIN strategy, was adopted following the intense policy debate outlined in Bob Woodward's 2009 book *Obama's War.* The book portrays two factions within the administration: The Department of Defense and Department of State which advocated for tens of thousands of additional troops along with a civilian surge to lead the reconstruction while Vice President Biden and the Ambassador to Afghanistan, Carl Eikenberry, advocated a more limited counter terrorism strategy. Eikenberry, a retired general and former commander in Afghanistan, was in particular concerned about the length of time and challenges associated with establishing "not just security but health care, education, justice, infrastructure and almost every other basic government function" (Allin, 2011, p. 70). After eight years of conflict a recognition of the Afghan government's dysfunctionality existed but there was not a consensus regarding the linkage between improving governance/civil (re)construction, and the two aforementioned objectives of defeating Al Qaeda and removing the Taliban from power which by 2009 had a significant presence in 23 of the 34 provinces (International Council on Security and Development, 2011). Ultimately, the most prominent error in US policy was its failure to recognize and account for the (re)construction/nation building following the initial military success over the Taliban. The lack of support to (re)construction necessitated ungoverned spaces which allowed for the Taliban to regain power in areas from which they had been previously driven.

Although it is impossible to say definitively that an earlier and more robust reconstruction plan for Afghanistan would have resulted in a more favourable situation today, such a strategy was in fact successful in Kosovo: In June of 1999, immediately following several weeks of NATO's bombing campaign, 45,000 international troops entered Kosovo, a country of less than 2 million, in order to ensure security and assist with reconstruction (Dobbins, 2003). Compared with the commitment to post-conflict

efforts in Kosovo, by February of 2002, five months after the conflict began, fewer than 10,000 US and international troops were deployed to Afghanistan (a country of about 30 million) (Belasco, 2009) (O'Hanlon, 2014). Today, while not without troubles, Kosovo is (in relation to Afghanistan) in a far more stable and prosperous condition (World Bank, 2015).

Reconstruction within Afghanistan was not simply about building schools and medical clinics. It was also about establishing the rule of law which included controlling the lucrative drug trade. At the same time the United Nations, NATO, and the United States were spending billions of dollars operating in arguably one of the most impoverished countries, the Taliban was exploiting a lucrative drug trade and receiving financial assistance from generous donors which enabled their return.

> In 2009, the US military estimated that the Taliban collected $70 million annually from the poppy farmers and narcotics traffickers. The Taliban leaders and their allies also collect donations from outside of Afghanistan. The donors happen to be wealthy individuals from Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states, including Pakistani military and its intelligence operatives—although their governments may not be aiding them directly. In 2008, the insurgents reportedly received $106 million (Indurthy, 2011).

Without specifically addressing the apparent duplicity of Persian Gulf states, which at best choose not to limit their citizens' ability to fund the Taliban and possibly participated in this function, the money the Taliban received enabled them to recruit and equip an insurgent force, which was in some instances more highly paid than the Afghan security forces. "[T]he Taliban is able to entice recruits with payments between $200 to $500 per month—more than what the US-led NATO force are able to give to their recruits" (Indurthy, 2011). Attempts to limit funding of the Taliban have had mixed success. In her 2009 book *Seeds of Terror,* Gretchen Peters outlines an environment where the opium trade not only funds the Taliban but with hundreds of millions of dollars unaccounted for from the sale of drugs, it may also be used to bribe those who cooperate with the coalition. "According to press reports, Afghan government officials are involved in 70% of opium trafficking and a quarter of the 249 members of the Afghan Parliament have connections with the drug trade" (Pothier, 2009). If that was the case then past efforts to reduce the opium harvest, limiting the funds available to the Taliban may also reduce support from more neutral actors (who

benefit from drug trafficking) in Afghan society or even those who view western intervention as favourable. While Afghanistan continues to be the main source for illicit opium globally (CIA , 2017), the initial strategy following the invasion sought to directly address this situation and limit drug exports.

Operating within the concept of “lead nations” in 2002 the United Kingdom became responsible for the coalition’s counter-narcotic mission (Felbab-Brown, 2013). As noted by both Flebab-Brown (2013) and Pothier (2009) the counter-narcotics efforts had adverse effects on the counter-insurgency (COIN) mission in Afghanistan. A key tenant of COIN operations is to win support from the local populace (US Army FM 3-24, 2014). This is a challenging task for those attempting to eradicate the poppy in a country where opium trade accounted for nearly half of GDP (Pothier, 2009). In fact, the policy towards eradication changed under the Obama administration. The eradication of opium was delinked from the military objectives in Afghanistan which may have assisted with engendering support amongst local farmers but did little to provide alternatives for cultivation. In fact, an October 2016 report from the UN Office on Drugs and Crime found that there had been a 43% increase in opium production since 2015 (UNODC, 2016). A policy towards opium production which initially avoided using limited military resources for a comprehensive eradication program became more aggressive as the Taliban leveraged the illicit drug trade to fund their insurgency. Finally, as the eradication programs began to alienate the coalition from the local populace, particularly in the south, a more counterinsurgency conducive approach towards opium was adopted which continued to allow the Taliban to fund their operations. At the very least the coalition’s various approaches to counter narcotics programs depict the exceptionally complex and at times contradictory approaches where the choices that existed were merely various degrees of bad options. In this case it was either to alienate farmers who cultivated poppies or allow insurgents to fund their operations with these crops. This discussion on drug policy more broadly highlights how failures to address civil and governance deficiencies within Afghan society left farmers with unrealistic alternatives to poppy cultivation and created an environment where there was either limited capacity or desire to enforce the law. Had the (re)construction efforts addressed alternatives to poppy cultivation farmers may have been less reliant upon the crop and in turn limited the Taliban’s access to its profits.

Break It and Don't Buy It

Dana Allin (2011) presents an intriguing argument that in 2009 occupied the newly formed Obama administration as they addressed the current strategy in Afghanistan. Namely, the more narrowly focused initial war strategy of the Bush Administration. What if the US had destroyed Al-Qaeda and the Taliban but entirely avoided any attempts at reconstruction? This strategy can be summarized as remaining committed to the destruction of Al Qaeda and the Taliban while totally avoiding any tasks that resembled reconstruction – Break it and don't buy it. After all, reconstruction and stability operations in Afghanistan required a major troop presence which could have caused the strategic overreach associated with trying to re-engineer a society of 30 million people (Allin, 2011, pp. 57-58). A similar hypothetical is also presented in Rosa Brooks' *How Everything Became War, and the Military Became Everything* (2016) in which she considers if the situation in Afghanistan would be any worse today had the US "pummelled Al Qaeda's strongholds, helped the Northern Alliance oust the Taliban, and then…left?" (Brooks, 2016, p. 99). To subscribe to these two similar propositions one must assume that the destruction of the Taliban and Al Qaeda could have occurred without a reconstruction effort or even a limited COIN strategy. As evidenced during the Battle of Tora Bora (December 2001) and other engagements the Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters enjoyed the ability to slip away from battle by melting back into villages. It's difficult to envisage how their destruction or capture is possible without the support from the local populace where these terrorist or insurgents attempt to obscure themselves. Additionally, for the sake of consideration, if we assume that the argument Allin presents is possible and we can destroy both the Taliban and Al Qaeda without rebuilding society in Afghanistan, then what might be the possible consequences of a failed state to regional security? Firstly, if the Taliban are physically destroyed it says nothing of the destruction of their harsh ideology which can be defeated by preventing its spread by winning support from local populations; consider the how the Marshall Plan functioned as bulwark against the spread of communist ideology in Western Europe. Additionally, if the purpose of the initial intervention in Afghanistan was to both punish those responsible for 9-11 and to prevent the country of Afghanistan from being used to plan terrorist attacks, then ensuring enduring security and preventing a descent into chaos was required. This

requirement for security necessitated a guarantor in the form a foreign military force or the creation of a competent Afghan government capable of managing its own national security. That being said, Allin is certainly correct in stating, with regard to Afghanistan, that "[T]he United States suffered real debacles born in part out of an egregious mismatch between war aims and committed resources" as she compared the ambitious goals of creating a stable and secure Afghanistan with the corresponding modest troop levels (Allin, 2011, p. 54).

Safe Havens

The US and the coalition, at least outwardly, had a willing partner in Pakistan. Pakistan has undertaken several major combat operations in their western-most regions known as the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and has also been the victim of many terrorist attacks since the initiation of conflict within Afghanistan. Not coincidentally, between 2002 and 2015 the US has provided Pakistan with, on average, 2 billion dollars annually (Atal, 2015). However, Pakistan's relationship with both the US and the Taliban is complex and perhaps contradictory. In fact, it was not until 2014 (13 years after the invasion) that the Pakistani Military conducted a major offensive into North Waziristan (Operation Zarb-e-Azb). North Waziristan has been widely regarded as the central position inside of Pakistan for the Afghan Taliban, Al Qaeda, and the Haqqani Network (Indurthy, 2011, p. 38). A relationship with the Taliban could provide Pakistan with strategic depth during conflicts with India. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) may have been reluctant to see the Taliban's demise even with the military fighting them. A successful campaign to destroy or degrade the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan required the Pakistani government, including the ISI, to deny insurgent forces access to safe-haven areas within Pakistan itself.

In the summer of 2008 president Bush tasked his "War Czar" Lieutenant General Douglas Lute with conducting an assessment of the progress on the war in Afghanistan following seven years of conflict. Amongst other stark findings was that "the Pakistani safe havens had to be reduced and eventually eliminated" (Woodward, 2010, p. 44). During several early operations in Afghanistan the Taliban and Al Qaeda

key leaders who were being pursued escaped from Afghanistan and many were able to take refuge in Pakistan's veritable "wild west" (Laub, 2014). Furthermore, the western areas of Pakistan provided the Taliban with an area from which to regroup, organize, and project fighters back into Afghanistan. The Taliban's presence in Baluchistan and Quetta (western Pakistan) areas enabled them to exploit the lucrative drugs trade in opium and fund their insurgency. Although Pakistan has undertaken operations to disrupt the Taliban and related organizations operating within their territory, these operations occurred late in the course of this conflict and failed to eliminate key leadership (Khattak, 2011, pp. 9-11). With key leadership elements from both the Taliban and Al Qaeda able to operate inside of Pakistan, as demonstrated by Osama Bin Laden's residence in Abbottabad, attempts to defeat these organizations inside of Afghanistan were undermined in that they could not be comprehensively completed. Taliban and Al Qaeda leadership in Pakistan were able to perform command and control functions while serving as tools for recruitment. That being said, there was a tangible incentive for the Pakistani government to decisively defeat insurgent strongholds within their territory. Economic aid to Pakistan dramatically increased after September 11, 2001 and it can be inferred as a quid pro quo for their commitment as a cooperative partner in the fight against Al Qaeda and the Taliban. However, even with the Pakistani military's campaigns in the western territories known as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the effects of their endeavours were insufficient to deny these areas as a safe haven for a myriad of terrorist organizations. In fact, the Afghan Taliban continues to use Pakistan as safe-haven today as evidenced by the deaths, within Pakistan, of Mullah Omar (2013) and his successor Mullah Mansoor (2016) (Boone, 2016). The questionable commitment of Pakistan to the coalition's efforts is in part a result of a policy which did not effectively link the United States' diplomatic goals, which was at least in part to have a cooperative partner for the conflict in Afghanistan, to the economic support which the United States provided to Pakistan. In order to achieve the ambitious objective of denying a myriad of insurgent groups, in particular their leadership, access to safe haven within Pakistan the United States would have to more directly connect economic aid to tangible results or substantial efforts. Those results certainly include an Afghan and Pakistan border which is secured from both sides. Of course the prospect of directly connecting aid to battlefield results may foster a Machiavellian comparison;

however, there was and continues to be a very real need for the Pakistani government to combat extremist organizations within their territory.

Future Intervention and Stability Operations

In September of 2009, DoD Instruction 3000.05 more formally introduced the term stability operations which is partially defined as “re-establish a safe and secure environment, provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief” (DoD, 2009). Of course, these types of operations occurred before the phrase stability operations was adopted but more importantly, these instructions established stability operations as a “core task,” elevating its importance to that of offence and defence. This promotion can be viewed as appropriate if we expect to fight future wars similar to those in Afghanistan. However, if future wars prove to be of a higher intensity nature, then structuring a force to conduct stability operations with a “proficiency equivalent to combat operations,” (DoD, 2009) some reduction in readiness for high intensity combat is necessitated. In fact, in March of 2016 General Milley (US Army Chief of Staff) testified before congress that 15 years of counterinsurgency have negatively impacted that US Army’s ability to “fight high-end threats” (Gould, 2016). That being said, the cost associated with undertaking comprehensive stability operations or nation building can also be measured in terms of readiness for the next war. Thus, prior to the beginning of conflict, when a nation matches war aims with committed resources, there must be a cost assessment for such stability operations and if those costs can be justified. In order to win and successfully complete, long term stability operations such as the war in Afghanistan, incur a tremendous cost and national commitment. Countries must understand these costs and determine if they are justifiable prior to taking action.

Conclusions

The relevance of this war is now viewed or obscured in terms of comparisons to more pressing conflicts. A resurgent Russia, civil war in Syria, and the offensives against ISIS overshadow the mission in Afghanistan which continues to claim lives despite the end of combat operations. That being said, tangible gains have been made. Life

expectancy and infant mortality rates have all improved since October of 2001 (World Bank, 2017). However, these and other gains have occurred at great expense and the pertinent question is how could this war have been fought better? The two salient focus areas of neglected post conflict (re)construction and the denial of safe haven sanctuary within Pakistan have been decidedly crucial in the prolonging of this conflict. They provide lessons from which conclusions can be based and applied to future war. The Taliban, Al Qaeda, and other insurgent forces utilized areas within Pakistan to preserve senior leadership and organize the insurgency within Afghanistan. Similar to the asymmetric warfare during Vietnam, the Taliban *et al* did not adhere to state boundaries and sought sanctuary where it was provided. Meanwhile, the initial neglect of civil (re)construction and governance requirements within Afghanistan left sufficient portions of the populace without access to basic needs. This neglect allowed the Taliban to return and weaken security, only to further jeopardize the prospects of (re)construction, resulting in a detrimental cycle. In conclusion, the lessons of what could have been done more effectively in Afghanistan, by understanding what it takes to successfully end such a conflict, must be considered when a nation decides how it wants to fight a war.

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How is peacebuilding implemented most efficiently? CDR CHRISTIAN ØXNEVAD-GUNDERSEN
Norway

Introduction

It is easy to win a war. 'Mission Accomplished' was the text on the banner on-board the US aircraft carrier off the coast of Iraq in 2003 and NATO's Secretary-General declared the mission accomplished in 2011 after Operation Unified Protector in Libya. However, we know that violence did not end in either Iraq or Libya. Military power is an effective instrument for winning wars, but how do we win, or build, peace?

Asking the general question, 'How is peacebuilding implemented most efficiently?' this paper will narrow it down to the scope of a NATO Joint Force Commander (JFC). NATO has repeatedly stated that military means can only achieve a limited set of objectives, such as winning the battle, and a comprehensive approach using all means available is required in order to fulfil the larger political aspirations of winning the peace. NATO, in its Comprehensive Planning Directive (COPD), describes the instruments of power as military, political, economic and civil. They are the tools that can influence the PMESII system domains (political, military, economic, social, infrastructure and information) that constitute the theatre of operations. NATO declares that it only has control of the military, and partially, the political instruments through the North Atlantic Council (NAC) (SHAPE, 2013). This can imply that a military commander on a peacebuilding mission conducts operations without full access to all necessary means in pursuit of lasting peace.

Given this background, this essay argues that Information Operations (Info Ops) are an essential element for achieving peace by NATO JFC as Info Ops allows the use of all instruments of power. The Instruments of Power support a comprehensive approach and Info Ops are the JFC's bridge between them.

NATO describes Info Ops as a military function that directs activities with the purpose to create effects on the cognitive will, understanding and capabilities of parties in support of the mission. Info Ops tools are military capabilities orchestrated within the framework of Info Ops. Information Activities are those actions that affect information

or information systems and can be executed by any asset. Target audience can include populations, or individuals as leaders and decision-makers, and organizations. (NATO, 2015). For the purpose of this essay, information systems collect, apply and/or disseminate information, enabling actors to understand a situation and apply their will.

Table 2.1 Three-pillar comprehensive mapping of conflict and conflict resolution (3PF)		
Pillar 2:	Pillar 1:	Pillar 3:
Conflict causes and conditions	Conflict elements	Conflict intervention
Individual	Parties	*Third-party objectives*
Societal	Issues	[Violent] Conflict prevention
International	Objectives	Conflict management
Global/ecological	Means	Conflict settlement
	Conflict-handling orientations	Conflict resolution
	Conflict environment	Conflict transformation
		Third-party means for achieving goals
		Confrontational and/or collaborative means
		Negative peace and/or positive peace orientations
		Track 1 and/or multi-track actors and processes

Figure 1 Sandole 2010, p. 57

The major debate on Info Ops relates to hybrid warfare and perhaps to a lesser degree to peacebuilding. There are several definitions of peacebuilding that focus on actions that occur prior to a conflict breaking out. This essay, however, uses West's definition quoted by Alger (2007, p. 543) as measures to 'improve general security, establish a legitimate government, and rehabilitate the local economy and civil society' since it fits well with NATOs involvement in conflict after violence has already occurred. Sandole (2010, p. 56) presents his Three-Pillar Framework (3PF) model that encompasses a great number of peacebuilding theories intending to provide a gateway for planners on how to approach peacebuilding. The first pillar contains the conflict environment, the second contains conflict causes and the third contains methods of conflict intervention.

This paper is organised in four sections dedicated to each of the four Instruments of Power. In each section, I will first describe the relevant instrument and then provide examples of how Info Ops allow the JFC access to this instrument. In the end of each section, I will connect the relevance to peacebuilding. Finally, I will make recommendations regarding how JFC can use Info Ops as a frame for directing military effort in pursuit of peace in concert with the International Community. Understanding how JFC can use Info Ops to achieve peace is vital as Info Ops support the commander's planning and direction of operations in the transitions between all phases of peacebuilding, enable a comprehensive approach through all instruments

of power, and support cooperation with actors in those domains, addressing deep-rooted problems in pursuit of positive peace.

Military Instrument of Power

Instrument of Power

The military instrument of power is the use of both lethal and non-lethal force in order to impose will and make another entity act in a way that they would not otherwise act. It can deter, coerce, contain or defeat an opponent or, in a more constructive manner, secure or support stabilization and reconstruction (SHAPE, 2013).

Information Operations

The objective of Info Ops is to create an effect on the cognitive will, understanding and capabilities of the target audience. The NAC approves targets, which can include individuals, groups and organisations. The audience can encompass entire societies ranging from combatants to civilian parties of the conflict. Several military tools and methods of operations can fulfil the intention of Info Ops. Tools, or capabilities, that can be integrated through Info Ops can include public affairs, electronic warfare (EW), computer network operations, civil military cooperation (CIMIC), key leadership engagement (KLE), soldier-level engagement, deception, presence/posture/profile (PPP), psychological operations (PSYOPS) and the physical destruction of targets (NATO, 2015).

NATO has employed Info Ops in several missions. For example as a response to the atrocities that occurred in the Balkans in the late 90's. NATO initially responded by employing air power as per Operation Allied Force in Serbia and Kosovo (Melien, 2012, p. 320). Some targets were Air Defence/Radar installations that enabled situational awareness to adversary decision makers. They were affected by kinetic strikes or non-kinetic EW attack, denying the adversary an information system capability that enabled its understanding of the situation. Another evidence for Info Ops tool in NATO's effort to hinder the humanitarian crisis in the Balkans were the use of PSYOPS with the intention of depriving armed actors of their will to continue atrocities (Richards, 1997-2017).

The Relevance for Peacebuilding

How does the military instrument of power and tools of Info Ops support peacebuilding? Sandole (2010, p. 70) describes one of the phases of intervention as 'Conflict Management' where one reacts to the violence in place and seeks to contain it. 'Conflict Management' was the case of UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Former Yugoslavia. With this understanding, we can place Info Ops tools of kinetic strike and PSYOPS in Pillar 3, conflict intervention and its subset 'Conflict Management', of the 3PF model. When we address Pillar 1, Conflict Elements, in 3PF and examine the environment of Balkans in the 90's we can identify the conflict as an Aggressive Manifest Conflict Process (AMCP) (Sandole, 2010, p. 58) where parties resort to violence in pursuit of incompatible goals where Kosovo Albanians pursued independence and Serbs firmly opposed them. Info Ops use PSYOPS to exploit structural or intra-group conflicts in warring parties seeking to break cohesion and ultimately the actors' will to execute violence (Sandole, 2010, p. 59).

As we see, the military instrument of power and Info Ops have a connection to the conflict elements and intervention pillars in the 3PF model, but it can be argued that these specific examples of Info Ops tools have limited effect on Pillar 2, addressing the causes of the conflict. A kinetic strike on a warring faction's information system denying situational awareness and PSYOPS breaking cohesion and will, only suppresses the violence. That could be a deliberate objective in order to allow next phase or other peacebuilding tools to function, but Military Power cannot win the peace alone. Galtung in Call (2008, p. 176) describes negative peace as only absence of violence lacking the elements needed to promote peace. As an example, the military can remove an actor's capability to use violence, but not the will to use it (i.e removing the gun will not necessarily affect the mind-set of a thief and change his motivation for conducting crimes). One can argue that the Info Ops tools described here are limited to the accomplishment of negative peace and containment of violence. Therefore, in order to achieve positive peace, where a society has the capability to overcome differences through means other than violence, there is a need to address deep-rooted problems in order to prevent violence from resurfacing (Sandole, 2010, p. 10). We need to expand beyond the tools examined here, as a comprehensive approach is required. This leads us to the next instrument of power, political power.

Political Instrument of Power

Instrument of Power

The political instrument of power revolves around the diplomatic arena cooperating with various actors that have power, or authority, to provide direction within a relevant system. The intent is to achieve a favourable position supporting the end state, combining military and diplomatic power. (SHAPE, 2013)

Information Operations

So, how can a JFC contribute in the political instrument of power? Info Ops is the JFC's link to Strategic Communication (StratCom), which in turn encompasses Public Diplomacy and thereby connects the JFC to the political instrument of power. Political guidance and direction of the narrative are synchronized from the strategic to the tactical level through StratCom with the intention of ensuring cohesiveness in the narrative displayed (ACT-SHAPE, 2015). The JFC can contribute to this Instrument of Power with actions on the battlefield and hence support the efforts of top-level diplomatic talks. As an example, Special Forces were the early NATO ground troops to enter Kosovo. They gained access to decision-makers that were difficult to reach and conducted KLE, with aim of influencing their cognitive will and understanding, working towards peace deals between warring factions (Melien, 2012, pp. 319-320). Written and spoken words deliver a message. At the same time, so does our body language. According to the NATO StratCom Centre of Excellence (CoE), an organisation carries its own body language (Tutins, 2016). In this case, the JFC can support efforts in the diplomatic arena with the manoeuvre and actions of their forces, adjusting force Presence, Posture and Profile (PPP). You can send a message of threat with amphibious vessels, threatening an invasion and thereby coercing a warring faction or you can send a strong message of reassurance to the weaker faction when deploying ground units.

The Relevance for Peacebuilding

Having seen how these two tools of Info Ops provide the JFC access to the political instrument of power, how does it fit in the scope of peacebuilding? As observed in the previous section, military power is limited in its ability to address the causes of violence

in Pillar 2. A general understanding is that guns do not start wars, but miscommunication does. Supporting this perception, Alger (2007, p. 535) sites UN general assembly highlighting the importance of communication between entities in addressing deep-rooted causes of violence. With this background communication can be understood paramount in trying to achieve a 'Culture of Peace' that is able to 'reject violence and prevent conflicts'. Given this background, the Info Ops tools of KLE and PPP give the JFC the possibility to address 3PF Pillar 2 and the causes of the conflict. Delivering messages influencing parties' will and understanding, and supporting the achievement of parties' mutual understanding through KLE and PPP addressing each actor.

Figure 2 Lederach's Leadership Pyramid in Sandole, 2010, pp. 45

Lederach's Leadership Pyramid as presented by Sandole (2010) provides a picture for how to engage the different layers of society in a conflict working towards peacebuilding. The model maps out Top-, Mid-, and Grass Root-Level Leadership, which must be cohesively engaged in building peace. Top Level Leadership is described as official, governmental actors with the aim of achieving an overarching peace deal between the major conflicting players (Sandole, 2010, pp. 44-47). This engagement would naturally belong to the political instrument of power above the JFC level. Middle Range Leadership, however, is characterised as a layer that has connections to both Top and Grass Root-levels of society and is not as restrained by politics as the Top-Level (Sandole, 2010, p. 47). This leaves it as an important layer of society that can have a positive effect if addressed cohesively with the Top-Level. The NAC approves Info Ops target audiences, which can involve all actors in the theatre, not only the warring factions (NATO, 2015). This implies that JFCs can engage broadly in the Lederarch Leadership

Pyramid while addressing conflict elements and causes in Sandole's 3PF model supporting the political instrument of power.

The nature of the Information Activity of KLE and PPP in this chapter is non-kinetic. Therefore, it can operate in several phases of peacebuilding described in Pillar 3 of intervention, moving from 'Coercive Peacemaking' all the way to 'Conflict Resolution' (Sandole, 2010, pp. 70-71)

Economical Instrument of Power

Instrument of Power

According to COPD, we can understand the economical instrument of power as those actions that promote, or hinder the effectiveness of the financial system involving the parties in the conflict (SHAPE, 2013).

Information Operations

How can the JFC be involved, or contribute, within the Economical Instrument of Power? During NATO's Operation Unified Protector in 2011, military units enforced a weapons embargo on Libya stemming from the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolutions 1970 and 1973. The embargo effectively controlled the flow of commodities off the coast of Libya. Another example is from Operation Joint Endeavour in 1995 under UNSC Resolution 757 (1992) and 1022 (1995) where maritime assets enforced economic sanctions, supporting efforts of states that halted their trade, on then Yugoslavia through an embargo. The sanctions were supposed to be lifted when certain parts of the peace agreement were upheld (UNSC 1022). The use of military assets to enforce embargos is part of presence, posture and profile (PPP) and targets the will and understanding of Top-Level Decision-makers (i.e. the will to meet criteria for a peace agreement). As such, these activities are in the scope of Info Ops.

As we saw in the first chapter, the JFC can use Info Ops as a tool to deprive a decision-maker of C2 capabilities that enable understanding and situational awareness by destroying radar installations. On the other hand, Info Ops can have an effect on enhancing situational awareness for decision-makers in the economic domain looking at organised crime. For example according to the NATO Military Police CoE 'Stability

Policing' is a method that can support the rebuilding of governmental bodies. One area is (re)building forensic capabilities targeting economic crime and forgery. (NATO MP Centre of Excellence, 2016).

The Relevance for Peacebuilding

How do the economic instrument of power and the Info Ops tools of embargo and forensics fit into the different Pillars of the 3PF model of peacebuilding? Firstly, they can address conflict root causes. As described in Pillar 2. Conflict causes, these can include economic aspects and may fuel the violence, even if it was not an original source of the conflict (Sandole, 2010, p. 67). As we have previously seen, these causes of conflict must be addressed in building positive peace. 'Conflict-handling Orientations' found in Pillar 1, conflict elements, is a description of how the parties manoeuvre towards their objectives. They may be competitive and confrontational or more constructive and cooperative. Parties may also reach a point of compromising and dividing resources in fair shares in more 'collaborative problem solving' when they understand that it is not sustainable for either part to split the difference and other solutions are required (Sandole, 2010, pp. 65-66). Looking at the example of third party intervention, where economic embargo is only lifted when parties adhere to peace agreements, we see how the use of Economic Power and PPP can be a tool with goal to influence the will of parties from a negative towards a more positive conflict handling approach.

The work of forensics carries the attributes of an information system by collecting, applying and disseminating information. Information related to organised crime stemming from deep-rooted problems can be addressed by decision-makers in pursuit of peacebuilding. The peacebuilding phase of 'Conflict Transformation' in Pillar 3, involves a third party to enhance or rebuild actors' capabilities and a way to handle future conflicts in a non-violent manner (Sandole, 2010, p. 71). Conducting a type of Military Assistance, like training governmental bodies on forensics, would assist actors' C2 capabilities on the judicial side and can be part of the comprehensive approach, making a bridge to the civil instrument of power as we will address in the last chapter.

It can be argued that there are not many Info Ops tools that connect JFCs to the economic instrument of power. Nevertheless, we have witnessed the relevance of

military capabilities, supporting a common approach with the International Community, influencing the cognitive will and understanding of the different actors in pursuit of effective peacebuilding.

Civil Instrument of Power

Instrument of Power

According to the COPD, the civil instrument of power is the use of '..judiciary, constabulary, education, public information and civilian administration and support infrastructure..' (SHAPE, 2013). It also underlines that the instrument is controlled by nations, international and non-governmental organisations (IO and NGO).

Information Operations

There is a close connection between the Economic and Civilian Instrument. In the last chapter, we examined the enhancement of governmental C2 capabilities combating economic crime. This in turn, has an effect on the parties' ability to exert judiciary power. 'Stability Policing' can be associated with judiciary power and described as constabulary activities directed to build, or rebuild, governments ability to enforce law and order as well as protect human rights (NATO MP Centre of Excellence, 2016). When military units train other actors, the training can be associated with the Info Ops tool of Military Assistance and to a degree, CIMIC. The latter is defined by NATO as: 'The coordination and cooperation, in support of the mission, between the NATO Commander and civil actors, including national population and local authorities, as well as international, national and non-governmental and agencies' (NSA, 2013). In AJP-3.10, Doctrine for Info Ops, CIMIC is mentioned as a tool that contributes to influencing key decision-makers and contributing with information (NATO, 2015). An example is Kosovo Force CIMIC teams working together with United Nations Mission in Kosovo registering destroyed domestic, educational, health care, economic and communicational infrastructure (Kosovo, 2000, p. 120). The registered data provided a baseline for a broad group of decision-makers representing different entities in pursuit of peacebuilding.

The Relevance for Peacebuilding

Having examined how Info Ops provides the JFC access to the civil instrument of power, let us look at how it fits with peacebuilding theory. Chadwick, citing Galtung, explained that there is a mission and role for everybody in the complex effort of achieving both negative and positive peace. Furthermore, there are myriads of actors involved in the work of peacebuilding and the number is increasing. The UN system organises most of these governmental, international and NGO (2007, pp. 534-536). Even though the UN cluster does not encompass all institutions, it is the largest IO and attracts the most NGOs due to funding and legitimacy. Acknowledging the complexity of peacebuilding missions in the frame of the 3PF model and the need for a comprehensive approach, the JFC's use of CIMIC in conjunction with the UN would be beneficial in restoring civil society.

John Prendergast, in Chadwick (2007, p. 542) argues that humanitarian aid is the most important tool for connecting third party interveners and conflicting actors. As such, it can be a stepping-stone for communication and a facilitator in transferring a narrative in the frame of Info Ops. CIMIC, as an Info Ops tool in the Civil Instrument of Power, can connect military capabilities with other actor's efforts on rebuilding or establishing new mechanisms supporting local institutional bodies' ability to govern their own population and master internal disputes. (Sandole, 2010, p. 71).

Call and Cousens emphasize the importance of examining and truly understanding individual and societal disputes in Pillar 2 before addressing the elements of conflict in Pillar 1. Otherwise, efforts would not go '..beyond fragile, minimalist peacebuilding..' (Sandole, 2010, p. 69). The example of CIMIC personnel collecting information in Kosovo gives it a role in this context. This, coupled with the civil instrument of power enabling rebuilding of educational institutions in a war-torn society, can be a bedrock for avoiding future outbreaks of violence in pursuit of positive peace by addressing the deep-root causes of the conflict. As such, we can place CIMIC and Info Ops in Pillar 3 of intervention and the peacebuilding phase of 'conflict transformation'. We have seen Info Ops in the Civil Instrument of Power as a truly comprehensive approach, with UN cluster cooperation, influencing the cognitive will and understanding of the different actors in pursuit of effective peacebuilding.

Conclusion and recommendation

In this paper, we have seen how the tools of Info Ops allow a military commander access to all instruments of power (see figure 4). Info Ops function in the military instrument of power through kinetic or non-kinetic attack on physical C2 installations and PSYOPS having an effect on armed parties of the conflict. The political instrument of power is accessed through the tools of KLE and the organisational body language of presence, posture and profile (PPP) supporting the International Community's credibility by displaying commitment and intent. PPP, with embargos, can also play a role in the economical instrument of power supporting IC overall efforts. Finally, CIMIC has a key liaison function with the vast amount of entities in the Civil Instrument of Power. All military actions and tools described in these instruments of power have the possibility of influencing parties' cognitive will, understanding, and C2 capabilities in the information environment. Therefore, Info Ops gives JFCs the possibility to have a comprehensive approach to missions of peacebuilding, which we have witnessed, is crucial in pursuit of positive peace.

The Three-Pillar Comprehensive Mapping of Conflict and Conflict Resolution (3PF) Model encompasses, according to Sandole (2010), the majority of important peacebuilding theories and can be a foundation for planning approaches to peacebuilding. The relevance of Info Ops is displayed with the connection of several parts of the 3PF model as visualised in figure 3. In Pillar 1 (Conflict Elements), it addresses parties, conflict-handling orientations and environment elements. In Pillar 2 (Conflict Causes and Conditions) we have individual and societal elements. In Pillar 3 (Conflict Intervention), we have the different phases of peacebuilding such as conflict management, settlement, resolution and transformation. By merging the doctrine of

Table 2.1 Three-pillar comprehensive mapping of conflict and conflict resolution (3PF)

Pillar 2: Conflict causes and conditions	Pillar 1: Conflict elements	Pillar 3: Conflict intervention
Individual	Parties	*Third-party objectives*
Societal	Issues	[Violent] Conflict prevention
International	Objectives	Conflict management
Global/ecological	Means	Conflict settlement
	Conflict-handling orientations	Conflict resolution
	Conflict environment	Conflict transformation
		Third-party means for achieving goals
		Confrontational and/or collaborative means
		Negative peace and/or positive peace orientations
		Track 1 and/or multi-track actors and processes

Figure 3 Visualisation of Info Ops connections to 3PF model

Info Ops with 3PF in this paper, we see opportunities for JFCs to attain positive effects in peacebuilding missions.

With this background, I encourage military planners and relevant civil servants to take Info Ops, coupled with the 3PF model, into account when planning operations. I recommend that JFCs use Info Ops as a framework for orchestrating military capabilities/tools in pursuit of winning the peace because it supports having a continuous, long-term focus on effects, and continued validity when transitioning between the several phases of peacebuilding. Because they can affect the will, understanding and capabilities of all parties by both kinetic and non-kinetic measures, Info Ops enable a comprehensive approach through all instruments of power, bridging collaboration with actors in those domains by addressing deep-root problems in pursuit of positive peace.

In conclusion, the tools of Info Ops are an essential element for a NATO JFC in pursuit of peacebuilding. This paper has discussed possible paths to move from winning the war to winning the peace in the frame of communication. However, will it enable a bold statement of 'mission accomplished' with the end of violence? Call argues that family violence increases in succession of war (Sandole, 2010, p. 81). As Info Ops can be an effective element in peacebuilding, communication is probably a large part in all type of violence between ethnical groups or within a family. With communication, peace can replace violence in all arenas.

JFC area of control				
Selection of JFC tools in IO	Mil. Power	Pol. Power	Eco. Power	Civ. Power
Kinetic strike	x			
Non-kinetic strike (EW)	x			
PSYOPS	x			
KLE		x		
PPP		x	x	
MA			x	x
CIMIC				x
		IO spillover effect to other Instruments of Power		

Figure 4Visualisation of tools and their connections to each Instrument of Power that are mentioned in this paper.

List of abbreviations:

JFC: Joint Force Commander

COPD: Comprehensive Planning Directive

NAC: North Atlantic Council

Info Ops: Information Operations

3PF: Three-Pillar Framework

EW: electronic warfare

CIMIC: civil military cooperation

KLE: key leadership engagement

PPP: presence/posture/profile

PSYOPS: psychological operations

AMCP Aggressive Manifest Conflict Process

StratCom: Strategic Communication

CoE: Centre of Excellence

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

IO: International Organisations

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisations

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How is peace-building implemented most effectively? MAJ NENAD TODOROVIĆ
Serbia

Introduction

The core doctrine for United Nations peacekeeping operations – 'United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines' (also known as 'Capstone Doctrine') – defines peace-building as 'a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development' (UN, 2008, p. 18). The main idea behind this definition is that peace-building processes should address deep-rooted causes of conflict in a comprehensive way *(Ibid).* However, peace-building reality is far from this ideal. The former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, as summarized by Autesserre (2010), noted that 'countries that emerge from war lapse back into violence within five years' (Autesserre, 2010, p. 5). The study conducted in 2010 indicated that majority of armed conflicts that occurred in the first decade of 21st century have been recurrences, because deep-rooted causes of conflict have not been properly addressed (Sandole, 2010, p. 35). Currently, Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo are clear examples of peace-building failures (Jenkins, 2013, p. 1). Even with the cease-fire among parties in place or diplomatic solution to the conflict, the violence often continues regardless of all the peace-building efforts. As the peace-building strategies fail so often, many questions may arise: What have we done wrong? How was it possible that the largest and most expensive peace operations failed to put to an end some of the bloodiest conflicts of the post-Cold war era? Is the problem due to the misunderstanding and incapacity of peacebuilders to adequately address the roots of violence, or it is ignorance and neglect of local conflict dynamics? In other words, is there something in relation to conflict background, local society structure, or local culture, cultural norms and dynamics that peacebuilders should consider and rethink? I would argue that the missing link in the peacebuilders' approach to problems is cultural awareness.

Culture can be defined as a set of traditions, beliefs, and behaviours, which are common to a certain group. Cultural awareness is therefore knowledge of a particular

culture and ability to recognize and understand the effects of culture – to know what one can encounter while interacting with the people from particular culture (Wunderle, 2006, p. 9).

Peacebuilders need knowledge of local culture, in order to understand main cultural factors (such as religion, ethnicity, heritage, social structures, norms and traditions) and how they influence behaviours, decision-making and actions of different local actors in the peace-building process. That knowledge will enable them to understand how local culture can affect the peace-building efforts. Finally, they will be able to understand and properly address root causes of conflict, which is the core premise of peace-building.

This essay will assert that peace-building can be implemented more effectively if cultural awareness is considered more seriously during planning and execution of peace-building operations, however, we should avoid the tendency to overestimate it or see cultural factors as obstacles. My first argument is that raising cultural awareness could significantly contribute to the success of peace-building process because it helps in understanding and addressing root causes of conflict, enhances operational effectiveness, situational awareness, safety and securities of own forces, and ultimately fosters the image and credibility of the mission. My second argument is that in order to achieve this, mission personnel must complete adequate pre-deployment training with regards to mission-specific cultural factors so they reach a proper level of cultural awareness.

The first part of the essay will address the question 'Why culture matters?' by analysing the importance of culture and cultural awareness (from a historical and operational perspective) and explaining the connection between cultural factors and success of peace-building. The second part will highlight some key characteristics of peace-building and observe how peace-building is implemented more effectively if cultural factors are thoughtfully considered during planning and execution of peace-building operations. The third part will identify current gaps in cultural awareness training and some recommendations regarding cultural awareness training and education which is essential for implementation of a cultural perspective into peace-building operations. In this part I will also propose a model for developing cultural awareness at different

levels. The second and third part of the essay will similarly address some critics of incorporating a cultural dimension into military and peace-building operations, such as that we should not overestimate the importance of culture and that 'Culture does not eat strategy for breakfast' (Bergman, 2013). The essay will focus on the importance of understanding local culture in peace-building; the other aspect (understanding different cultures within multinational organizations and missions) will be briefly mentioned.

Why culture matters?

Throughout history, cultural factors have always influenced the conduct of military operations. In some parts of the world, such as Africa and the Middle East, cultural factors even played critical roles for the success of military operations (Wunderle, 2006, p. 2). Experience from recent and ongoing peace operations, which were either population-centric (with the aim to support the local population, such as operation ISAF[1] in Afghanistan) or with mandate to protect civilians (like most of ongoing United Nations multidimensional peacekeeping operations), showed that the role of culture became even more important. However, roles of culture and cultural awareness have often been ignored and unrecognized, and lessons learned from interactions with different cultures have often been unexamined and unexploited. If we are looking for why culture matters, we just have to learn from history.

More than two thousand years ago, the Romans learned why culture matters. Facing a series of rebellions whilst lacking the manpower and resources to maintain peace in all parts of the Empire, they have developed a complex four-pillar strategy which encompassed military, political, economic and cultural instruments. Military actions were represented by direct suppression of rebellion while political and economic actions aimed to make the provinces dependant on Rome. The cultural method, however, became the main method in maintaining peace and stability after the rebellion was supressed. This method functioned through two main lines of effort. One was development of these provinces so they become equal with other parts of the Empire in terms of economy, urbanization and judiciary. Second line of effort was that

[1] International Security Assistance Force.

soldiers stationed in the provinces acted as ‘cultural agents’ – they represented the Rome and spread Roman culture and values (Tovy, 2012, pp. 3-8). From this example one is likely to conclude that long ago it was clear that in order to maintain peace and security in long terms it was necessary to consider culture as much as security, economy, development, and other issues. Still, more than two thousand years after the development of this strategy, military commanders and forces under their command continue with same mistakes because they do not properly consider cultural awareness during planning and execution of military operations. Wunderle (2006) provides example of what can happen when military actions do not properly address cultural awareness:

> ’A lack of cultural awareness among American forces has led to an increase in animosity among many Iraqis and contributed to a negative image of the US military. [...] Soldiers have also shown ignorance of Islamic religious practice. For example, Iraqis arrested by US troops have had their heads forced to the ground, a position forbidden by Islam except during prayers. This action offends detainees as well as bystanders. [...] The military has enough to worry about without alienating the local population.’ (Wunderle, 2006, p. 2).

With the emergence of peacekeeping and later complex multidimensional peace-building missions, culture continued to play a vital role in maintaining peace and security in the long run. First peacekeeping operations, whose main task was to maintain ceasefire and separate the parties in conflict (a traditional peacekeeping tasks), deployed to the areas where different cultures, ethnicities and religions collided over centuries. While providing a temporary settlement of the conflict, those traditional peacekeeping missions have never really addressed the root causes of conflict. Failure of early United Nations peacekeeping missions in 1990s (Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia) had shown that in order to maintain peace and security in the long run it was not enough just to maintain a ceasefire and separation of parties. Due to the changed essence of armed conflict and more actors involved, it became clear that peace operations should execute complex, multidimensional mandates. Those mandates include a widespread assistance to the war-torn countries, with long-term peace-building tasks such as Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR), Security Sector Reform (SSR), support to political process and elections, development, and re-building government institutions (UN, 2009, p. 40). In order to fulfil such mandate, peace-builders have to address and eliminate root causes of

conflict in a comprehensive and effective way while maintaining situational awareness, safety and security of own forces, and image and credibility of mission. This cannot be completed without sufficient knowledge of local culture and level of cultural awareness which will suit to peace-building tasks. Since we already defined culture as a set of traditions, beliefs, and behaviours, which are common to a certain group (as explained in the introduction), then it can be also understood as a shared knowledge and a framework which guides the lives of people on an everyday basis. This framework determines how people see the world, social values, norms, traditions, social structures, and rules for interacting with other people – including the way how individuals see the conflict and how they engage in it (Piotrowska, 2015, p. 13).

Since ancient times it had been clear that knowing the adversary is just one of critical preconditions for success of military operations. In today's peace-building, cultural awareness plays the same important role as knowing potential adversaries or spoilers in the peace process. In order to succeed in their tasks, peace-builders must achieve a proper level of cultural awareness. This can only be achieved through adequate training and education prior to deployment, but also through learning and adapting during interaction with local culture. With that knowledge peacebuilders will be able to understand and properly address root causes of conflict such as ethnic and religious rivalries and animosities; they will recognize the needs of local population; they will understand traditional local structures and will be able to address the right actor in any situation; they will understand how and why different actors think and act; and, they will know what to expect from and how to influence the behaviour of different local actors in the peace-building process. Finally, they will be able to show respect to the local culture and cultural diversities, because respect for diversities and cultural differences is one of the key values of peace operations (UN, 2009, p. 352). The following part will explain in a more detailed way how cultural awareness could significantly contribute to the success of peace-building process.

How is peace-building implemented more effectively if cultural factors are thoughtfully considered?

The first argument has already delineated that raising cultural awareness could significantly contribute to the success of peace-building process because it helps in addressing root causes of conflict, enhances operational effectiveness, situational awareness, safety and securities of own forces, and ultimately fosters the image and credibility of mission. Before proceeding with this argumentation it is necessary to highlight some key characteristics of peace-building. Many authors understand peace-building as external intervention 'intended to reduce the risk that a state will erupt into or return to war' (Jenkins, 2013, p. 30). In other words, peace-building is planned and conducted by foreign actors – those who are usually not familiar with local culture and its dynamics. Foreign peacebuilders have their own education from different educational systems and their own set of beliefs, definitions, assumptions, roles, norms, and procedures – a kind of 'peace-building culture' – which shape their intervention strategy and actions on the ground (Autesserre, 2010, p. 10). However, while they succeed in providing conflict resolution at the political and diplomatic level, they often fail to understand why the violence persists at the local level. Failure to understand this ultimately undermines all the peace-building effort. From this perspective, it can be argued that one of the reasons for such ineffectiveness of peace-building is misunderstanding or lack of knowledge in local culture, societal structures, local conflict dynamics (traditional behaviours and violence at the local level), and local actors in the peace-building process.

Peacebuilding involves a wide range of instruments, including diplomatic, economic, social, judicial, military, and so forth. In complex multidimensional peace operations, such as those with peacebuilding mandates and tasks, the military is just one of the mission's components – but the one with substantial armed capacity to enforce the mandate and with the authority to use force. In peacebuilding operations, the main role of the military is to provide a safe and secure environment so that other actors (civilian component, UN police, humanitarian and other agencies) can conduct their tasks. In order to achieve this, the military must maintain 'foot on the ground' and

proper situational awareness, which means that troops must be familiar with local conflicts and dynamics and be prepared to adequately respond to any situation.

If peace-building planners prior to mission planning develop proper knowledge of the conflict background and the main aspects of local culture (especially behaviours and actions of local actors influenced by the culture), they will have a better situational awareness necessary for the initial planning stage. That knowledge will enable them to do a proper mission analysis before they develop feasible courses of action, procedures and contingency plans for different emergencies and to conduct a proper allocation of resources for each peace-building task.

Cultural awareness is equally important during initial stage of deployment: with sufficient knowledge and understanding of local cultural factors and their effects, peacebuilders can adapt more easily to the new environment and avoid confusion, cultural shock and frustration. Once they are deployed to the mission area, peacebuilders with sufficient levels of cultural awareness will have better knowledge of behaviour, decision-making and actions of different local actors in the peace process. By constantly analysing cultural factors and their influences on local actors, peacebuilders will improve their situational awareness. Better situational awareness will reduce uncertainty during operations and provide conditions for better planning and implementation of safety and security measures of own forces. All these preconditions will in return enhance operational effectiveness, and that will secure a better image and credibility of the mission because peacebuilders will be perceived by the local population in a positive way. Finally, it will provide peacebuilders with a better opportunity to access the whole population and encourage potential spoilers and unwilling groups to participate in the peace process. Access to the whole population is a necessary precondition if one aims to address root causes of conflict.

Another precondition for successful peace-building is to understand the needs of the local population. Here I will argue that the needs of the local population are directly linked to the culture, therefore understanding those needs requires a sufficient level of cultural awareness. With that kind of knowledge and understanding of local culture, peacebuilders will be able to better understand heritage, local traditions, interests, behaviours, problems and needs of certain local groups and actors and to address

them properly. Sanguma (2012) argues that deep-rooted conflicts arise when people see that their needs, such as security and identity, are threatened (Sanguma, 2012, p. 19). Identity, or sense of belonging to some group, is directly linked to the culture, because it is shaped by different cultural factors such as religion, ethnicity, history, and social norms. Likewise, there is the direct link between security and culture. A sense of security is cultural-driven: in some cultures, individuals find their security within different social frameworks (family, village, tribe, clan, or wider community), while some cultures are more individualistic. Identity and security are therefore sensitive issues, so they have to be carefully considered during the planning and execution of peace-building missions because many peace-building activities are focused on interaction with local populations. From this perspective, one is likely to conclude that understanding local culture – how people think and act within a particular cultural framework – means the ability to recognize the needs of the local population and to respond with appropriate actions on the ground. With proper level of cultural awareness, peacebuilders will be able to avoid serious operational mistakes – the most dangerous occur when peacebuilders with their actions enhance the activities of spoilers in the peace process (rebels, criminals, or corrupted officials) or even create new adversaries. Clear examples of such peace-building failures can be found in DR Congo and Afghanistan.

The first peacebuilders' failure in Congo was that they arrived completely unprepared and without any understanding of the local culture. Second, they failed to understand that the root causes of conflict lie in ethnic and historical hatred between two certain groups and that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants is not the mission's main problem (Autesserre, 2010, p. 7). Third and most important reason was that they didn't understand the needs of the local population within a particular cultural framework and with their actions on the ground only made the situation worse. Instead of providing security first (because situation demanded such action) they started to provide different goods for the local people which only attracted the rebels and enhanced their activities such as looting and random killing for goods (Vogel & Musamba, 2016, p. 3). After one patrol in Afghanistan reacted disrespectfully towards the local people, General Stanley McChrystal, former ISAF commander, observed that situation with the words: 'How many insurgents did the patrol make that day?' (ISAF, 2009, p. 1). He perfectly understood that local people – the 'human

terrain' – are the centre of gravity in this operation, and that winning hearts and minds is the key to success. Without cultural awareness that becomes mission impossible. Therefore, the good lessons learned from Congo and Afghanistan should be as follows: know and understand the local culture and local conflict dynamics; understand how the security and needs of the local population are linked to a particular cultural context; know the spoilers in the peace process and be able to anticipate their actions within a particular cultural context; and finally, act accordingly on the ground and try not to create new problems and adversaries. All these challenges should be properly addressed during cultural awareness pre-deployment training.

However, in our analysis we should avoid two mistakes – the tendencies to overestimate the importance of cultural awareness and to see cultural factors as obstacles. Cultural awareness should be understood as one of the tools in achieving mission success. It is necessary for the success of peace-building, but if peacebuilders see every cultural factor or influence as an obstacle, that can seriously undermine their line of reasoning, make them risk averse, influence mission planning, and disable many actions on the ground because they will tend to minimize all interactions with local people. Instead, they should carefully consider cultural awareness during planning and execution of all activities, take advantage of cultural knowledge, and finally – instead of seeing obstacles everywhere – to try to create bridges to the local people and therefore enhance chances for mission success.

Cultural awareness training: challenges and recommendations

In order to achieve a proper level of cultural awareness, mission personnel must complete adequate pre-deployment training with regards to mission-specific cultural factors. The level of training will depend on one's role and position in the mission hierarchy.

Current military and civilian training for peace-building missions do not pay much attention to the cultural awareness training. Even in the UN system, where the concept of peace-building was born, the approach to cultural awareness training is very simplistic. For example, Core Pre-deployment Training Materials (CPTMs) for UN

peacekeeping operations in unit titled ‘Respect for Diversity’ (2009) observe only cultural differences and highlight the danger of stereotypes and prejudices (UN, 2009, pp. 362-370). However, for military and civilian personnel who will execute future complex peace-building tasks it is not just enough to know that people eat different food, have different working habits, use different gestures, and so forth. The other example can be found in NATO Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive (2013), which only mentions culture as something to be considered when assessing each actor’s motivations (SHAPE, 2013, p. 83). As we can see, cultural awareness is merely present in training documents and guidelines, while many countries do not conduct cultural awareness training at all. For instance, very high importance has been given to gender training, while there is still no such initiative with regards to cultural awareness training.

As asserted before, peacebuilders need an insight into target culture in order to acquire knowledge and understanding of how that culture will affect the peace-building efforts. Apparently, there is a need for improvement in current cultural awareness training and education. The problem is twofold: it is necessary to change the approach to the cultural awareness training as well as to its content. The following section will propose a model for cultural awareness training and education.

Basic cultural awareness training for all future military and civilian peace-building personnel should provide basic information on why it is important to study culture and which cultural factors and influences can affect peace-building efforts on the ground. Secondly, prior to deployment to the mission area all personnel should complete mission-specific pre-deployment training which should adequately address important issues such as history, conflict background, important actors, traditional social structures, main aspects of religion, and local dynamics (those main aspects of local culture that can influence peace-building day-to-day activities in their respective area of responsibility). Mission specific training can also include useful phrases in the local language and cultural niceties such as greetings and how to behave when conducting meetings with local authorities. On this level of cultural awareness training it has to be already clear that situational awareness must be maintained at all levels and that everyone needs to know which indicators to monitor with respect to local dynamics. The third level of cultural awareness training should be for those who will hold leading

positions in peace-building activities, such as commanders of military and police units and heads of civilian branches. This level of cultural awareness training should provide deeper knowledge of the specific culture and understanding of how different aspects of culture influence behaviours, decision-making and actions of different local actors in the peace process. The highest level of cultural awareness training is required for those who will conduct operational level planning and decision-making. It should provide the deepest insight into the specific culture and understanding of motivations and intentions of those specific groups and actors who are critical to the success of peace-building process.

Since the pre-deployment training of military personnel is a national responsibility, troop contributing countries should incorporate cultural awareness training into their training doctrines and practices. They should accept the fact that cultural awareness is the key to success in those operations that depend on support from local population. Therefore cultural awareness should be considered as equal to other peace-building activities.

Another aspect of cultural awareness is worth mentioning here: cultural awareness is not only important for peace-building operations, but also for national defence and successful cooperation with allies in different coalitions. Contemporary military operations and those that involve non-military actors often bring people from different countries, cultures and educational systems to work together. Cultural awareness can help in better understanding of the allies' culture, make coalitions more effective, and enhance cooperation between different military and non-military actors.

The opposing view of the importance of cultural awareness is often expressed with the phrase 'Culture does not eat strategy for breakfast'. The criticizers of cultural awareness argue that cultural factors matter but they will not significantly alter human nature and that people often tend to overestimate the importance of culture. This view is based on some societal theories which argue that most human behaviours are universal. In other words, cultural factors and cultural awareness should be considered, but they will not fundamentally change strategy or actions on the ground: not understanding culture can cause some problems, but not to the extent as a lack of professional skills or resources to conduct main tasks (Bergman, 2013, p. 9).

Nonetheless, common to both views is this central question: how we can best prepare for future peace-building operations? The answer is that training and education is the key to its achievement. The compromise between these two opposite views could be that cultural awareness matters and it has to be part of training and education, but it should not be overestimated.

Conclusion

Cultural awareness is one of the preconditions for the success of peace-building operations. Experience from recent and ongoing peace-building operations has shown that cultural awareness becomes even more important when the mission is to win hearts and minds or to protect the people. Cultural factors must be carefully considered during planning and execution of peace-building operations. Knowledge of local culture and how it influences behaviours, decision-making and actions of different local actors can significantly contribute to the success of peace-building efforts. If properly developed, it could help in understanding and addressing root causes of conflict. Cultural awareness enhances operational effectiveness, situational awareness, safety and security of own forces, and raises the image and credibility of mission. It can be properly developed only through adequate pre-deployment training and education, so it has to be incorporated into training doctrine and practices of nations which contribute with peace-building personnel. Training and education should be suitable to peace-building tasks for a particular mission and to different roles and positions of personnel involved. This problem is twofold: training and education can be tailored and conducted effectively only if cultural awareness is adequately approached and if training contents are suitable to peace-building tasks. In order to achieve this, a proper mind-set for understanding culture is required. First, there is no good or bad culture: cultures are just different and we have to accept that fact. Secondly, knowledge and respect of local culture is the key to mission success: the worst mistake that peacebuilders can make is to create new adversaries and spoilers to the peace process. Thirdly, failure to understand local culture and its influences can lead to uncertainty, confusion, and even a mission failure. Finally, it is important to understand that effects of culture should neither be overestimated, nor should culture be seen as an obstacle. Instead, peacebuilders should raise their cultural awareness

and use it as an opportunity to build bridges to all local actors, involve them in the peace-building process and therefore secure success of the mission.

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Deterring Russia in the Baltics to Allow US Power Projection in the Pacific MAJ MICHAEL G. MIDDENTS United States of America

Introduction

Russia is predictable. According to Estonian Chief of Defence Lieutenant General Riho Terras (2016), “Every time Putin gets an opportunity, he uses it.” The fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 left the world in a unipolar state as the United States became the world’s sole superpower. The US uses that status today to promote and maintain democratic values across the world. However, the balance of power is changing in the world and the US is slowly losing its relative advantage. “Near-peers” have entered onto the world stage and the People’s Republic of China is leading in its rise as a world power. Should any number of points of tension between the US and China or another near-peer boil over into violent conflict, the US would need to dedicate significant resources to the fight. Such a military conflict between the US and China could affect the balance of power in other regions of the world. Of significant concern, it could trigger Russian opportunism in its former Soviet satellites. With the US focused on a Chinese conflict, NATO would find itself without the full complement of US resources it has been supported with in recent years. NATO’s current military structure in the Baltic States leaves its Eastern flank exposed to such potential opportunism and, as previously observed, Putin does not miss opportunities. The key to success is to deny Moscow a quick *fait accompli* in any part of NATO through convincing deterrence (Clark et al., 2016). NATO and individual Alliance member nations have already begun several initiatives to reduce the probability of Russian aggression including the formation of forward-deployed rapid response forces, logistics innovations and military budget increases. However, this essay argues that additional initiatives such as easing the flow of Allied forces across borders, the establishment of NATO anti-access/area denial (A2AD) measures and efforts towards political cohesion need to be added and done so in a manner to gain maximum benefits from their combined effects. By building upon recently gained momentum through additional deterrence initiatives, NATO can create a credible deterrent to Russian opportunism even when limited in US support, providing stronger security in Europe and giving the US more flexibility in meeting its global interests. This essay examines what a Sino-American war would likely entail,

the modern Russian approach to war and how NATO can better deter Russia in the areas of time as well as geographic and political space.

Sino-American War

While producing assessments on the probability of a conflict between the US and a near-peer like China inevitably results in predictions subject to endless debate, evidence shows that such a situation is far from dismissible. Senese and Vasquez developed a risk barometer, which showed that the Russia-Georgia conflict of 2008 was a situation ready to ignite (Maness and Valeriano, 2012). It also gave an accurate assessment of a likely Russia-Ukraine conflict within two years of that conflict beginning. The model assesses the likelihood, within five years, of countries entering into violent conflict with each other. Maness and Valeriano (2012) further developed the risk barometer, assessing how territorial disputes, alliances, arms races, rivalry and the role of hardliners between nations affect the likelihood of those nations going to war with each other. A score of zero indicates a low likelihood of conflict while a five gives the highest likelihood. Where the Georgia-Russia conflict scored a four and the Russia-Ukraine conflict scored a three by the time conflict broke out, an assessment of China and the US produces either a four or five, depending on the assessment of each factor. Additionally, if either Japan or Taiwan are assessed against China, the resultant score is also high at a four or five and the US has security agreements with both nations. Despite these high-risk assessments, such potential Pacific conflicts have sat at such high scores for roughly seven decades. Therefore, the point to appreciate in this barometer is not that a Sino-US war is inevitable within five years but that the relationship constantly runs a high risk of conflict and small changes may incite violence. A phone call between the newly-elected US President to the President of Taiwan is an example of such a small change. The call created concern of a potential challenge to the One China policy and Chinese state-run People's Daily accused the US President of "playing with fire with his Taiwan game," warning that if the policy is challenged, "Beijing will have no choice but to take off the gloves" (Jacquette, 2017).

Despite difficulties in predicting the size and scope of a theoretical Sino-American conflict, it is clear that the situation in Europe will affect the situation in Asia and vice versa. The RAND Corporation assesses that, regardless of the size and scope of the

conflict, the conflict would remain regional and limited to conventional weapons with particular focus in the air, sea, space and cyber domains (Grompet et al, 2016). Despite this assessment, both nations would surely prepare their nuclear forces as each is threatened by the other's nuclear capabilities. The conflict would therefore not only draw US bombers into the Pacific to cover conventional air requirements in the vast Pacific area of operations but also create a nuclear bomber requirement in the Continental US. This bomber demand is representative of a larger situation requiring US strategic air and naval resources to flow into the Pacific or generate in the US for world-wide nuclear commitments, creating a challenge for the US to focus on the conflict while also balancing military capacity in the rest of the world. With US forces currently assessed by the Heritage Foundation as unable to conduct major regional contingency operations in more than one region, the US must balance its forces as effectively as possible (Wood, 2016). The more military power the US is able to dedicate to the Sino-American fight, the greater its chances of success (Grompet et al, 2016). The ability of NATO's European Allies to defend Europe with US support limited mostly to those forces already assigned to Europe will directly affect US options to provide forces to the Pacific Theatre. Therefore, not only should NATO take measures to defend its European territory with limited US support, especially in naval and air capabilities, but also have an understanding with the US that in such a Sino-American conflict scenario, European NATO forces should remain predominately in-place to avoid causing a military capability gap in Europe. Should the US find itself in a NATO Article V situation against China, the use of Article V should be limited to benefits of diplomatic support and any use of European NATO capabilities must be rapidly transferable back to Europe if needed, such as space-based capabilities.

The Russian Approach

Russia creates the greatest challenge in balancing US military capabilities across the globe in this Sino-American conflict scenario. Although not all NATO members agree on the likelihood of a Russian offensive against the Alliance, Russia has provided ample evidence that it has interests in reasserting dominance over its prior Soviet holdings, to include the Baltic States (Gotkowska, 2016). Additionally, Russia has shown three times in the last decade that it relies on its military instrument to achieve its strategic aims (Mastriano, 2017). Russia's 2014 doctrine makes clear that Russia

sees its former Soviet territory as a vital sphere of interest and it is dedicating large amounts of resources to the area's defence (Sinovets & Renz, 2015). An analysis by Sinovets and Renz (2015) concludes that "the main theme of the doctrine is rivalry with the West." Russia turned doctrine into practice in both Georgia and the Ukraine. While these two states are not NATO members, NATO membership has not exempted former Soviet states from Russia's interest. Russian destabilization plans show a new Eastern European map incorporating Belarus, all three Baltic capitals and Estonia's two main islands into the Russian Federation (Potomac Foundation, 2016). Russia has identified Latvia's Latgalia region as an area ripe for exploitation, where it could support "uprisings" of Russian speakers similar to its actions in Ukraine and, through large-scale intervention, create four "Rump States" out of the three current Baltic States (Potomac Foundation, 2016).

NATO has observed Russia's operations in Georgia, Ukraine and Syria to analyse how Russia conducts modern warfare and can use these observations to strengthen European defence. In the cases of Georgia and Ukraine, Russia demonstrated what has been described a "hybrid" tactic, combining multiple national capabilities to destabilize its intended area of operations. Russian conventional forces then moved into the areas using armour encirclement manoeuvres for a quick and low-cost victory, quickly backed by its nuclear umbrella to deter any counterattacks (Potomac Foundation, 2016). As the situation currently stands, NATO is not prepared to repel such an attack in the Baltic States. The timeline under the current defence structure from the start of hostilities to Russian forces arriving at Riga and Tallinn could be less than 60 hours, leaving NATO to defend encircled capitals rather than deterring or defending against an initial invasion force (Shlapak & Johnson, 2016).

Towards Stronger Deterrence

Russia's action in Eastern Ukraine, following its actions in Georgia and Crimea, crossed NATO's tolerance threshold in allowing its Eastern border to remain critically exposed to possible Russian opportunism. Following the NATO Wales Summit of 2014, the Alliance decided and began acting to remedy the situation. The intent is to create a real deterrent to any Russian aspirations of an offensive into the Baltics (NATO, 2014). If executed effectively, these moves could not only be the start of a genuine deterrent against Russian aggression in the current geopolitical situation, but

also significantly reduce the challenge the US faces balancing its forces in the theoretical Sino-American conflict. Additionally, establishing a deterrent posture playing to European NATO's strengths offers the Alliance a solution in which it is not left pursuing the financially prohibitive endeavour of attempting to fill potential one-for-one gaps in US strategic air and sea capabilities. The proper deterrent posture will create opportunities for NATO in both time and space, while denying the same to an opportunistic Russia seeking its established pattern of a quick, low-cost victory (Potomac, 2016). At the same time, a proper deterrent must clearly be just that – a deterrent. General Breedlove, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe at the time of the 2014 Wales Summit, directed that NATO's deterrent actions must be "responsive but de-escalatory" (Gornec, 2014).

Creating Time

In the realm of time, the Alliance is taking measures to slow a Russian offensive by placing permanently rotating NATO troops and equipment in the Baltic region, thus strengthening European defence and indirectly creating a better situation for the US in the case of a conflict with China. The Wales Summit resulted in the decision to place four Very High-Readiness Joint Task Forces (VJTFs) as part of an Enhanced Forward Presence NATO Response Force into the three Baltic nations and Poland (NATO, 2014). The US, UK, Germany and Canada will lead these VJTFs as framework nations and create multinational task forces adding up to roughly five thousand combined troops organized into task forces each somewhere between a battalion and brigade in size (NATO Review Magazine, 2016). These forces are comparable to the Cold War's "Berlin Brigade" in that any attack on them by Russian forces would create a tripwire-effect resulting in a NATO response (NATO Review Magazine, 2016). The number and size of the units fall far short of the RAND Corporation's (Shlapak & Johnson, 2016) suggested seven brigades as a credible match to expected Russian forces. However, regardless of the mismatch in force sizes between the VTJFs and Russian forces, by placing these task forces in forward positions within NATO, the Alliance improves its warning and reaction time, limits Russia's ability to avoid direct confrontation with NATO forces and raises Moscow's overall risk level in any attempted offensive.

Due to their limited numbers, VJTFs lack the mass required to stop a Russian invasion, driving a need for follow-on forces capable of rapidly moving to the East. The US military is already moving forward on initiatives to counter Russian aggression, which would also assist in lessening the logistics burden a conflict with China would create. The US Army in Europe has reversed the drawdown of its capabilities under Operation Atlantic Resolve and is initiating heel-to-toe rotations of trained forces into Poland, capable of immediate combat action (US Army Europe, 2016). These forces will include an Armoured Brigade Combat Team, essential for countering Russian armour, and a Combat Aviation Brigade able to operate in those vast areas of the Baltics prohibitive to land-based vehicles (Potomac, 2016). Additionally, the Army will forward-position nearly a division's worth of vehicles and equipment in Europe to reduce logistics timelines (US Army Europe, 2016). These rotational forces would still need additional support in the case of a Russian offensive. To enable the rapid flow of additional forces into the theatre, the US Air Force is pursuing stronger air base infrastructure in Eastern Europe and has initiated a "base in a box" or "Rapid-X" concept, pre-positioning equipment required to operate out of European airfields in order to reduce unrealistic contingency plan requirements on the air bridge from the US to Europe (Harper, 2016). The pre-positioned kits are able to bring an airfield up to operational status, perform operations and then move to a new airfield as missions demand (Harper, 2016). Such a reduction on air bridge requirement becomes crucial in a scenario where the US is simultaneously fighting a war on a separate front in the Pacific.

These rapid deployment and reception, staging and onward movement initiatives mitigate some of NATO's timing dilemma in countering a Russian offensive but current policies of individual Alliance members create barriers to their movement across NATO borders. Cold War plans and agreements for quick movements of troops across borders have disappeared and leaders in NATO member countries have only recently discovered the magnitude of obstacles that current policies in each nation present (Braw, 2016). To properly support the aforementioned forces with timely, sufficient follow-on forces, NATO needs to begin making a proposed "Military Schengen Zone" a reality (Braw, 2016). The Commander of US Armies in Europe, Lieutenant General Hodges, observed in 2016 following major NATO exercises that NATO forces have nowhere near the freedom of movement enjoyed by the Russians behind their own

border (Braw, 2016). By creating an environment conducive to fluid movement of forces within NATO's several borders, the Alliance can significantly decrease its reaction time in this already time-constrained scenario.

Deterrence in Geographic Space

NATO is not only making significant movement in the realm of time but also in space. Former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Philip Breedlove, explained that the Alliance had grown comfortable with its Eastern structure, having attempted to partner with Russia for 20 years and drawing forces down to 75% of Cold War levels (Breedlove, 2015). In doing so, member nations allowed budgets to shrink and the US, for example, began a major drawdown in military forces from Europe, creating space opportunities for Russian forces. One area in the realm of space where NATO can make major improvements is in building its own Baltic A2AD measures. Both Russia and China are examples of nations employing highly effective A2AD systems to stifle attacks from potential aggressors, namely the US. Anti-access measures prevent militaries from basing forces nearby or getting into a theatre while area denial measures prevent operations in a protected area once it is able to access the theatre (Grynkewich, 2017). Russia's comprehensive A2AD system challenges attacks from air, land, sea and even space and cyber space. The system not only denies access to the Russian interior, but also has the potential to easily deny NATO use of its own airspace, waters and territory since its A2AD weapon ranges reach many kilometres into these NATO areas. The Baltic States offer no such challenge to a potential Russian foe, not even in the form of hosted NATO systems. An A2AD strategy provides NATO with a cost-effective and prompt means of deterring or countering Russian aggression. They are much cheaper to establish and maintain than power-projection systems, provide persistent capabilities and offer survivable offensive and defensive options (Kelly, Gompert & Long, 2016). Rather than continuing to exclusively focus on how NATO might defeat a challenging Russian A2AD system, the Alliance needs to flip the tables on a potential Russian aggressor with an A2AD capability of its own. This concept was developed for use by the US and supporting allies by the RAND Corporation's Kelly, Gompert and Long (2016) and referred to as "Blue A2AD." Through Blue A2AD, NATO can pair offensive and

defensive capabilities, especially on its periphery, to make any aggression against the Alliance an incredibly high-cost undertaking for the aggressor.

A key aspect of A2AD is setting up capable defences such as coastal and air defence systems. The Baltic Air Policing mission was a small but significant first step in Baltic defence. When speaking of the success to date of the Baltic Air Policing mission, Lieutenant General Terras (2016) commented that the next step is air defence and control of the Baltic Sea. With small budgets and available manning, the Baltic States would benefit most from an interoperable point-defence model, backed by additional NATO air defence capabilities capable of coordination and operations across borders. Political leadership from all three Baltic nations and Poland met in 2016 to discuss a future regional air defence system with hopes to achieve an operational capability between 2018 and 2019 (Jones, 2016). Lithuania has led in the realm of air defence, purchasing two Norwegian/National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile System (NASAMS) batteries set for delivery in 2020 (Larrinaga, 2016). With Finland also operating NASAMS in its air defence forces, Latvia and Estonia would strengthen air defence in the entire Baltic region by honouring their common air defence system agreement and pursuing a NASAMS or NASAMS-compatible air defence capability. Likewise, Poland recently procured a land-based, mobile version of the fifth-generation naval strike missile or "NSM," offering the Baltic States another opportunity for a regionally-common A2AD measure (Clevenger, 2015).

A2AD is not only about setting up weapons systems; it is also about using a nation's geography to its advantage. Here, NATO has another opportunity to advance legitimate deterrence in an area that bridges both time and space. With vast swamps and thick forests, the Baltic States are naturally challenging areas in which to move large land forces. Baltic lines of communication in the form of improved roads, railways bridges and others are relatively limited, allowing NATO to predict Russian axes of approach. Russian doctrine places particular emphasis on the use of parallel road-rail lines due to the Russian military's high use of railways, further refining expected routes (Potomac, 2016). NATO would be wise to look to South Korea for an example of serious terrain-denial measures. South Korea maintains denial measures refined over several decades, which show how small states with little to no strategic depth can create reaction time. Despite large differences in Korean and Baltic terrain, it is possible to create reaction time for defence forces through Baltic terrain denial

measures. While the South Koreans have set up denial measures in the gaps of their mountainous terrain, the Baltic nations can focus on gaps in forests and swamps. The Potomac Foundation (2016) identified several geographic areas where individual Baltic nations and larger NATO could create effective terrain-denial. For instance, the Kura, Gauja and Nemunas Rivers (See Annex A) all create natural barriers with limited means for crossing. By denying Russia a means to easily cross the Kura River, for example, NATO would hinder use of Highway E77, Russia's most direct improved road from Pskov to Riga (Potomac, 2016). Creating time for response is critical as Russian doctrine emphasizes concentrating its forces for early victories before NATO is able to bring its strength in non-contact warfare to the region (Potomac, 2016). While such areas have been generally identified, detailed terrain analysis spanning the Baltics is still required.

Baltic terrain also gives NATO a picture of Russian axes of advance, allowing the Alliance to predict where aggressor forces will operate. In Lithuania, a natural forest belt backed by several lakes funnel transit from Belarus to Kaliningrad along the Suwalki Gap, a key route in a Russian offensive scenario, to the Lithuanian town of Marijampole (Potomac, 2016). In Poland, the Russians would need to secure the Bialystok Rail Junction in order to hold the Belarus border zone (Potomac, 2016). Natural forest and swamp barriers on all sides but its south protect Bialystok, allowing NATO to anticipate where a Russian attack would focus but which also create a dilemma for NATO in reinforcing the area once hostilities have begun. The unprotected Western Estonian islands of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa are also key objectives for a potential Russian offensive. The Russians have a specific unit within a larger force tasked to cut off the Baltics built for this mission, consisting of a naval infantry brigade and two air defence regiments, not coincidentally named "Force Ezyel;" Ezyel being the Tsarist name for the island of Saaremaa. (Potomac, 2016). By capturing these two islands and extending its A2AD umbrella, Russia would possess the geography necessary to control sea lines of communication through the Gulf of Finland to St. Petersburg and completely cut the Baltics off from NATO support by air and sea (see Annex B). The nearby island of Gotland and the Åland Archipelago, belonging to Sweden and Finland respectively, make up additional geography the Russians could use to cut the area off from NATO support. To indicate their recognition of this situation, the Swedes moved precautionary troops onto Gotland in 2016 (NATO

Review Magazine, 2016). By defending Estonia's islands now and supporting its Partnership for Peace members Sweden and Finland in the defence of their islands, NATO can position itself to keep air and sea routes open to the Baltics while simultaneously denying Russia air and sea power-projection from Kaliningrad and St. Petersburg. NATO must act on defensive measures not limited to these Baltic areas. For instance, it is vitally important for NATO to maintain and strengthen ties with Ukraine as Kiev takes large steps to bring its forces up to NATO standards by 2020 as a NATO Partner for Peace (Postrybailo, 2017). The Baltic border with Russia is already dauntingly long but taking for granted the Ukrainian border, which shapes the region's geo-political map could prove devastating if Russian troops gain freedom of movement to the South. While many military experts call for various levels of greater land forces in the Baltics, the key is to use measures such as those described here to force Russian aggressors into contact with NATO forces. By building defensive capabilities, training and positioning its troops in the limited paths made available to Russian forces, NATO can convince Russia that its tactic of bypassing Allied forces to achieve a *fait accompli* in the Baltics has a low probability of success (Clark et al, 2016).

Deterrence in Political Space

In the area of political space, NATO must take measures to eliminate seams Moscow would exploit. One timely example of contention amongst NATO members is that of finance. The Alliance recommends and nations have agreed to dedicate at least 2% of their Gross Domestic Products on defence and 20% of that budget on defence equipment recapitalization (NATO, 2014). For many years now, less than a handful of NATO's 28 members have actually achieved this target. With renewed incentive for defence following Russia's invasions of its neighbours, NATO codified a plan at the 2014 Wales Summit wherein all members will meet the 2% level within the next 8 years (NATO, 2014) Those countries not meeting NATO's 2% guideline not only withhold funds that enable NATO's missions, they also create tension amongst member states. This tension is apparent in the differing interpretations of the current security situation as some Allies show a tendency to make the threat fit their defence posture instead of spending according to the actual threat (Clark et al., 2016). Such an approach has inspired criticism that rather than producing a strong, unified

response to Russia, the Wales Summit produced a “cosmetic patchwork of loosely connected activities” (Kreitmayr, 2017). Additionally, while the Wales Summit plan does move the Alliance toward a more cohesive state by setting a deadline to meet financial goals and obligations, the move is a little late for the newly elected US President. During his campaign, Mr. Trump struck a chord with US citizens in calling out, as previous US Presidents and Secretaries of Defense have, those members of NATO who have not been meeting NATO’s 2% target, furthering perceptions of security “free riders” within the Alliance (Collinson, 2016). Mending this wound is vital for NATO’s continued solvency. NATO has great potential in the area of strategic communications to publicize successes in this area. As Alliance members begin reaching their budget commitments, NATO needs to publicly recognize them and provide further encouragement to continue meeting those targets. The increase in money is not an end goal in itself. Nations can use those funds to increase their national military capacity within a common NATO strategy, regaining capabilities lost during NATO’s warming towards Russia over the last two decades and pursuing such deterrent measures as those recommended by this essay (Clark et al, 2016). Such measures cannot fall into long-term political debate but must rather be addressed with a common sense of urgency (Kreitmayr, 2017).

Conclusion

For the US, a credible deterrent in Europe is essential for success in a military conflict against China. In such a scenario, the US would need to make as many of its national forces, especially its naval, air, space and cyberspace forces available to ensure the best chance of achieving its objectives. The ability of NATO’s European Allies to defend themselves against Russian opportunism will play a large role in how the US determines how to balance its forces in the world. NATO has taken steps to strengthen its Eastern border including the implementation of rapid reaction forces, pre-positioning troops, easing logistic chains and increasing funding. However, the Alliance has significant opportunities to increase its defence and legitimize its Russian deterrence by making internal borders open to NATO force movements, creating its own A2AD system, and strengthening political cohesion. By making these bold moves now, NATO can not only protect itself in the current geopolitical situation but also shape the battlespace to create a balanced global security posture.

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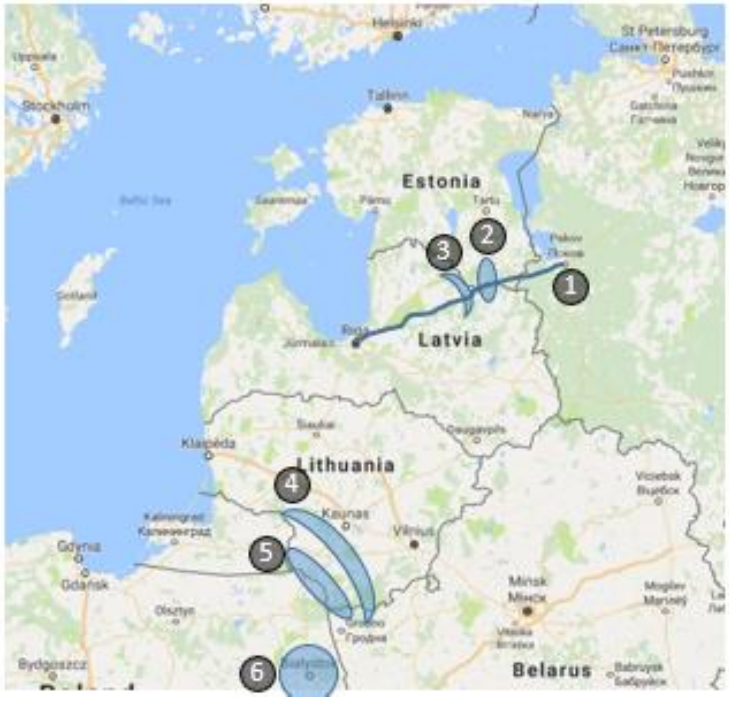
Annex A: Baltic Terrain Denial Opportunities

The presented display shows significant geographic features and areas in the Baltic States. The geographic features displayed are limited to those mentioned in the attached essay. These are only some of many areas to include swamps and forests where NATO can work with the Baltic States to create denial measures against would-be Russian aggressors, shaping Russian movements to NATO's advantage.

1. Highway E77
2. Kura River
3. Gauja River
4. Nemunas River
5. Suwalki Gap
6. Bialystok (Rail Junction)



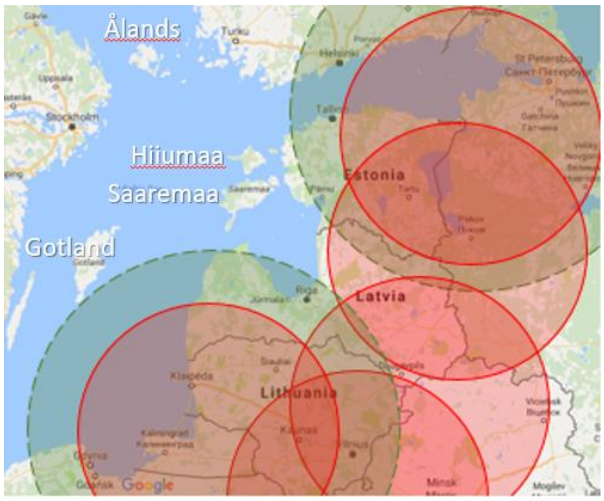
Background Map: Google Maps

Annex B: Russian Current and Potential A2AD

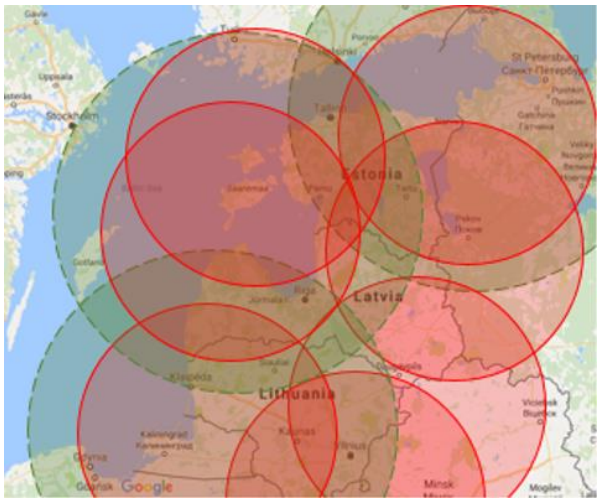
Russia's A2AD systems currently challenge NATO's access not only to Russian but also NATO territory. The displays shown here are based upon work the same author completed in the Allied Joint Operations Module of the Joint Command and General Staff Course. The first display shows the notional coverage that Russian systems could have assuming current borders, including forces deployed to Belarus. The display shows the coverage that only five of Russia's widely-produced S-300 surface-to-air missile systems (SAM) and two Klub 3M-54E1 anti-ship missile systems (ASM) provide. The S-300 has a 200 kilometre range (McGarry, 2016). The Klub ASM has a range of 300 kilometres (Global Security, 2016). The reality is that Russia operates far more systems than the seven shown here in layers of defence consisting of many weapons system types. Furthermore, some systems, such as Russia's S-400 SAM provide even greater defence range.

Should Russia capture Estonia's Saaremaa and/or Hiiumaa Islands, Sweden's Gotland Island or Finland's Åland Archipelago, Russia could extend its A2AD umbrella over the Baltics without setting foot on the Baltic mainland, effectively cutting the Baltics off from NATO. NATO's access would then be limited to the small and highly-contested Suwalki Gap connecting Poland and Lithuania. The second display shows the notional A2AD coverage Russia could have if it set up two additional S-300s and a Klub ASM on Saaremaa and Hiiumaa.

Current Borders



Captured Estonian Islands



Background Map Source: Google Maps

Best Essay of the Joint Command and General Staff Course on the Monte Cassino Battles of Italian Campaign of World War II

Foreword to the best essay on Monte Cassino Battles of Italian Campaign of World War II

This essay was written by selected students of the JCGSC of academic year 2016/17 with the purpose to reflect on lessons identified from the research project they conducted addressing Monte Cassino Battles of Italian Campaign of World War II. The Italian Campaign, filled with beach landings, air born operations, desperate and endless land battles, deception operations, exemplary and controversy military decisions, offers a rich context for analysis of various aspects of operational art and leadership. The essay offers synthesised description of four Battles of Monte Cassino with particular emphasis to the factors leading to successes and failures of both parties. This essay can be considered as a contribution to the study of operational art and leadership primarily due the summary of the essay which offers some valuable and relevant for modern operating environment conclusions.

Lt. Col. (ret.) Ugis Romanovs

Lecturer, NATO Joint Operations

Authors:

Country	Rank	Name	Surname
LVA	Ms	Guna	Začeste
EST	Maj	Ainar	Afanasjev
LVA	Maj	Janis	Rutkovskis
LVA	Maj	Vasilijs	Gračovs
GER	LTC	Stefan	Zinke
LVA	Maj	Janis	Freimanis
LTU	Maj	Darius	Mikalauskas
UKR	LTC	Artem	Antonov
LVA	MAJ	Evija	Sulte
LTU	Maj	Ramūnas	Liaučys
LVA	Maj	Janis	Svilpe
MDA	LtCol	Vitalie	Bunduchi
EST	Maj	Ain	Tiidrus
EST	Maj	Mati	Kuusvere
LTU	Maj	Linas	Sadauskas
LTU	Maj	Aurimas	Kuprys
POL	Maj	Jaroslaw	Mazur
LVA	Maj	Modris	Kairišs
EST	Maj	Vallo	Laul

The Monte Cassino Campaign

Introduction

This paper is aimed to overlook and analyse one of the main events of Italian Campaign during the World War II– battles of Monte Cassino. The main objectives will be to analyse operational factors of The Battles for Monte Cassino (12 January – 5 June 1944) in order to determine what where the factors influencing flow and outcomes of the operation and how these factors can be applied to modern operating environment.

Authors of this paper are 19 students of Joint Command and General Staff Course of the Baltic Defence College, who participated in the staff ride to Italy within the International Study trip 2017. Through this trip students had the opportunity to walk the battlefield of Monte Casino and visit various defence related entities and institutions.

Therefore, this paper provides a broad spectrum of factors and key decisions of what influenced this operation and comprehensive analysis of how allied powers defeated Nazi Germany on Italian soil. It also will analyse and evaluate aspects of operational art, campaign design, and military capabilities.

Paper consists of four parts. Part one of the paper will analyse strategic context of the operation in order to determine the purpose and operational and strategic importance of the operation. Part two will investigate operational environment, composition of opposing armies, opposing plans and commanders in order to determine the key factors of the operating environment.
The third part of the research will analyse four battles of Casino in order to determine the key factors contributing to the success and failures of opposing parties. The summary of analysis and considerations regarding applicability of the findings to the modern warfare will be presented in the fourth part of paper.

Strategic context

At the end of 1943 the World War II was far from over. However, events that took place around the world signified important changes in the course of the War. The beginning of year was marked by surrender of VI German Army to Soviets in the battle of Stalingrad, which later on was recognized as a turning point of the WWII. (Rees, 2010) Another Victory of the Allies has been achieved in Africa, where last Axis troops surrendered in May of 1943. In the middle of the same year, German forces suffered another series of heavy blows on the Russian front with the failure of operation Citadel in the fields of Kursk (Sharp, 2014, pp.191, 204).

Allied offensive in Sicily and mainland Italy brought down Mussolini regime and caused capitulation of Nazi Italy. (Sharp, 2014, p.17). By the end of the year, Soviets made progress on Eastern front in Ukraine and were posed for further advance into Poland. At the same time, Strategic Bombing Campaign of Germany that started after Casablanca conference (Matloff, 1959, pp.27-30) started to bring some results. All these events, numerous human and materiel losses on Axis side, crumbling German industrial complex and removal from equation of Italian ground forces and navy created the situation where right question to ask was not if Germany can be defeated, but how and when.

Consultations among Allies concerning strategy were almost continuous. According Matloff (1959, pp.2; 363-364), British haunted by experiences of World War I, were favouring attrition approach and were suggesting expansion of operations in Southern Europe and Mediterranean basin. Americans, as Matloff states (1959, pp.3; 364-365) concerned with simultaneous fighting against Japan in Pacific, were willing to get over with European issues as soon as possible and were favouring amphibious invasion in northern France. Soviets, who all the time complained about western Allies not bearing their share, supported United States approach. Matloff claims (1959, pp.365-66) that decision to proceed with amphibious landings was finalised during Tehran conference where was agreed that operation Overlord will be supported with diversionary landings in Southern France and simultaneous offensive of Soviet troops on Eastern Front. According author (Matloff, 1959, p.365), the Italy campaign, though it was successfully fixing German forces that could be used in elsewhere, was seen of less importance, and limited objectives were set (limit of advance to Pisa – Rimini line) as scarce

maritime transport resources and some units were scheduled to be transferred for the use in operations Overlord and Anvil. Therefore, though Allied operations in Italy that took place in first part of 1944 allowed expanding base for Strategic Bombing Campaign and possible offensive in Southern Europe / Mediterranean Sea Basin, the main purpose was to fix Axis forces deployed in Italy and force Nazis to commit available reserves there thus creating conditions for Allied operation Overlord in Northern France.

Operational environment of the Monte Cassino battles

Political factors. An overview of operational environment will focus on an overall one that surrounded or affected battles of Monte Casino.

Since 1943 Allied invasion on Sicily and air raids on Rome the popular support of Italian population for the war was very low (Quatermaine, p. 9). After the official removal of Benito Mussolini from power by King Victor Emmanuel III, Italy was occupied by Germans and was split into two opposing political entities (Konstam, pp. 8, 11). German supported Mussolini Italian Social Republic was established in the North, and Italian troops, loyal to Mussolini and his Republic, continued to fight alongside the Germans. General Pietro Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel III led the government in the South. The latter government signed armistice with the Allies, and Italian troops, loyal to Badoglio government, fought alongside the Allies (Quatermaine, p. 11).

Large Italian resistance movement located in the northern Italy fought a guerilla war against the German and Mussolini forces, thus interfering lines of communication (Jowett, p.34).

Economic factors. Although considered a great power, the Italian economy was predominantly agricultural-based with relatively weak industrial sector. The lack of a stronger automotive industry made it difficult for Italy to mechanize its military (Steinberg, pp. 189, 191). Therefore, Italy, as well as Italian forces fighting alongside Germans or Allies, were heavily dependent on support from their allies.

Social factors. Demographics in Italy was more akin to a developing country - high illiteracy, poverty, rapid population growth, a high proportion of adolescents and large

portion of population concentrated in rural areas (Steinberg, pp. 189, 191). Therefore, civilian population suffered high degree of collateral damage and was accessed mostly by direct visual / verbal means of communication.

Information factors. Both Germans and Italian Fascist regime made heavy use of propaganda in Italy, telling “the truth” about themselves and contemning enemies. Posters, radio and newspapers were used to full extent; though, in rural areas due to illiteracy newspapers were not so effective (Smith, p. 85). Allies exploited information operations as “Mincemeat” and “Barclay” (1943) to deceive Germans on main effort towards Balkans, thus drawing Germans out of Italy (Mitcham & von Stauffenberg, p. 9).

Terrain and Weather factors. About 80% of the Italian peninsula consists of rugged mountains and hilly topography (Ciciarelli, p.2). The Apennines, which run almost the entire length of the peninsula, make a continuous barrier between the eastern and western sides of the country. Mountain range heights are 2300-2800 meters above the sea level. The slopes are steep and mountain ranges go in various direction. (Szczepanik, p. 43). Flanking the Apennines on the east and west are gently rolling hills and plains, which extended to both coasts. However, flatlands are gradually pinched out from against the sea by the impinging mountainous terrain. From the point of view of the military attempting to move northward, these flatlands lead nowhere except into the mountains. (Ciciarelli, p.2) Many rivers, some fast flowing between precipitous banks, lie across the path of forces advancing from the south (Molony, p. 192). The overall road network is very patchy and easy to destroy (Szczepanik, p. 43). Germans used this heavily by demolishing bridges and roads when they retreated and it was usually impossible to bypass these demolitions, and to repair them took hours (Molony, p. 251).

Mountains and deep valleys between high grounds surround terrain around the Monte Cassino area. Main valley west of the Monte Cassino, which stretches from south to north, is called Liri valley; bottom of valley runs highway 6 and railway. Liri valley was main advancing corridor for Allied Forces in order to advance to north. Moreover, there were no any alternative roads in this area. Another natural obstacle, which hampered movement of Allied Forces in Liri valley, is Rapido river, with its cragged banks. Therefore, cross the river created many problems for Allied Forces, as Germans

destroyed bridges over the river and roads; and controlled key high ground around the valley.

The winter was severe and there was the always-present uncertainty of the weather, especially in winter, which influenced the use of air forces (Molony, p. 219).

Country of Italy favoured defender and Germans very skilfully incorporated the natural features as barriers and obstacles (Ciciarelli, p.1).

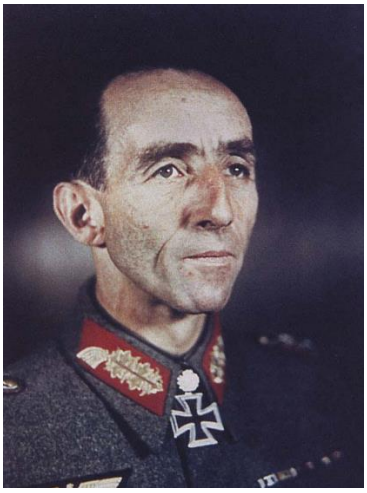
German army, plans and commanders

German Forces in Italy had very experienced leadership. Especially during Italian campaign need to point out three commanders whose contribution cannot be overestimated. They are *generalfeldmarschall* Albert Kesselring, *generaloberst* Heinrich von Vietinghoff and *general* Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin.

Albert Kesselring was a German *Luftwaffe generalfeldmarschall* during World War II. In a military career that spanned both World Wars, Kesselring became one of Nazi Germany's most skilful commanders. During the Italian campaign he was the Army Group C commander, who conducted an uncompromising defensive campaign against the Allied forces in Italy (Batistelli, 2012, pp.4-5). German force evacuation from Sicily conducted by Kesselring was, perhaps, the most brilliant action of the campaign. In spite of the Allies' superiority on land, at sea, and in the air, Kesselring was able to evacuate not only 40,000 men, but also 96,605 vehicles, 94 guns, 47 tanks, 1,100 tons of ammunition, 970 tons of fuel, and 15,000 tons of stores. He was able to achieve near-perfect coordination among the three services under his command while his opponent Eisenhower could not (Garland & McGaw Smyth, 1963, pp.409-17). Kesselring was appalled at the prospect of abandoning Italy. It would expose southern Germany to bombers operating from Italy, risk the Allies breaking into the Po Valley; and was completely unnecessary, as he was certain that Rome could be held until the summer of 1944 (Batistelli, 2012, pp.38-42).

Generalfeldmarschall
Albert Kesselring

Generaloberst
Heinrich von Vietinghoff



General
Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin

Heinrich von Vietinghoff was a German *generaloberst* of the Wehrmacht during World War II. In Italy from August 1943 onwards he commanded German Tenth Army, which was responsible for the delaying actions through the successive defensive lines built across Italy. Notable in this context were the defences on the Winter Line from November 1943 to May 1944 and the fighting in the autumn of 1944 on the Gothic Line (Blaxland, 1979, p.246).

Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin was a general in the Wehrmacht of Nazi Germany during World War II. During the Battle of Monte Cassino, he fought at the Gustav Line, which included Monte Cassino. At last, the German position were broken by the Allies only in May 1944 (Majdalany, 1957).

In summer 1943, when it was clear that Allies will advance Europe from South, German Supreme Command of the Armed Forces (OKW) according to Hitler's guidance made a secret plan about German defence in Italy. A plan was not to stretch and loose army within whole Italy but to defend only northern part of country – key infrastructure, passages through Apennines and Alps in order to not to allow Allies threaten Germany from North-Italian airfields. According the plan additional forces had to be sent to North Italy under Field Marshal Rommel's command. Forces from Sicily and South Italy had to withdraw and to combine with those in the North. Rommel had to become commander of all German Armed Forces in Italy and prepare to defend

Northern Italy on line later known as Gothic Line. Due to sensitiveness to the Italian Armed Forces, the plan was kept in secrecy even from *generalfieldmarshal* Albert Kesselring who was deputy commander of Italian – German Forces at that time (Blumenson, 1993, pp.59-64).

However, reality made some corrections to that plan. Allies started invasion on mainland in 1943. Simultaneously Italy surrendered to them and Germans found themselves involved in defence against Allies alone. They had to start defensive actions in South Italy from the beginning of invasion: defend the coastline, delay Allied progress and withdraw own forces backward. Under Kesselring's command those tasks were conducted very professionally. He estimated, that Allies could be delayed up to nine months before they will reach Gothic Line in the North. Indeed, Allies had a little progress and in Autumn Hitler changed his mind not to defend South Italy. In November, 1943 Army Group C was re-established in Italy. *Generalfieldmarshal* Kesselring was appointed as commander of this Army Group and Supreme commander over all German forces in Italy. Active preparation for defence in Southern Italy was activated (Blumenson, 1993, pp.182-84).

To carry out his tasks *generalfieldmarshal* Kesselring had a significant in number, well-motivated and skilful Army. Overall Army Group C in January, 1944 had 17 combat ready divisions and 2 divisions under development, in total 244 000 man (Blumenson, 1993, p.313). Forces were divided into two Armies (10th and 14th Army) and reserve. Reserve consisted of 2 divisions experienced veteran divisions. It was located near the Rome in case of Allied landings there. Forces were mobile and proved themselves already in first Cassino battle.10th Army was the main power – 150 000 man within ten divisions. Since summer, 1943 this Army was involved in delaying operations and during winter 1943-44 held Gustav Line. Units were reconstituted from formations involved in North Africa campaign and Stalingrad. Two of them were parachute divisions, one mountain division, five infantry divisions and only two panzer divisions. Forces were light and suitable for high-speed manoeuvre and operations in mountain area. 14th Army was located in Northern part of Italy. During that time it consisted from six divisions. Their tasks were to secure rear area and conduct occupation force duties mainly. In a case of necessity they had to back up front units like in case with Anzio landing (Blumenson, 1993, p.318).

German Air Force in Italy during that period of time did not play any significant role because OKW concentrated all efforts on Eastern Front. In spring 1944 Army Group C had only 365 aircraft in total. Allies outnumbered them many times (Williamson, 2015). Germans did not have any own naval assets in Italy. During the war they relayed on Italian navy.

To conclude this part may argue that Germans had very mobile, suitable for that terrain and motivated units. Senior leadership was experienced and acted proactively according current situation. As a result there were successful delay and defence operations what remained undestroyed until the end of 2nd World War.

Opposing Armies, Plans and Commanders. Allies.

In 1944 General Sir Harold Alexander controlled the Allied Armies in Italy, which consisted of the US Fifth Army commanded by Lieutenant-General Mark W Clark and the British Eighth Army commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Oliver Leese. (The Battles For Monte Cassino, p 3). Armies consisted of many different state units such as: South Africa, Brazil, India, and Morocco. These battles also involved troops from America, Britain, Canada, France, India, New Zealand and Poland. They also included units from Morocco, Tunisia. Units from North Africa were poorly equipped and not prepared for the winter warfare. (The Battles For Monte Cassino, p 4)

Allied Land forces size can be considered as 200000 up to 350000. There is no accurate data about correct number of Forces because; they were rotating from England to Italy and back.

Number of Airpower involved in Italy is also not the most accurate but presumably, 3000 to 4000 bomber aircraft were involved. (The Army Air Forces in Wold War II) However there is no clear picture, how many were involved in Monte Cassino battles.

Nevertheless, Mediterranean Allied Navy is well-calculated ant the total number of ships is accurately counted as showed in the table below.

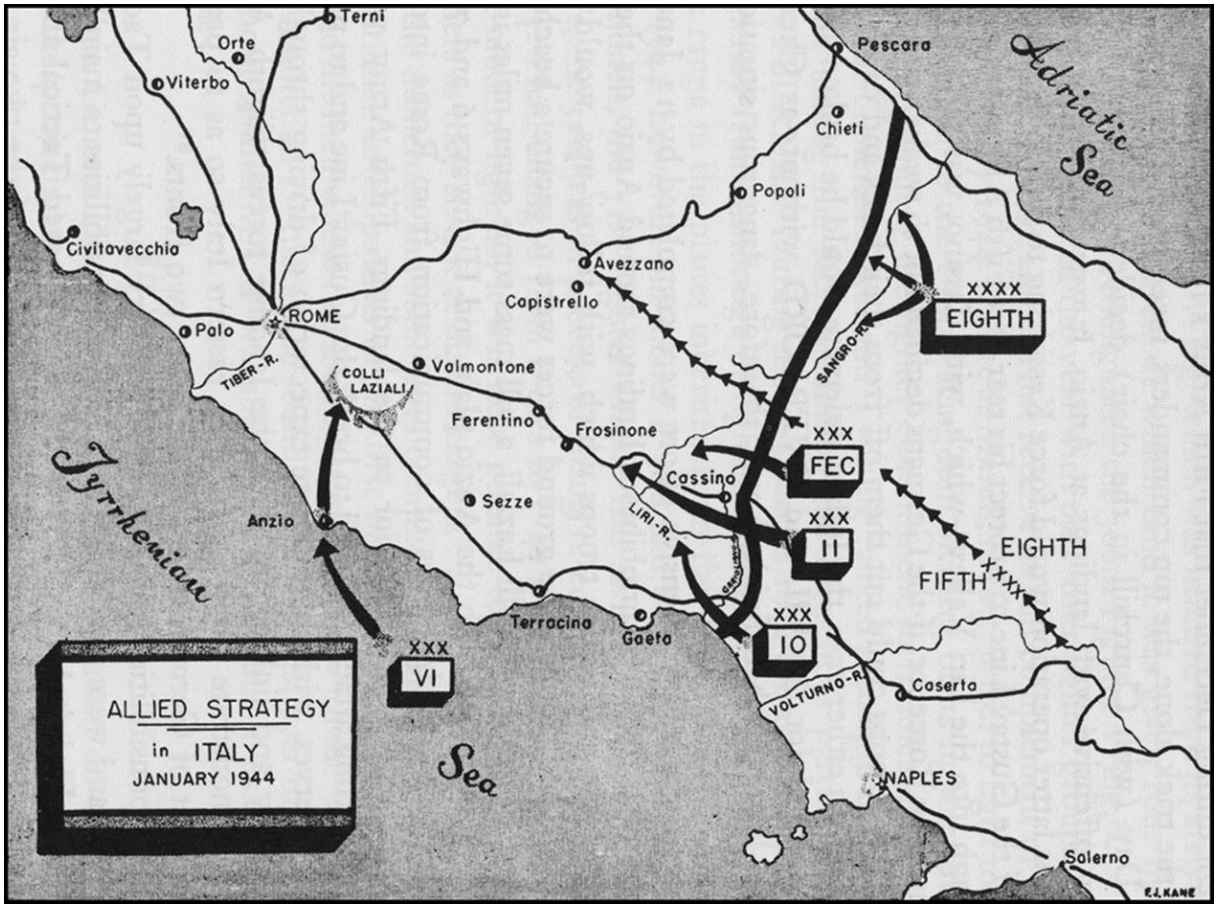
Naval Forces	U.S.A.	British & Allied
Battleships	-	6
Carriers	-	2
Cruisers	5	10
Destroyers	48	80
Submarines	-	26
Other warship	98	250
Troopships, supply ships, LSIs etc	94	237
Landing Ships and Craft (major)	190	319
Totals	**435 USN**	**930 RN**

(Naval History Homepage and Site Search)

But, also as previously mentioned, there is no clear evidence that they all took part in Monte Cassino battles.

In 1944 the Allied conduct of the Italian Campaign demonstrated all the difficulties and potential failings of coalition warfare.

As shown in the Map below, plan was that the US Fifth Army mounted the attack on Anzio with its VI US Corps, the II US Corps, X British Corps and the French Expeditionary Force, under General Alphonse Juin, attacked the Gustav Line. Monte Cassino was to be bypassed by the French and British, who would attack on either flank followed by a decisive thrust by the Americans up the Liri Valley along Route 6. Alexander `began what turned out to be a gruelling advance toward Rome. Through tangled, easily defended terrain, in the face of incredible difficulties, and against tenacious German opposition, Alexander engineered the Allied progress to the Gustav Line in the Cassino area. Attempting to go around the resistance, he executed the Anzio amphibious landing on January 22, 1944. It failed to dislodge the Germans from the Gustav Line or from Rome. As a consequence, battles at Cassino and Monte Cassino were fought during January, February and March, but they resulted in a stalemate.



Map 1 (Naval History Homepage and Site Search)

Four Battles of Monte Cassino

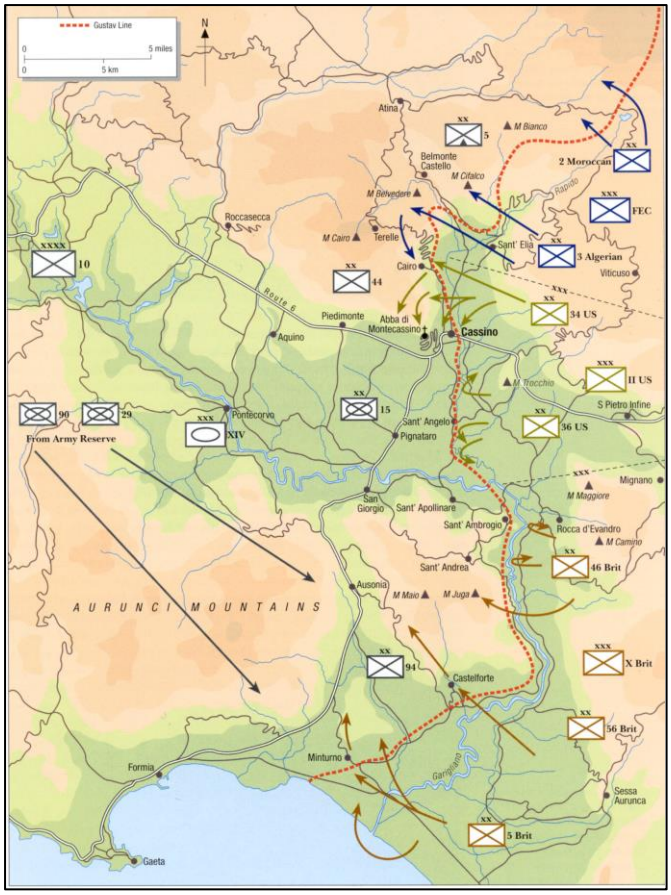
1st Battle of Monte Cassino

The engagement of the allied forces was aimed at cutting the German lines of communication south of Rome. Their plan encompassed a coordinated attack by the US Fifth Army and an amphibious operation by VI US Corps at Anzio on the coast south of Rome.

US VI Corps with two British 1st and US 3rd Infantry divisions reinforced by Special service and Ranger forces landed in Anzio and established a beachhead far behind the Axis Gustav Line. US 45 th Division held the flanks of British 1st and US 3rd Divisions. After successful US VI Corp's landing in Anzio, Kesselring immediately ordered to realise 4th Parachute Division (from 1st Parachute Corps), 65th Infantry and 362nd Infantry Divisions (from 14th Army), 16th SS Panzer Division elements, Hermann Goring Division (less one regiment), 3rd Panzergrenadier and 71st Infantry Divisions

for containment and to counter US VI Corps beachhead in Anzio. Additionally, Kesselring agreed with Hitler to release 715th Division from France and 114th Division from Yugoslavia (Ford, 2004, pp.24-52). Redeployment of Axis forces advocates, that the Allie's forces main purpose was achieved by fixing Axis forces deployed in Italy and forced Nazis to commit available reserves from other theatres of operations in order to creating conditions for Allied operation Overlord in Northern France.

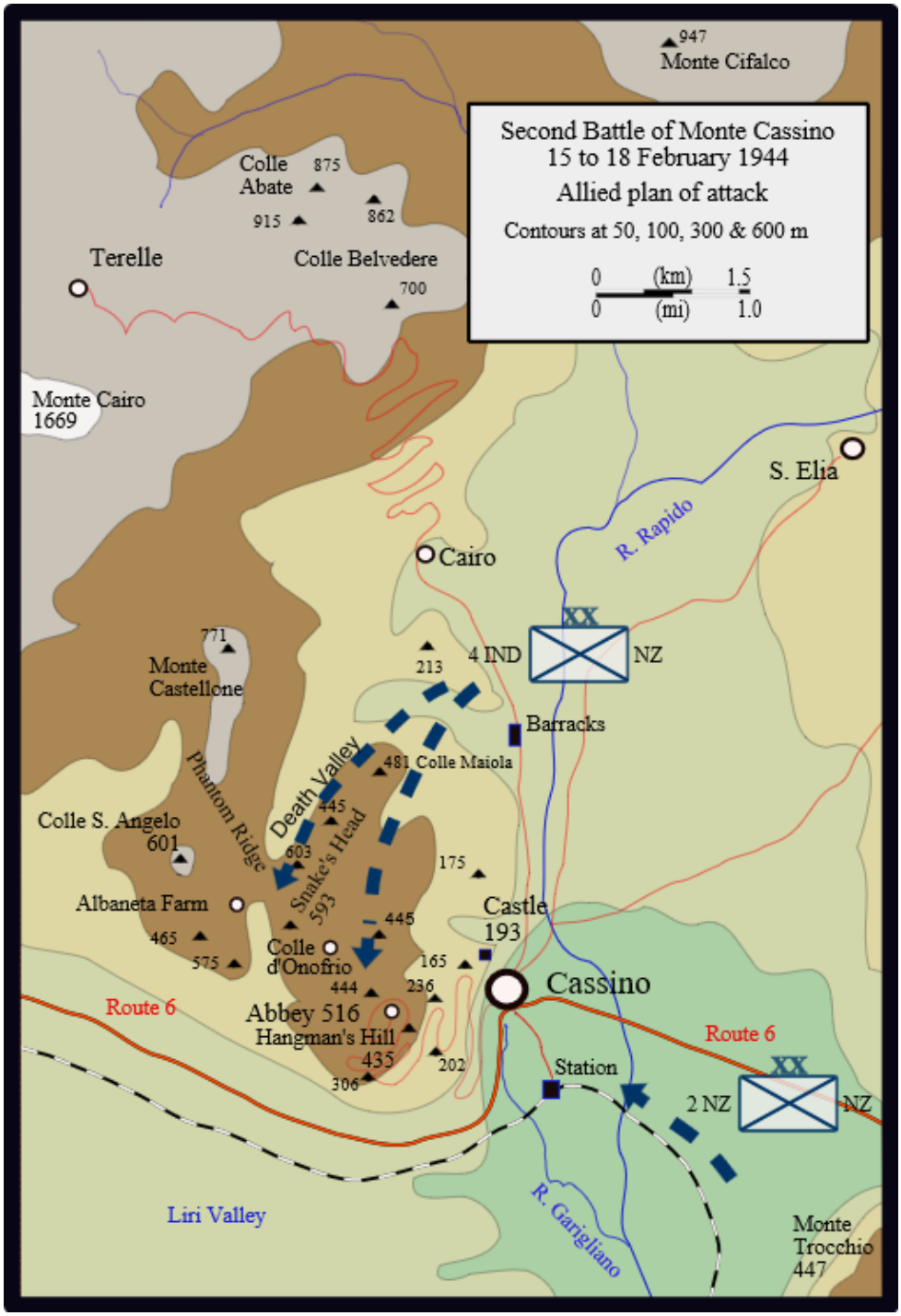
The II US Corps, X British Corps and the French Expeditionary Force attacked the Gustav Line. While Monte Cassino was to be by-passed by the French (with Moroccan 2nd and Algeria 3rd Infantry Division) and British (5th, 46th and 56th Infantry Division), who would attack on both flanks, the Americans (with 34th and 36th Infantry division) had the task to conduct a decisive thrust up to the Liri Valley (Ford, 2004, pp.24-52). The allies faced well-prepared German forces, which were perfectly suited for the demanding terrain and weather conditions. While the French managed to cross the Rapido and advanced through the mountains north of Cassino and the British X Corps assaulted across the Garigliano River, the II US Corps fought themselves to a standstill (Pugsley, 2004). While the allies had no reserves on hand to proceed further northwards, the Germans mobilized their operational reserve and managed to reinforce their troops wherever the necessity occurred. As a result, the Battle of Monte Cassino developed into a war of attrition and the allied forces, which paid an extremely high blood-toll, were not able to break through the Gustav Line (Pugsley, 2004).



Map 2. US Fifth Army attack on the Gustav Line (Ford, 2004, p.34)

Operation "AVENGER"- 2nd Battle of Monte Cassino

Operation "Avenger" started on 15th of February 1944, also known as the Second Battle of Monte Cassino. Three main elements had a huge impact on both sides during this operation – environment, time and force composition and tactics. The plan of operation "Avenger" was to attack from multiple fronts, the north following the mountain ridges and the southeast along the railway with the aim to capture the railway station and open up the route to Rome, which was the ultimate target of the Allies. The Concept of operation involved an overwhelming application of Allied forces air superiority to be achieved by massive bombings, nighttime operations including river crossings with the aim to assault and capture the heavy resisted and defended German positions (Second Battle of Monte Cassino. (n.d.)).



Since the US VI Corps was under heavy attacks at Anzio and according to the intelligence information on German counterattack against Anzio, the New Zealand corps was expected to launch a relieving operation at Cassino. Being under a time pressure, the operation was launched on 15th of February, even though it had to start a day after as planned initially, therefore having the attacking forces not fully prepared. Aberrance from original plan influenced allied attack drastically. Units from the 2nd New Zealand division and 4th Indian division just came into the theatre and due to the lack

of time units were not ready yet to attack on unfamiliar landscape (Second Battle of Monte Cassino. (n.d.)).

The terrain had a crucial influence on the operation. Germans exploited the time to prepare the defences along the Gustav Line that constituted an absolute system of fortifications combining the natural terrain and landscape features with the dense network of hidden bunkers and concealed shelters that allowed mutual support and surprise the attacking forces with unexpected fire, interrupting the opposing side's chain of supplies and the evacuation of casualties (Polak, 2014). High ground gave an opportunity to observe approaching forces from distance and allowed using artillery and other indirect fire assets to slow down attacking forces momentum (Cavallaro, 2004).

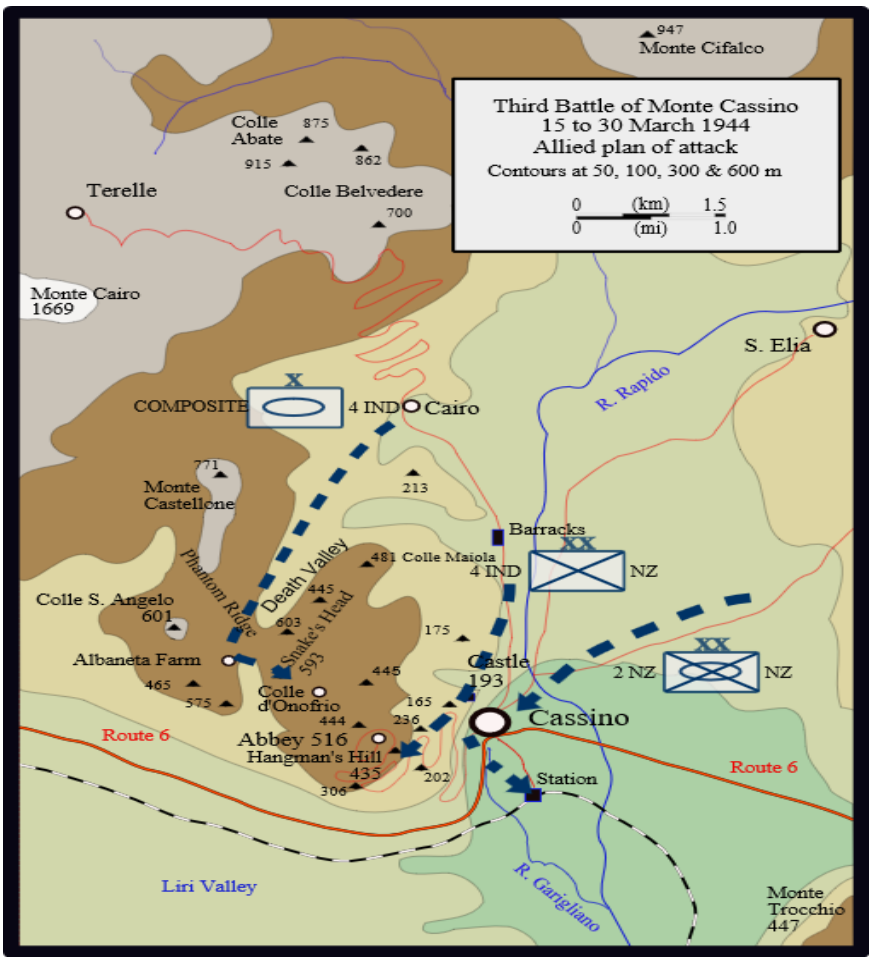
Forces, their experience and tactics in that environment played huge role on both sides. The German tactics in Gustav Line was nothing new for the Allies. Even though the Ghurkhas units on the Allied side were experienced in mountainous war fighting, lack of coordination and communication between the aerial bombing units and the attacking ground units resulted in a failed offensive. The New Zealand Corps were not aware of bombing details to be ready to attack the German defences immediately after the bombardment was finished. The time gap between the bombing and the initiation of the ground attack was a crucial prerequisite to take the monastery, thus giving the opportunity for the Germans to reorganize forces and activate a fast deployment of highly mobile German paratroopers to occupy the ruins (Cavallaro, 2004).

The Second Battle of Cassino failed to divert German attention from the Anzio, and a new offensive (Operation Fischfang) was initiated on 16th of February.

Operation "DICKENS" – 3rd Battle of Monte Cassino

The Third Battle of Monte Cassino, known as operation 'Dickens', began on the 15th of March 1944. It started three weeks after the Allies set the initial date. The operation was postponed due to the unfavourable weather conditions (Pugsley, 2004, p. 10-11). The concept of the operation has foreseen that the battle will start with heavy air bombings, limited mostly to the town of Cassino and will be followed by a strong artillery bombardment. Then the 2nd New Zealand Corps and 4th Indian Division will launch the ground assault from the north direction with New Zealanders attacking the

Cassino town and Indian troops the Monastery hill. The 78th British Infantry Division would be in support of them. The aim of the plan was to clear the path through the bottleneck between these two Objectives to allow access towards the station on the South and so to the Liri Valley as depicted on the map Nr 2 below. German defenders of the Cassino region that time were very experienced and well-prepared soldiers from 1st Parachute Division and 115th Panzer Grenadier Regiment in the reserve. Their task was to keep the defence positions on the Gustav-Line as long as possible, in order not to allow the enemy move farther north or at least to delay it (Pugsley, 2004, p. 10-11; Von Senger, 2003, p. 212).



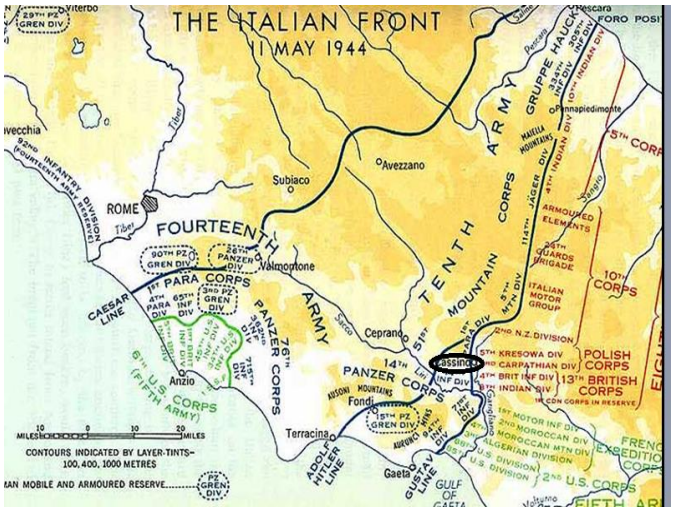
Map Nr 2. (Pugsley, 2004)

On the 23rd March 1944, based on the lack of perspective to achieve the success and exhaustion of own troops, Gen. Bernard Freyberg finally ordered to withdraw the fighting forces. 'The third attempt to break through at Cassino had been halted' (Pugsley, 2004, p. 11).

Analysing the preparations, plans and the battle itself, we can come to some conclusions, defining the key factors contributing to the success of Germans and the failure of the Allies. One of the main faults of the Allies was wrong assessment of the bombings. As the result, their operation had to be significantly slowed down due to unexpected German resistance in the Cassino town and also because of bomb craters (difficulties for infantry and tanks). Additionally, late start of the land assault (three hours after bombings, about 15.30) let the enemy to take the defence positions and to reinforce them during the night. Not having the accurate weather forecast also had a negative influence on the pace of the operation, giving by that more time to the enemy for reinforcement. Germans were located in favourable terrain, having well-prepared defensive positions. The mountain terrain and weather were giving them a big advantage over the attackers that were potentially exposed to suffer heavy losses. Germany's ability to quickly reorganize their forces and reinforce weak spots (flexibility) contributed to the defence. Germany's successful counterattacks did not allow allied troops to achieve larger progress. The main difference to other battles of Monte Cassino was desynchronised air and land actions of Allied powers and it led to the inability to break through the Gustav-Line.

Operation "DIADEM" – 4th Battle of Monte Cassino

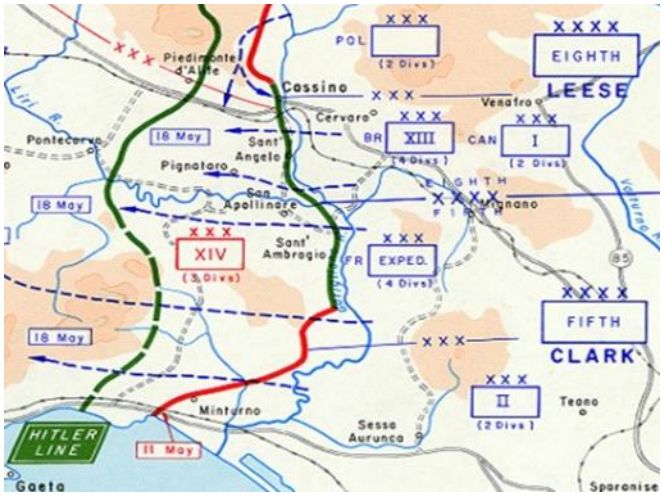
The fourth battle of Cassino was incorporated into Operation DIADEM (the code name for the planned spring offensive in Italy 1944) (Dr Christopher Pugsley, 2004, p.12).



Map Nr 3 (Pugsley, 2004)

At the beginning of May 1944, the allied forces had reached the Cassino front (the German's defensive region, composition of semi defensive lines to the South of Roma) at the same time the US 6th Corps had established breach in the Anzio region (see Map Nr 3). However, the Allies, under command of the British General Sir Harold Alexander, were not able to achieve

significant progress in previous uncoordinated attempts to break trough the Germans defence. On the opposing side German's forces, under command of the General Fieldmarschall Albert Kesselring, was not able to counter and defeat 6th US Corps in Anzio region.



Map Nr 4 (Pugsley, 2004)

General Alexander recognized importance of the Casino sector (Gustav Line) and after six weeks; reorganization of the Fifteenth Army group on the 11th of May was ready to conduct coordinated and focused attack on Casino sector of the Gustav Line (Ken Ford, 2004, p.73). The operation was planned with main effort on route 6 (the road to Rome) in order to break Gustav Line and open the road in to Liri Valley at the same time with the FRA and US V Army attack along the coast line (see Map Nr 4). The fourth battle started after heavy artillery fire on the German's strongholds. Late on the 11 May Indian division tried to establish bridgehead in vicinity Saint' Angelo. The Germans successfully resisted the attempt and division stuck for several days until was able to establish the bridgehead. Early morning 12 May 2nd, Polish divisions made attempt to seize the terrain north of the Cassino, but the attack failed with heavy loses and the commanders asked to postpone the attack until the British 8th Corps will achieve progress. The Germans was able to resist offence for next several days until the Indian division was able to secure bridgehead near Saint Angelo and on the 17th of May, 4th and 78th British divisions were able to cross the bridgehead and enter into the Liri valley and Cassino town. At the same day, Polish and XIII British Corps started to make progress in their sectors and the Germans 1st parachute division being afraid not to be surrounded, started withdrawal. On the 18 May, Polish troops raised flag over Monastery of the Monte casino and the battle for Casino was over. (Ken Ford, 2004, pp.73-87)

After taking the Gustav Line and German withdrawal to the Hitler Line, Allies tried to exploit their initial success, but immediate follow-up assault on the Hitler Line failed. During 18-22 of May Allies regrouped their forces and brought up reserves (third

echelon, 2nd CAN Corps) to the Hitler Line. Kesselring as well used this time to regroup its forces and redirected 14th Army divisions from Anzio beachhead to the Hitler Line. On 23 of May, Allies initiated assault on the Hitler Line and broke it through on 25 of May (central thrust on Piedmont – POL & CAN Corps). Clark's VI Corps used this window of opportunity (weakened German defence in Anzio beachhead) and on 23 of May simultaneously launched a breakout operation with direction on Valmontone in order to cut the German retreat from the Winter Line. German 10th Army and elements of 14th Army faced the perspective of surrounding. However, on May, 25 Clark, feared that Brits will reach Rome first and driven by personal ambitions, redirected his VI Corps from Valmontone to Rome and let Germans to escape from inevitable defeating and to save 10th Army. With Clark entering Rome on 4th of June and Germans successful retreatment to the Trasimene Line this part of the Battle of Italy was finished on 5th of June. Next day the operation Neptune in Normandy was launched.

Preconditions for Allied success in the Forth Battle of Monte Cassino were:

Lessons learned from previous Battles – No more, separate non-coordinated attempts to break through the line Gustav Line the fourth battle was coordinated and focused attack on Casino sector of the Gustav Line. Improved weather and ground conditions gave better conditions for ally's maneuver and fire. Operational security and deception actions (amphibious exercises) broadly conducted by the Ally's, deceit Nazis leadership so much that the Germans expected to face six Allies divisions in front of Monte Cassino, but in reality, they met thirteen. Concentration and ratio of forces - Allies concentrated along the 20-mile Gustav Line 20 divisions. In some places ratio of forces was about 1 to 6 in favor of Allies. Nevertheless, Allies paid high costs for this battle. German troops exploiting natural obstacles, weather and ground factors, building up thought-out defense lines were able to inflict huge losses to Allies, killing about 55 000 troops and lost around 20 000 own troops.

Summary and conclusions

From the Strategic perspective of Allies, the battles of Cassino were significant due to the fact that it should contribute to the Victory of overall campaign of the Allies. It is perceived that the Italian campaign was aimed to pin down German forces in Italy, thus limiting their employment in operation OVERLORD. Generally this battle was

victory, but this victory was achieved at very high cost where many lives and resources were spent. From soldier's perspective battle was slow and painful; however it is clear that the motivation to fight of allied troops were high. During battle Allied forces were conducting successful deception operations, so German commanders did not have clear understanding and good example of it was Operation NUNTOT, were German forces were deceived and therefore kept their reserves up North, far from Gustav Line. Furthermore, allies succeeded at providing supplies for fighting forces. Nevertheless, many mistakes had been made which led to the tactical failures and unnecessary collateral damage. For instance, due to the insufficient intelligence data Allies conducted air bombardment of Monte Cassino monastery. As a result civilians were killed and International Law was violated. Then, this bombardment was not followed by immediate ground force attack, thus providing possibility for German soldiers to occupy efficient positions in the ruins of monastery. Besides, when amphibious operations were conducted in vicinity of ANZIO, commander of amphibious forces did not use momentum, as soon as possible to start cut off main supply route of German forces but instead was waiting when all deployment of forces will be finished to start attack on Germans. Lastly, General Clark, after battle of Monte Cassino, did not chase German army, but his personal goal was to liberate Rome. Thus his decision gave a chance to Germans to reorganise and prepare for another defence line – called Gothic. Furthermore, German forces professionally used terrain features, weather and military tactics, thus creating excellent defensive positions, which for Allies was hard to overcome. Besides, German commanders were able to take appropriate decisions, which resulted in efficient defence operation. Moreover, German soldiers had high moral due to the previous successes to withstand first Allied offences.

With regards to applicability of these lessons to the modern warfare, it is clear that several lessons can be applicable also in contemporarily warfare. Firstly, comprehensive approach through all domains of DIME *(Diplomacy, Information, Military, Economics)* has to be applied to break adversaries will to fight. As it was done during Italy campaign when Allied military pressure, supported by information campaign and diplomacy facilitated signing of armistice between the Allies and new government of Italy to withdraw from the War. Secondly, overall situational awareness has to be maintained to be effective and reduce the level of collateral damage. Geography, terrain and weather have to be taken into account when planning any

operation. Deception element is also important in modern a military operations which provides friendly forces advantages over adversary. All operational effects should have a synergy and precise time synchronization. For all tasks assigned there should be allocated appropriate resources. Finally, leadership of commanders at all levels should be at high standard and there should not be a place for personal ambitions, which might affect accomplishment of whole operation. As example from the Monte Cassino campaign can be mentioned decision of US general M.Clark, who during forth battle redirected US VI Corps from Valmontone to Rome. Thus, following decision is considered as driven by his personal ambitions, which gave Germans a chance to escape from inevitable defeat, and allowed them to establish northern defence line - called Gothic.

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BEST ESSAY OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS COURSE (CSC)

Are China's 'anti-access' and 'area-denial' systems defensive or offensive in character? Ms MAARJA NAAGEL Estonia

'When considering the military modernisation programs of countries like China, we should be concerned less with their potential ability to challenge the US symmetrically – fighter to fighter or ship to ship – and more with their ability to disrupt our freedom of movement and narrow our strategic options.' (Robert Gates, 2009)

On 27 October 2015 the United States (U.S.) Navy's guided-missile destroyer USS Lassen sailed within 12 nautical miles of the Mischief and Subi reefs in the Spratly archipelago in the South China Sea. China who has claimed the reefs as islands forming part of its sovereign territory reacted fiercely accusing the U.S. of provocation by illegally entering Chinese waters, and called the U.S. actions extremely irresponsible and a threat to China's sovereignty (The Guardian, 2015). The Pentagon confirmed that a Freedom of Navigation Operation had taken place as part of a regular U.S. practice around the world which is aimed at challenging excessive maritime claims (BBC News, 2015). Earlier that month the U.S. Secretary of Defence Ash Carter had said commenting this type of operations: 'Make no mistake: the United States will fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows, as we do around the world, and the South China Sea is not and will not be an exception' (U.S. Department of State, 2015). The Chinese embassy in Washington further warned that the concept of 'freedom of navigation' should not be used as an excuse for muscle-flexing and the US should 'refrain from saying or doing anything provocative and act responsibly in maintaining regional peace and stability' (The Guardian, 2015). The day after the incident major Chinese newspapers declared that China is not frightened to fight a war with the US (BBC News, 2015).

The sparked reaction to the incident is just another example of China's growing assertiveness in rhetoric. That, combined with assertive actions such as the rapid construction of artificial islands (including the abovementioned reefs) for civilian as well as military use, or the unprecedented pace in acquiring and developing new weapon systems building up whole new capabilities such as the anti-access and area

denial (A2/AD) capability, can be seen as evidence of China being determined to have its own way in the Western Pacific region as well as acting increasingly as a superpower not afraid of challenging what it considers the *other* global player. Hence the question asked and analysed by academic writers, think tankers, policy makers and the military alike – how should the U.S. react and respond? Although China's A2/AD systems can in short-term view be considered an asymmetric threat to the U.S. freedom of movement in the Western Pacific, they can in a long-term view become an offensive means in a strategic struggle for hegemony. That would imply an inevitable shift in the U.S. perception – realisation that an asymmetric challenger may become a peer competitor. To address these issues this paper will look at China's A2/AD capability in relation to its neighbouring countries as well as in relation to the U.S., and at China's strategic thinking. In the last section conclusions are drawn and recommendations given.

China's A2/AD capability and its neighbouring countries

In developing an extended A2/AD capability in the Western Pacific China is looking for adding a military means in its tool box of coercive instruments to be used as it sees fit against its disputing neighbours that have contested China's claims over territories it considers rightfully its. China has claimed almost all of the South and East China Sea allegedly basing its claims on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Neighbouring nations and the U.S. disagree. Overlapping claims have led to numerous maritime disputes with Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam (CFR, 2016). China's claims have in a large part been rejected by the Permanent Court of Arbitration as having no legal basis (South China Sea Arbitration Case, 2016)[2]. However, China refuses to recognise the tribunal's jurisdiction and continues replenishing reefs and building landing-strips, ports, radar sites and other installations on them.

[2] The Court identified a number of reefs in the Spratlys (including the Subi and Mischief reefs) as low-tide elevations that do not generate entitlements to a territorial sea, exclusive economic zone, or continental shelf and are not features that are capable of appropriation. The Court also found among other things that the construction activities undertaken on those and other reefs are in violation of China's obligations under UNCLOS. See the Award para 1203(B)(4-5), (13-14), pp. 472-477.

The constructed islands provide a possibility to deploy aircraft, missiles, and missile defence systems to 1000 kilometres from its shores increasing its power projection by significantly extending its A2/AD system's operational range (CFR, 2016). Added to that are the ever growing and more capable fleet of surface-ships and submarines carrying conventional as well as nuclear weapons, supported by ground-based, airborne and satellite-based surveillance, targeting systems, anti-satellite and cyber weapons (Biddle, et al., 2016).

This constitutes a capability that can be offensively used against China's neighbouring countries in the ultimate form of enforcing a maritime blockade. This threat is faced notably by Taiwan which is in the effective range of the full A2/AD capability but a blockade can also be implemented on most of disputed islands, including the much discussed Senkaku/Diaoyu islands under the administration of Japan (Biddle, et al., 2016 pp. 16-17). The aim of the blockade would be to coerce other nations to accept China's claims and settle its position in the region.

China's A2/AD capability and the U.S.

Since most of the countries involved in maritime disputes with China are in one or other sort of alliance or partnership with the U.S., the A2/AD capability is ultimately aimed at the U.S. who in China's view is behaving like a hegemon who is not realising that its inevitable fall is just a matter of time. And time China has. Or so it seems, if one looks at its activities in Africa acquiring its way in to the natural resources concessions and political leverage to be used at the United Nations, or buying up coastal land in Iceland with the perspective of building major ports by the time the shipping routes of the Arctic become economically viable (Conference, 2015).

The above described capability can significantly restrict and to an increasing extent deny the U.S. freedom of action in the Western Pacific. China's aim is by raising the cost of exercising its freedom of movement to a prohibitive level to deter the US from entering the South and East China seas (Krepinevich, 2010 p. 13), (Kearn Jr., 2014 p. 35) This capability that China calls 'counter-intervention operations' or *shashoujian* – literally 'assasin's mace' – is meant to delay the assembly of U.S. power projection

forces (lead by aircraft carriers), to keep them reaching the effective range, or to defeat them should they manage to come within range. (Krepinevich, 2010 pp. 13-15).

On an operational level this creates five competitions between China's and U.S. armed forces: 1) battle network versus counter-battle network; 2) missile attack versus missile defence; 3) air superiority versus air defence; 4) Sea (and undersea) control versus sea (and undersea) denial; and 5) force sustainment versus counter-force sustainment (Tol, et al., 2010 p. 32). In response to this and with the aim of deterring and ultimately defeating any adversary employing sophisticated A2/AD capabilities the U.S. has developed the operational concept of AirSea Battle (DOD, 2013), (Christensen, 2012) or Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons (JAM-GC) as it was later renamed (USNI, 2015).

It is doubtful whether ASB is sufficient to counter China's A2/AD strategies. One might ask if an operational concept is the appropriate response for a capability that even according to the Secretary of Defence narrows America's strategic options. The focal point in the deliberations should rather be the question whether the U.S. is ready to admit that China as a global player is about to become a peer-competitor. The U.S. strategists and policy makers should at least consider the possibility that the A2/AD in combination with other tools in the power box may result in a system that Biddle and Oelrich call a 'differentiated pattern of control' (Biddle, et al., 2016 p. 12). The question is whether China will contend with that or want to take over the hegemony.

Chinese strategic thinking

When thinking about Chinese thinking one might want to give due regard to some historical aspects. There are scholars who point out that in traditional Chinese thinking the inherently Western categories of strategies, operations and tactics do not exist and we should not make the mistake of trying to impose those categories to China's behaviour (Conference, 2013). Hence when trying to understand China's overall goals from a very Western point of view it might be useful to assume that every action serves some sort of long-term goal and it is most likely to do with attaining power.

In China's rich history an interesting concept called 'barbarian-handling' can be found that was used by the Han in taking over power from the Xiongnu. It contained two main elements: 1. Induction of economic dependence on the dominating tribe; 2. Indoctrination by forcing to accept a new value system. Today's Chinese Communist Party uses a derived form of barbarian-handling in China's dealings with 'powerful and violent" states like the U.S. in their view: 1. Concede; 2. Entangle in economic/material dependence; 3. Impose subordination on weakened former super power (Luttwak, 2012 pp. 26-28). China's pursuit for power takes place in all its dimensions — economic, military, technological and diplomatic, and it is driven by the firm belief that China as a great civilization undone by the hostility of others, could only attain its destiny if it amassed the power necessary to ward off the hostility of those opposed to this quest. Amassing this power is aimed at replacing U.S. primacy in Asia (Blackwill, 2016). For that US global dominance is challenged locally. For now. And for now an obvious means used for attaining that primacy is the A2/AD capability.

But if one is to take seriously the writings of two colonels who are believed to represent a dominating school of Chinese military thought then under the strategies of 'Unrestricted Warfare' and 'Peaceful Rise' we are yet to see how unrestricted means and methods are employed to achieve limited goals (Corn, 2010).

Conclusions

China may claim to be safeguarding the country's sovereignty and security, and defending its territorial integrity, which are perfectly legitimate goals of any country, however certain territories it claims to defend are not only disputed by other nations but have also by an international tribunal been declared illegally appropriated as they go hundreds of kilometres beyond what the UNCLOS foresees. Therefore, the A2/AD capability development seems to be rather part of a wider expansionist series of activities aimed at virtually turning the East and South China Seas into Chinese internal waters where no-one is welcome except those invited by China under its conditions. Given the sheer volume of trade flowing through these seas and the possible natural resources to be exploited it could be relatively lucrative gain.

China's A2/AD capability can be seen as one asymmetric element of the whole Unrestricted Warfare and Peaceful Rise strategies. From China's neighbours' as well

as the U.S. perspective, however short or long term one is to look at it, the A2/AD capability presents an offensive character disrupting and potentially denying access to areas of vital national interest. What the U.S. should worry about in a mid- to long-term perspective is the possibility of narrowing down its strategic options to a level that it is forced to admit defeat having lost the role of the steward of the global commons.

In order to challenge the U.S. hegemony, China does not need to become the new hegemon itself. All it takes is create doubt in the U.S. capacity to maintain its global ranger's role and for that only some power projection backed up with real capabilities is enough that would seemingly or actually create wholes in US capabilities that are the basis of its position. Having assumed the superpower's role means also accepting that there are contenders that wish to challenge that role, if not overtake it. That pushes the U.S. into a defensive role. The paradox is one needs to show ever greater offensive capacity to maintain the status quo.

Another element adding to the relevance of the issue is the proliferation of A2/AD capabilities – Russia re-claiming the position of a peer-competitor as well, and not less worrisome – Iran (Krepinevich, 2010 p. 27). From the U.S. perspective all these capabilities are offensive as they are built with the aim of creating a tool for disrupting the U.S. access to areas of strategic importance and denying it the possibility to operate within those areas (the Baltic Sea area, the Strait of Hormuz).

Recommendations

Irrespective of whether the U.S. is determined to maintain its leading global power position or is willing to concede to a peer-competition, there is a need for a truly whole-of-government strategy to counter China's rise. That will require policy, diplomatic, economic and military tools in concert to counter China's assertiveness.

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BEST ESSAYS OF THE HIGHER COMMAND STUDIES COURSE (HCSC)

To what extent are ‘anti-access’ and ‘area-denial’ systems defensive or offensive in character? LtCol ADAM GORECKI Poland

In recent years, ‘anti-access’ and ‘area-denial’ capabilities (abbreviated as A2/AD) are one of the top subjects of press and media discussions aimed to examine contemporary European security order as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ability to conduct collective defence. In this context, Russian A2/AD capabilities are considered as one of the biggest threats for NATO member states in case of potential conflict. What is more, technical capabilities of the Alliance are repeatedly presented as insufficient to maintain credibility of the Article 5 Crisis Response Operations execution. Thus, the aim of the essay is to evaluate the character of the Russian A2/AD concept including applied weapon systems defining available capabilities within it.

An analysis of the literature in the field of Russian A2/AD capabilities has made it possible to put forward a thesis that a defensive in essence Russian A2/AD systems are intended to be component of the revisionist attempts (offensive in character) to restore the superpower position and implicate the vital threat for security order in Europe. Therefore, the first part of the essay will focus on explaining the basic idea and historical development of the A2/AD concept as well as on presenting modern weapon systems defining its capabilities. It is allowing recognition of overall character of A2/AD concept. The second part of the essay will focus on the reasons of Russia’s development of A2/AD capabilities. Next, it will be analysed if Russian supremacy in the A2/AD field is a real threat for NATO members from the Eastern Europe and if the capabilities are more offensive or defensive in character. Then, it will be recommended what kind of measures NATO ought to take to successfully deal with the A2/AD challenge. Finally, the essay will be concluded referring to the thesis.

‘Anti-access’ and ‘area-denial’ concept and its essence.

‘*Anti-access* and *area-denial* are modern terms referring to warfighting strategies focused on preventing an opponent from operating military forces near, into, or within contested region’ (Tangredi, 2013, p. 1). Then, Sam J. Tangredi author of *‘Anti-access*

Warfare. Countering A2/AD Strategies' book elaborates his idea and claims: 'Denying access to an enemy is a natural objectives for any defender and should be considered an integral component of any military campaign. […] Therefore, the objective of anti-access or area-denial strategy is to prevent the attacker from bringing its operationally superior forces into the contested region or to prevent the attacker from freely operating within the region and maximizing its combat power' (Tangredi, 2013, p. 1-2).

Concluding, the above quotes it may be said that the general aim of the A2/AD concept is not complex itself. According to Stephen Frühling and Guillaume Lasconjarias, authors of 'NATO, A2/AD and the Kaliningrad Challenge' article, it is: 'the best way of prevailing over a distant adversary, especially if it is superior in overall military power, is to prevent it from deploying its forces into the theatre of conflict in the first place' (Frühling and Lasconcjarias, 2016, p. 97).

Above quotes explain the modern, overall idea of the concept which was shaped through history by changes in warfare. Thusly, next worth to examine key steps in the development of strategies and weapon systems aimed to hold antagonists from attacking on key areas for defenders.

Historical development of the A2/AD concept starts with the construction of defensive walls like the Great Wall of China (first walls were built in the 7th Century CB) and the Hadrian's Wall (first works were begun in 122 AD). After that, there were built castles and fortresses and finally various costal defence bastions aimed to stop threat from the sea or to deny military build-up on the beaches (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 97).

More recently, the important step in the concept development has been made by the use of radars as a core element of the strategy to defend the Great Britain against German invasion. Application of this air anti-access strategy enabled to win the Battle of Britain, in 1940 (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 97). Next, during the same war, the Germans set up *the Festung Europa* coastal-defence system from Norway to Spain. This system was aimed to deny access during expected invasion by the anti-fascist coalition forces (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 97).

Above-mentioned historical examples of using the A2/AD strategies and weapon systems lead to the conclusion that the A2/AD concept is defensive in nature. Defensive understood as: ‘used or intended to defend or protect’ (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006, p. 375). Nevertheless, worth to take into consideration a quote from Sun Tzu: ‘Attack is the secret of defence; defence is the planning of an attack’.

The quote drives to the impression, that there are no strategies or fighting methods intended to defeat an opponent which are only defensive in character. Continuing this line of reasoning it can be said that, there are no combat systems only defensive in character, too.

Wherefore, during the World War II, Japan used *kamikaze* bombers as a crucial element of strategy to prevent gaining military bases on the Pacific islands by the U.S. forces (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 97). Then, during the Cold War, the Soviets planned to hold reinforcement of NATO by the U.S. Armed Forces ‘[…] through submarines and air- and surface-launched anti-ship cruise missiles, as well as through air and missile attacks on major sea- and airports […]’ (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 97). Above strategies ought to be found as offensive in character. Offensive understood as: ‘involved or used in active attack’ (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006, p. 992). Offensive approach to the strategy of denying access for the opposed forces correspond to the widespread statement:

> ‘The best form of defence is attack’ - **Carl Von Clausewitz.**

Finally, the conclusion drown from the analysis of the concept idea and its historical development is that the A2/AD concept has defensive nature but, the technical development of the weapon systems (core elements of A2/AD) gives new capabilities that allow to use offensive in character combat tools as an important element of purely defensive strategy.

Contemporary terms ‘anti-access’ and ‘area-denial’ were created, in the United States, after the first Gulf War, (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 97-98). Next, key step in the existing understanding of the concept has been made by the U.S. CSBA. ‘In 2003, the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA), defined ‘anti-access’ as enemy actions which inhibit military movement into a theater of operations,

and ‘area-denial’ operations as activities that seek to deny freedom of action within areas under the enemy’s control’ (McCartchy, 2010, p. 2). Finally, from November 2010, the terms appeared in official publications issued by the U.S. Department of Defense (Tangredi, 2013, p. 33). ‘Anti-access’ has been defined as: ‘Those actions and capabilities, usually long-range, designed to prevent an opposing force from entering an operational area’ (JOAC, 2012, p. 6), and ‘area-denial’ as: ‘Those actions and capabilities, usually of shorter range, designed not to keep an opposing force out, but to limit its freedom of action within the operational area’ (JOAC, 2012, p. 6).

In the Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC) there are also conceptualized anticipated threats caused by A2/AD capabilities that future opponents will be able to use to fight against the U.S. Armed Forces. According to the JOAC, ‘[…] future state and nonstate adversaries “see adoption of ‘anti-access’ and ‘area-denial’ strategies against the United States as a favorable course of action for them” […]’ (Boland, 2012). Thus, threats potentially caused by adversaries’ A2/AD capabilities are considered as a future emerging security challenges which should be counter by NATO forces. In addition, this publication was a guideline for the development of supporting service doctrines implying relevance of the A2/AD capabilities such as the Air-Sea Battle Concept (ASB), and the Joint Concept for Entry Operations (JOEC) (Boland, 2012). In this point, it may be summed up that the U.S. Department of Defense is focusing on military aspects and offensive capabilities that would be used by the U.S. expeditionary forces. Moreover, it contains offensive in character measure to overcome modern A2/AD systems which are form of a conventional warfare the U.S. expeditionary forces would most likely face in a next conflict. So, the U.S. are treating A2/AD concept as an offensive in character, regardless of its defensive essence.

Concluding this part of the paper, it can be stated that the A2/AD concept has defensive essence but this strategy is not exclusive for defender or military weaker opponent only. What is more, despite the fact the terms were coined for the U.S. Armed Forces requirements, and originally are military operational level definitions, the terms are not exclusive for military only. The A2/AD capabilities can be a relevant component of strategy, and even grand strategy, also can include international diplomacy, internal political and economic activities (Tangredi, 2013, p. 5).

Moreover, from the military perspective as components of A2/AD capabilities are listed: '[…] air defenses, counter-maritime forces, and theater offensive strike weapons, such as short- or medium-range ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, and other precision guided munitions' (Williams, 2017). Systems like this are classified as conventional warfare means and can be used successfully during defensive as well as offensive operations. Also, offensive cyber warfare and electronic warfare can be classified as non-kinetic components of A2/AD capabilities. Finally, high readiness and special operation forces units are categorised as A2/AD forces, which are more offensive than defensive in character.

As it was mentioned in the introduction to the essay, A2/AD systems are considered as an emerging challenge for security order in Europe. Especially, the rise of Russian A2/AD capabilities is reported to be a big threat for NATO member states like Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. Thus, the next part of the essay will be devoted to examine reasons and character of Moscow's efforts in this field.

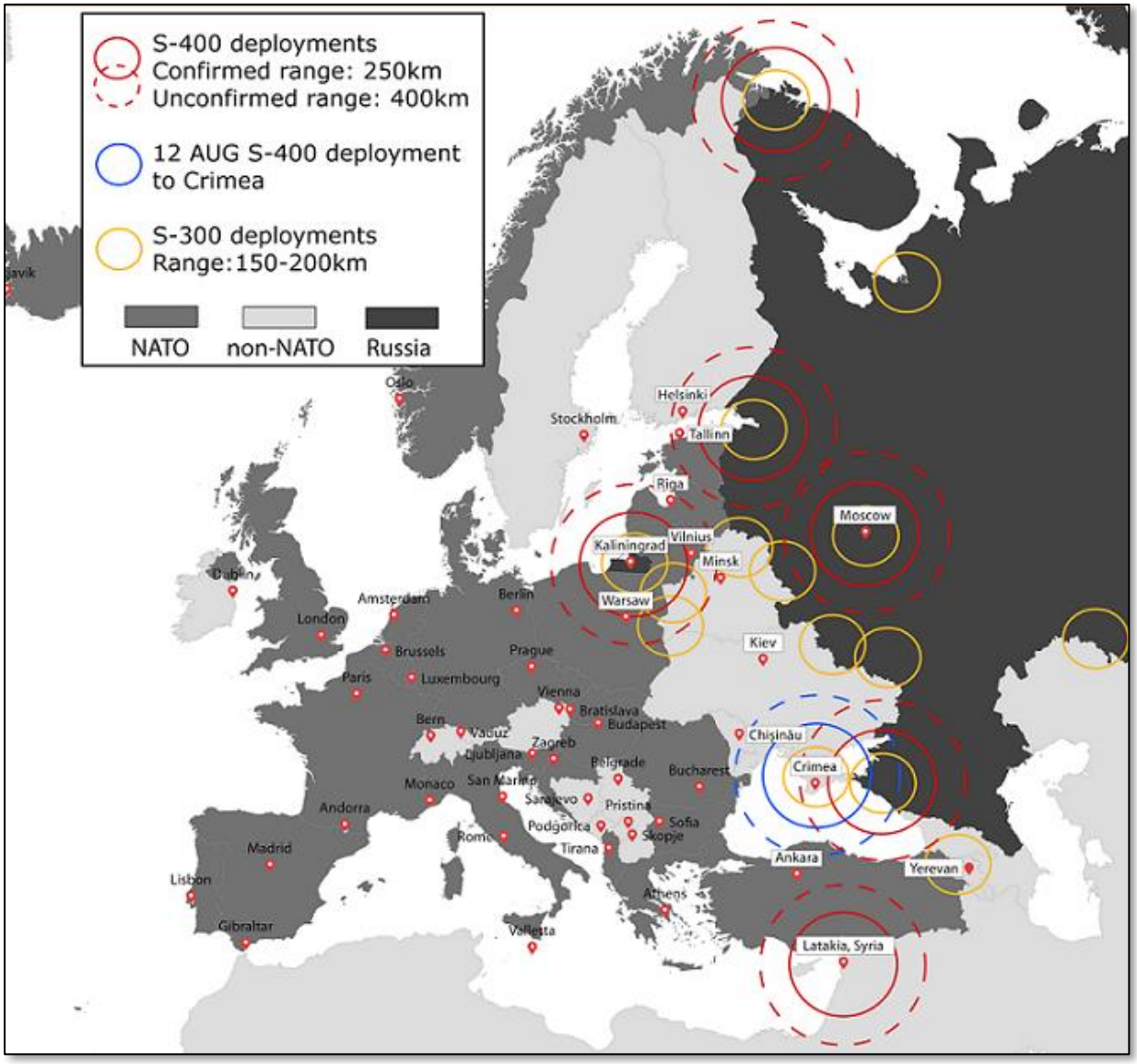
A2/AD capabilities - key element of Russia's super power position.

Based on lessons taken from the U.S. Armed Forces performance during the Gulf War, Russia understood that will not be able to defeat coalition (NATO) forces in a linear conflict. Additionally, after poor operation in the Chechen Wars President Putin has executed radical reforms in organisation and technical modernisation of the Russian Armed Forces. These changes were boosted by experiences from the Georgian conflict, in 2008 (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 98). What is more, '[…] Russian forces continue to benefit from the significant resources that have been allocated to them by President Vladimir Putin, and are better prepared, better trained and better equipped than a few years ago' (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 100). Nevertheless, Russia is aware that currently NATO has supremacy in conventional means of armed struggle. Thus, one of the ways to deal with that are systematically developed conventional A2/AD capabilities.

Above position is confirmed by Loic Burton: 'In response to NATO's unmatched ability to conduct large scale airspace operations, Russia has established large anti-access /area-denial (A2/AD) exclusion zones or 'bubbles' around the Baltic states, the Black Sea, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Arctic. These A2/AD bubbles allows Moscow to deny the use of airspace in these areas and dramatically constraint the movement

of ships and land forces in case of a crisis' (Burton, 2016). Figure 1 shows existing deployment of Russian A2/AD systems.

Figure 1. Russian A2/AD systems deployments (August 2016).



Source: Burton, Loic. 2016. *Bubble Trouble: Russians A2/AD Capabilities,* http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2016/10/25/bubble-trouble-russia-a2-ad/ (accessed: 25 October 2016).

To better understand if Russian A2/AD systems are offensive or defensive in character, it is important to analyse the implemented capabilities from Moscow's as well as from Brussels's (NATO) perspective.

According to Korteweg and Besch Vladimir Putin is challenging European security order as a result of his feeling of being surrounded by NATO. On this account, Russia

in the military doctrine defined potential danger caused by NATO enlargement (Korteweg and Besch, 2016). It is stated in the doctrine as follows:

> '[...] a) build-up of the power potential of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and vesting NATO with global functions carried out in violation of the rules of international law, bringing the military infrastructure of NATO member countries near the borders of the Russian Federation, including by further expansion of the alliance;
>
> […] c) deployment (build-up) of military contingents of foreign states (groups of states) in the territories of the states contiguous with the Russian Federation and its allies, as well as in adjacent waters, including for exerting political and military pressure on the Russian Federation' (The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, para. 12 a, and 12 c).

Concluding, above opinion and quotes, from the Russian doctrine, it can be said that developing and modernising of the A2/AD systems is nothing else like building modern fortifications as equipoise to NATO's military supremacy. What is more, fortifications are usually considered to be defensive in nature. In this light, Russian A2/AD capabilities may be found as defensive in character. Unfortunately, on the other hand, Russian efforts in this area strictly correspond to statements made by President Vladimir Putin:

> 'If you are not able to fight, hit first' – **Vladimir Putin** (Jaeski, 2017).

Above Putin's statement can give impression that his intent is to develop capabilities that will give Russian Armed Forces possibility to attack effectively first if decided. Thus, A2/AD systems seem to be designed not only for protection of the Russian Federation territory but to create preconditions to conduct limited offensive operations.

Moreover, first, remembering, that the 'near abroad', from the Russian point of view, stretches, '[…] from the Arctic down across the […] Eastern Europe and towards the Black Sea […]' (Korteweg and Besch, 2016), covering many countries with significant number of Russian minority, which were former Soviet republics. Including Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, and present NATO members like Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (Korteweg and Besch, 2016). Second, based on the latest experiences from Russian action in Georgia, Crimea, Syria and Donbas region in the Eastern Ukraine, one can claim that the A2/AD capabilities are used by Moscow to ensure freedom of movement during offensive operations. Hence, defensive in essence A2/AD systems are used in actions which are offensive in character. This offensive posture of the use

of the A2/AD capabilities ought to be found as a potential threat, especially for nations, which are recognized by Moscow as a 'near abroad'.

Next, looking from NATO's point of view, significant rise in Russian A2/AD capabilities, which were shown to public after engagement in the Syrian conflict, is found as a vital threat for the Allies. For example, General Philip Breedlove the former Supreme Allied Commander in Europe said, in September 2015:

> 'As we see the very capable air defence beginning to show up in Syria, we are a little worried about A2/AD bubble being created in the eastern Mediterranean. […] Russia has developed a very strong A2/AD capability in the Black Sea. Essentially their cruise missiles range entire Black Sea, and their air defence missiles range about 40 to 50 percent of the Black Sea. These very sophisticated air defence capabilities are not about [the Islamic Sate], they are about something else' (Gibbonss-Neff, 2015).

Additionally, General Frank Gorenc, commander of the United States Air Force in Europe and Africa, in January 2016, said about Russian A2/AD systems deployed in the Kaliningrad district:

> 'It is very serious. Obviously, we continue to monitor it. They have every right to lay that stuff out. But the proliferation and the density of that kind of A2/AD environment is something that we are going to have to take into account. […] They are using cruise missiles, they are using bombers. It is clear that they are desiring to show what ability they have to affect not just regional events but worldwide events' (Gladstone, 2016).

The above statements of recognised experts indicate that Russian A2/AD systems are considered to be offensive in character and what is more, the systems cause a great threat to the international security. Therefore, the next part of the paper will examine existing deployment and threats caused for NATO members by Russian A2/AD systems.

Threats caused by Russian A2/AD systems.

Based on available, unclassified data, Russia possess conventional A2/AD capabilities like: '[…] missile defence systems, anti-ship cruise missiles, submarines, high-readiness brigades and special forces' (Korteweg and Besch, 2016). Next, other obtainable sources categorise Russian A2/AD systems into three groups: air defence, land based strike, and naval strike. First, Ian Williams lists as air defence systems: the *S-300,* and *S-400* long range anti-air missiles*,* and the *Buk* family highly mobile surface-to-air missiles. Next, as land based strike systems he classifies: the *SS-26,*

and *Iskander* short range offensive ballistic missiles, and also the *Oniks* anti-ship missiles. Finally, according to Williams, to the naval strike category belongs: the *SS-N-30A Kalibr* type cruise missiles, and *SS-N-27 Sizzler* anti-ship missiles (based on Williams, 2017). In addition, to have a full spectrum of Russian A2/AD systems ought to be recited as well air based strike group. The systems belonging to this category are: the *Raduga KH-15,* and *KH-22,* as well the most advanced the *KH-101,* and *KH-102* air-launched cruise missiles.

Then, trying to examine potential threats caused by Russian A2/AD capabilities (commonly called A2/AD bubbles) it is worth to start with the Arctic region. Russian A2/AD bubble in this region is considered as a secondary importance to NATO. But, not for Norway. This country desires more involvement and systematically shows that radars deployed on the Kola Peninsula together with the Northern Fleet's battleships armed with anti-ship and anti-aircraft missile systems have potential to threat the Allies sea lines of communications (Burton, 2017). But, on the other hand, one can claim that Russia needs this bubble to protect access to the Murmansk Maritime Base. So, character of the capabilities is both offensive and defensive.

Second, in the Black Sea region, after annexation of the Crimean Peninsula, Russia has deployed varied A2/AD systems, including: the *Bastion-P* shore-based anti-ship missile system armed with the *P-800 Oniks* missiles, and the *S-300 PMU* anti-aircraft missile systems. Besides, public opinion was informed about planed deployment of the *Tu-22M3 Backfire* bombers, the *Tupolev* Tu-142, and the *Ilyushin Il-38* maritime patrol and anti-submarine aircrafts, in this area of operation (Burton, 2017). In addition, after deployment there *S-400* missiles systems cooperating with *S-300* missiles systems, range of A2/AD systems impact was extended over the Eastern Black Sea, Eastern Turkey and Georgia (Burton, 2016). Nevertheless, according to Burton, despite the fact of extended range of impact of this A2/AD bubble over Turkey, Bulgaria, and Romania area they are not in danger. This bubble should not stop NATO to reinforce of these countries in the event of armed conflict with Russia (Burton, 2016). Thusly, above presented facts drive to the point that deployed in the Black Sea region A2/AD systems are mainly aimed to prevent NATO offensive operation against Russia and eventually can ensure freedom of offensive operations in Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova. So, the systems from NATO perspective may be found as more defensive than offensive in character.

Third, within the Eastern Mediterranean, *Yakhont* anti-ship cruise missiles, *Iskander* missiles, *S-400* and *S-300* air defence missiles systems '[…] deployed in Syria create A2/AD bubble in the region, […] allowing Russia to control most of the Eastern Mediterranean airspace' (Burton, 2016). The only NATO member which security can be directly affected by A2/AD systems deployed there is Turkey. But, examination of the available information allows claiming that there is no direct threat for Turkish security. In addition, from the Russian territory defence perspective this bubble seems to be unnecessary. Nevertheless, the bubble is important element of building the Russian Armed Forces image as a modern and high combat ready power. Additionally, strong military presence in the region allows Moscow to keep control over Syrian conflict and ensure freedom of military operations and political presence in the region to support Assad's regime. Moreover, Russia must be considered by international community as one of the main players able to contribute to the effective end of the Syrian crisis. Above mentioned drives to the point that these systems ought to be found as offensive in character.

Finally, most often considered as the biggest threat for the European security order is the Baltic region where the A2/AD bubble deployed in the Kaliningrad enclave is a real challenge for NATO. Firstly, on the Russian side, Kaliningrad region is heavily militarized. There are deployed radars, and the *K-300P Bastion-P* shore-based mobile anti-ship missile batteries armed with the *Mach 2.5*+ supersonic sea-skimming the *P-800 Oniks* missiles. Also, there are the *S-400 Triumf,* and the *SA-21 Growle*r missiles (Burton, 2016), which are protected by the *Pantsir-S* surface-to-air gun-missile systems. It is reported that range of offensive weapon systems deployed in the Kaliningrad region effectively render the north–east part of Polish and almost whole Lithuanian airspace '[…] no-fly zones for conventional non-stealthy aircraft' (Burton, 2016). Secondly, from NATO side, according to Burton, there is' [...] NATO's small footprint in the region and the geographic isolation of the Baltic States accentuate this threat' (Burton, 2016). Agreeing with Burton's argument and taking into account the fact that land, sea, and air roads of military reinforcement of those states are in direct range of Russian anti-air and anti-ship missiles systems the conclusion is that this situation is a real threat to the territorial integrity and even independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Furthermore, the fact of deployment to this enclave military units (e.g. brigade of maritime infantry), intended for offensive operations testifies to the

offensive character of these technical installations. Finally, this estimation corresponds with Moscow's attempts to reconstruct superpower position in the Baltic Sea region. So, offensive A2/AD capabilities are needed for political aims execution.

Additively, the confirmation of offensive destiny of the Russian A2/AD systems are large-scale military exercises executed in the Baltic and Black Sea regions, in recent time. These exercises were designated to demonstrate top capability level and combat readiness of the Russian Armed Forces after reorganization and technical modernization. Moreover, the A2/AD systems were used as a core element of operations which goals were to reinforce troops deployed in the Kaliningrad and the Eastern Mediterranean regions very fast. So, these systems were used to ensure execution of offensive in character operations.

To conclude this part of the essay, General Gorenc is right that Russia has its sovereign right to develop and deploy any kind of weapon systems sees appropriate for its own protection. Additionally, one can say that Russian A2/AD systems are nothing else like building defensive in character 'fortifications' to protect its own territory. This way of thinking about the systems use to be represented even by the current Supreme Allied Commander, Transformation (SACT) General Denis Mercier. In 2015, General used to assess Russian A2/AD system as defensive in character (intended to defence only) and not threatening security order in Europe (Brzeski, 2016).

Nevertheless, combination of above mentioned opinions and facts about offensive design of the systems contradicts to the opinion about only defensive nature of them. Additionally, from the military point of view Russian A2/AD systems ought to be considered as combat tools allowing an execution of offensive operations within its range of impacts on an opponent.

Thought, military threat is of course vital but, the most terrifying argument for the fact that Russian A2/AD capabilities are a real danger for the NATO Eastern Flank members is public awareness of Russian supremacy in these lethal means of combat. Such a belief can lead to the situation in which there will be no political will in countries like Italy, France or Spain for example to support their Allies from the Eastern Europe in the event of armed conflict. This lack of NATO's solidarity and unity can be caused by the awareness of a significant number of possible human losses during the combat

operations against Russia possessing modern combat systems which the Allied troops will not able to defeat successfully without a large number of losses among soldiers facing the fight.

Finally, real necessity of NATO's armed forces combat readiness to confrontation with Russia determined to restore his superpower position strengthens Vladimir Putin's rhetoric, who said that:

> '[…] he could, if he wanted, have Russian troops not only in Kiev, but also in Riga, Vilnius, Tallinn, Warsaw and Bucharest within two days' (Frühling and Lasconjarias, 2016, p. 110).

Accordingly to above threats, next, it will be suggested what kind of measures both military and political NATO ought to take to successfully deal with the A2/AD challenge.

Ways of responding to A2/AD challenge.

NATO needs comprehensive approach to deal with the A2/AD emerging challenge being a specific combination of available military and political measures. Starting with examining the military readiness to combat with Russian A2/AD systems worth to quote General Breedlove's opinion:

> 'We have the tools, but we do not have nearly enough of them. […] Right now we are almost completely dependent on air forces and aviation assets in order to attack the A2/AD problem' (Majumdar, 2016).

His opinion drives to the conclusion that NATO has not enough sophisticated combat measures to defeat Russian A2/AD systems. The only ones available today to fight effectively in such a hostile environment are the U.S. *F-35s* and *F-22 Raptors* fifth-generation aircrafts. Therefore, first, NATO member states ought to increase the number of currently possessed, offensive in character, fighting systems like surveillance aircrafts and low observable standoff air-launched cruise missiles - the *JASSM* (Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missile). The above technical modernization is necessary to be able to successfully defeat the A2/AD systems deployed in the Kaliningrad enclave, in the event of collective defence of the Baltic States. As well, NATO member states that are directly threatened by offensive components of Russian A2/AD bubbles ought to develop defensive A2/AD capabilities for their own protection

by purchasing *the Patriot* air-and-missile defence systems, or in cooperation with the U.S. develop ‘antiballistic shield’, for example.

Second, NATO has to strongly demonstrate his solidarity, determination and credibility to defend its members (Korteweg and Besch, 2016). A very good step in this direction was made during the last NATO summit in Warsaw, in July 2016. Decision about deployment in the Baltic States and Poland four battalion size battlegroup together with the U.S heavy brigade size battle group in Poland within Enhanced Forward Presence (EFP) ought to show Moscow that NATO is ready to deploy its troops even in the region where Russia has supremacy in conventional combat capabilities. Nevertheless, this positive posture from NATO side should be supported by investment in equipment that provides capability to defeat both offensive and defensive components of Russian A2/AD systems.

Third, NATO ought to invest in preparation of its member’s armed forces to operate in the Eastern European area of operation. This is because, after years of training and equipping troops for non-Article 5 mission in Afghanistan significant number of states has armed forces not combat ready to execute Article 5 missions (Korteweg and Besch, 2016). So, NATO must establish new training policy responding to current threats caused by Russian revisionism. One of the objectives of military exercises ought to be enhancement of readiness of NATO’s forces to move across Europe. Next, scenarios of exercises ought to include identified and predicted threats caused by Russian A2/AD systems and training objectives ought to force commanders to deal with them and to accomplish mission with minimum human losses.

To start intellectualisation of political measures, first, NATO ought to closely cooperate with countries like Sweden and Finland to avert Russian attack on Finnish and Swedish islands. The reason is that occupation of these islands would allow enlarging range of Russian A2/AD systems impact zones. Thusly, NATO ought to promote defence cooperation between Sweden, Finland and its member states like Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (Korteweg and Besch, 2016).

Second, NATO ought to use all possible political means to prevent transfer of modern technologies which may be used by Russia to enhance further possessed A2/AD capabilities. At the same time, politicians ought to promote building positive attitude

among decision makers and public to develop NATO's necessary capabilities in this area.

Finally, attempts to run a peace dialogue with Russia ought not to be stopped. Because, convince of Moscow that NATO is not against Russia is the best but at the same time the most challenging way to counter threats implicated by the A2/AD systems to the European security.

Conclusions

Analysis of accessible literature allows for a clear statement to be made that 'anti-access' and 'area-denial' are relatively new definitions connected with combat strategies, and that the core idea of denying an opponent's access to the strategic for defender territory is defensive in nature.

Then, trying to answer whether modern A2/AD systems are defensive or offensive in character the given answer can be that the systems are both. The cause is that combat systems are not only defensive or offensive in character nowadays. So, almost any technical system can be used in both defensive and offensive posture. Even more, offensive combat tools can be used as a key element of defensive strategy.

The above mentioned phenomenon of modern, complex combat systems allowed Russia to build up A2/AD capabilities which are recognized as very efficient during defensive operations. On the other hand, the systems provide the ability to carry out offensive operations in accordance with the old rule – attack effectively first and A2/AD bubbles could facilitate it within their range. Moreover, the capabilities are a key element of efforts to reconstruct Russia's superpower position in the Baltic and Black Sea regions. Thus, Russian A2/AD systems are more offensive than defensive in character.

Finally, threats caused by the systems are forcing NATO to be prepared as soon as possible to counter Russian supremacy in conventional A2/AD capabilities and to be fully prepared to conduct collective defence in accordance with the Article 5 of NATO Treaty. If this is not done, Russia will achieve its strategic goal which is destabilisation of NATO member's solidarity and unity. Furthermore, Russia will be able to restore former Soviet sphere of political and economic influence, including NATO members

like Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. So, the Russian systems implicate real threats for security order in the eastern part of Europe.

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How might the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union influence the Baltic States? Ms SKIRMANTE JASINSKIENE

Lithuania

We are leaving the European Union, but we are not leaving Europe.

– Theresa May's Brexit speech, 17th January 2017

Introduction

The result of the United Kingdom's (UK) referendum on 23rd June 2016 to leave the European Union (EU) caused disappointment among many nations in the EU, including the Baltic States. As Gramer puts it: 'Britain's surprise decision to leave the EU...rattled the EU to its core. After nearly seven decades of forging the continent's institutional unity, it finally showed signs of cracking' (Gramer, 2017). Many in the Baltic States saw the result of the referendum as a sign of disturbing fracture in political, economic and security structures of Europe because the unity and cohesion of both the European and Euro-Atlantic institutions were perceived to be the bedrocks of the Baltic States' security.

The news of Brexit added additional anxiety as the overall European security situation was already worrisome due to Russia's aggressive policies, continuing instability in the Middle East and North Africa, and persisting internal divisions within the EU with regard to a number of issues be those related to economic, financial or migration crises. Already before Brexit the EU was 'struggling to cope with other crises' (Begg, 2016, p. 189).

This paper will argue that even though the results of the UK Brexit referendum were received with apprehension and concern by the Baltic States, there will be no strategic impact for UK defence policy and plans in relation to the Baltic States at least in short and medium-term. Nevertheless, the UK's decision to leave the EU will have both an immediate and long-term impact regarding the functioning of the EU and its future. Politically, an immediate effect will be that London and Brussels, as well as the capitals of the EU Member States, will be engaged in strenuous and lengthy negotiations on a withdrawal arrangement and a new cooperation agreement, which might divert or at least lessen attention to other acute issues. In addition, for the Baltic States the

negotiations are a futile exercise – or rather a damage control exercise – because in the first place they did not want Brexit to happen, and once it did, they want the UK to stay in as close partnership with the EU as possible (*The Baltic Times*, 2017). Brexit in itself was an immediate manifestation of the fracturing EU. One might say that the very idea of spiritual father of united Europe Jean Monnet that the 'ever closer is union', will be 'forged in crises' is challenged and the Union is 'in deeper trouble than ever' (Peet, 2017). The long-term effect of Brexit is likely to be increasingly exposed divisions within the EU27. British historian Simms maintains that Brexit 'will be an unprecedented event, with unclear and potentially transformative implications for the whole of Europe' (Simms, 2016, p. 226).

This paper will first and foremost examine military, defence, political and strategic aspects of possible impact of Brexit on the Baltic States.

European geopolitics through British eyes

London clearly sees Europe as wider than merely the EU. **NATO** is the primary British choice in terms of security and defence and 'the UK has no intention of watering-down its commitment to the Alliance' (Begg, 2016, p. 196). Minister for the House of Lords Earl Howe confirmed that the UK's ambition was to maintain the *status quo* in terms of cohesion of security (Meeting at the MOD UK, 2 March 2017). It is plausible that UK's security and defence strategy, policy, plans will not change at least in short and medium-term. In the UK's Strategic Defence and Security Review in November 2015 it is unambiguously stated that NATO is the core pillar of UK's defence and 'collective Article 5…commitment underpins the security of the UK and its allies' (HM Government, 2015).

The UK takes concrete practical measures to reassure its commitment to the security of its Eastern European allies. Britain systematically deploys its ground troops for exercises in the Baltic States and Poland (NATO, 2016). The UK is a regular contributor to the NATO air policing mission in the Baltic States, having deployed both to Estonia and Lithuania. In April 2017, four RAF Typhoon jets were deployed to Romania to carry out a NATO air policing mission, while HMS Daring was deployed to the Black Sea (Ministry of Defence of UK, 2017). In 2016, the UK paid a particular focus on the Baltic region by sending ships there 'as part of the Maritime Group, the Mine Counter Measure Group and the Baltops exercise' (Ministry of Defence of UK,

2016). In 2017, the UK is leading the NATO Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (Land) and providing 3,000 troops (HM Government, 2016). The UK sends nearly 1000 troops to Eastern Europe as part of NATO's deterrence measures – the UK is the framework nation of the enhanced Forward Presence multinational battlegroup in Estonia with approximately 850 soldiers, also contributes to the US-led battlegroup in Poland with 150 soldiers (NATO, 2017). Defence Secretary Michael Fallon has underscored that 'British personnel are playing a leading role in NATO: delivering deterrence and defence in Estonia and Poland and air policing in Romania', which highlights the UK's commitment to the security of Europe (Ministry of Defence of UK, 2017). As yet 'another layer of deterrence, the US sent eight fifth-generation F-35A Lightning II jets' to RAF Lakenheath airbase in the UK, from where the aircraft will take part in exercises across Europe. Britain is also purchasing the F-35B version of the jet for itself. The US deployment of F-35A to Europe is significant since it will 'maximise training, strengthen the alliance and enhance NATO's deterrence' (Haynes, 2017). Above all, Britain remains 'heavily committed to European security through NATO…by providing a nuclear deterrent to supplement the strategic nuclear forces maintained by the United States' (Rogers and Romanovs, 2016, p. 55). In July 2016, the British Parliament voted to sustain and upgrade the Continuous at Sea Deterrence posture (HM Government, 2016, p. 13). Furthermore, recently Defence Secretary Fallon said that the UK Prime Minister would be prepared to launch nuclear weapons 'in the most extreme circumstances, even if Britain itself was not under nuclear attack' to protect its allies (*The Independent*, 2017).

Another work-strand directly related to UK's engagement with the Baltic States is pursued via **multilateral arrangements**. The Northern Group, consisting of Britain, Poland, Germany, the Netherlands, the Nordic and Baltic States, is an informal framework for political, strategic and expert consultations on defence and security matters. The group brings NATO and the EU countries together in a regional Northern European context. From the point of view of Sweden, a non-NATO Northern European country, Nilsson suggests that this forum plays 'a vital role in breaking down unproductive silos between NATO members and partners in the North, since the region needs to be fully synchronised in the event of a crisis' (Nilsson, 2016). From the Baltic perspective, the relevance of the Northern Group is very similar – synchronisation of the strategically interdependent region through a particular focus

on Northern European issues and inclusiveness of non-NATO countries of Finland and Sweden. Another regional format initiated by the UK is the Joint Expeditionary Force, which is 'a pool of high readiness, adaptable forces that is designed to enhance the UK's ability to respond rapidly, anywhere in the world, with like-minded allies' (Ministry of Defence of UK, 2014). It is important to note that there is a correlation between the political, strategic, though informal Northern Group association, and the conceptual, operational and practical Joint Expeditionary Force arrangement since the membership of the Joint Expeditionary Force is built from the members of the Northern Group. Up to now the UK-led Joint Expeditionary Force is joined by Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands and Norway. Recently the UK offered Finland and Sweden the option of joining (Yle Uutiset, 2017). It is logical to assume that the Baltic States would welcome a positive decision of Finland and Sweden, and overall support UK policy with a view to strengthening security and defence engagement in the Northern European region, which transcends formal memberships in NATO and the EU.

Britain also pays a lot of attention to **bilateral relationships**. The signing of the Lancaster House treaties with France in 2010 meant that the UK was pointedly disassociating itself 'from any broader European dimension, focusing instead on the strong and strictly bilateral relationship built with France in the field of conventional and nuclear defence' (Heisbourg, 2016, p. 13). The recent announcement about a new British-German agreement on defence cooperation being drafted is yet another signal of UK's continued commitment to security of Europe, which is again pursued in a bilateral framework (Hughes, 2017). Not long ago the UK agreed on bilateral defence cooperation with Finland and Sweden – in June 2016 the UK-Sweden defence agreement was signed (HM Government, 2016, p. 22), in July 2016 in the margins of NATO Summit in Warsaw the UK and Finland signed their defence cooperation agreement (Borger, 2016). Among the Baltic States, the UK builds the closest bilateral defence partnership with Estonia. The Estonian participation in NATO's operation in Afghanistan together with British soldiers created a platform for continued cooperation, and specifically for the UK's decision to undertake leadership in forming the enhanced Forward Presence battlegroup in Estonia.

Britain's philosophy of making its 'defence policy and plans international by design' so as to enable its Armed Forces 'to operate internationally, deterring major threats,

responding to crises and conflicts, and exercising and building defence capabilities together with...allies and partners' (HM Government, 2015) is valuable to the Baltic States in terms of continued British commitment to the collective defence, but also as a stimulating factor for development and empowerment of their national defence capabilities.

Furthermore, it is important to hear the message of Prime Minister Theresa May that now, when the UK is leaving the EU, it will not retrench its international stance, the ambition is quite contrary – to 'be more prominent than ever: an outward-facing, global partner at the heart of international efforts to secure peace and prosperity' (HM Government, 2016).

The UK seems keen to stymie the EU's **Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)**. The UK's multilateral and bilateral arrangements with European countries, as discussed above, send a clear signal about its priorities in terms of security and defence of Europe, which might negatively affect and 'further frustrate the EU's already problematic CSDP agenda' (Rogers and Simón, 2016). By creating these bilateral and multilateral arrangements, the UK is forming additional platforms that might distract other European countries from seriously investing into the EU's security and defence architecture.

Britain itself has stopped investing in the CSDP politically or militarily 'in any substantial manner from the Iraq crisis of 2002-03 onwards' (Rogers and Romanovs, 2016, p. 53). Also CSDP itself 'has remained stuck at a low plateau ever since the economic crisis of 2008', and focused essentially on patrolling, training and advising missions, not on traditional defence tasks (Rogers and Romanovs, 2016, p. 53).

For the Baltic States, from the very outset of their membership in NATO and the EU, NATO has been a primary security and defence organisation, with the EU providing additional security through economic, financial, energy, infrastructure and other means. Rogers and Romanovs put it straightforwardly: regarding military security, Brexit will almost have no effect on the Baltic States since 'the organisation from which the UK is about to leave has practically no influence or role in traditional military issues, particularly deterrence and territorial defence' (Rogers and Romanovs, 2016, p. 52).

Shorter-term impact of Brexit

To start looking into short-term developments influenced by Brexit vote, the potential impact on **CSDP** will be discussed first. Assessing today's security situation, Director-General of the EU Military Staff, Lt. Gen. Esa Pulkkinen, has suggested that the role for CSDP might be to defend space in 'the union's outer perimeter', which has been vacated by NATO since it 'has largely returned to its basic duties and collective defence' (*Global Times*, 2017). Plus taking into account the fact that the EU possesses not only military, but also civilian instruments which are employed in crisis management, there is an argument for the relevance of CSDP, again not in terms of traditional military defence, but as an outreach instrument promoting stability, security and development in the European neighbourhood. In this context the UK itself, comprehending the complexity of the current situation in Europe and in its troubled southern and eastern neighbourhood, regularly asserts its interest to see the EU strong and successful. London sends signals of readiness to engage in close security cooperation with the EU with a view to counter terrorism, criminal activities, also possibly contribute to CSDP as long as the policy is complementary to NATO. Provided there is an agreement for continued British participation in CSDP, London will certainly wish to have a say 'over how the overall policy evolves and where missions are undertaken' (Rogers and Romanovs, 2016, p. 54), in other words to maintain its place at the EU decision making table. On the one hand the EU should be interested to have the UK as a contributing partner due to its significant capabilities, though on the other hand the EU would naturally aim to preserve its decision making autonomy. The framework of future security cooperation between the EU and UK, including participation in CSDP, will be an important issue for negotiations.

Also, there is a possibility that the remaining EU will not have neither will, nor capacities to reinvigorate CSDP. With the UK leaving, France will remain the only country in the EU 'with a global military-strategic outlook, close to full spectrum forces, and the experience of a permanently high operational rhythm' (Biscop, 2017). Besides that, the suspicion will linger that 'other EU Member States are not serious enough about defence', and are not always readily prepared to follow French leadership (Biscop, 2017).

What impact might this have on the Baltic States? The Baltic States have never been wholehearted supporters of CSDP; they shared UK's scepticism with regard to further development of CSDP and strongly advocated for complementarity between NATO and the EU. The Baltic States did not have a genuine interest in independent, autonomous European security and defence policy as such, for them CSDP was rather instrumental for achieving other policy goals. There are three reasons for the instrumentality of CSDP to the Baltic States: 1) to be part of all policies of the EU as a manifestation of full integration into European structures; 2) as a tool to show solidarity and support to individual EU Member States (first of all to France and Germany, but also to Finland and Sweden); 3) advocate and support deployment of CSDP missions to the Eastern neighbourhood countries (e.g. Georgia and Ukraine).

Therefore, if, as Simms suggests, Brexit will deprive the EU 'of its most effective armed forces and render common foreign and security policy largely toothless' (Simms, 2016, p. 226), and CSDP will eventually become ineffective, this could be rather painlessly accepted by the Baltic States. The CSDP might also continue to develop along its current path, with sustained effort to coordinate and integrate security and development policies, military and civilian instruments. Such continuation is also suitable for the Baltic States since they see the added value of the EU in security area in its disposition and employment of a variety of policies, reliance on civilian instruments, as necessary supported by military means.

The immediate impact of Brexit, which now follows after the invocation of Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty on 29th March 2017, will manifest itself in a complex, uneasy, and likely emotionally tense **negotiation period**. As President of the European Council Donald Tusk put it these might even be 'confrontational negotiations' (Lowe, 2017). Lots of institutional and human effort from London, Brussels, as well as from the EU Member States' capitals will have to be devoted to the process. Negotiations will be strenuous and under time pressure since they have to be completed within two years. What certainly adds to the complexity of the negotiations is the huge number of regulations, standards, variety of technicalities which will have to be looked into. As Gramer points out 'the EU has over 40,000 EU regulations, 15,000 EU court verdicts, and 60,000 international standards that Britain will somehow have to entangle itself from, on issues ranging from immigration to healthcare to commerce to foreign policy to trade' (Gramer, 2017).

Internal disagreements within the EU might occur since the Member States are likely to have divergent positions on different aspects related to the future of the EU-UK relationship. The EU will certainly aim to act as one, thus internal tuning and calibration of positions will have to take place. The EU guidelines for the Brexit negotiations were approved in a remarkably smooth and unanimous way at the European Council meeting on 29th April 2017. Still, the overall understanding seems to be that this unity will be short-lived. President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker 'predicted that the Council would never be as unified as it was Saturday', likewise Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Linas Linkevičius saw the reason behind the unity being that 'the most divisive issues are not on the table yet' (Herszenhorn, 2017). To add to the complexity, the UK might try to influence EU Member States depending on progress during the ongoing negotiations. All three Baltic States are very much pro-UK oriented; all three wish to see a close partnership agreed between the EU and the UK. The Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has clearly formulated Estonia's interest that the relations between the UK and the EU remain 'as close and comprehensive as possible' (Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). Lithuania's interest is that the UK stays 'as close to the EU as possible after Brexit' (*The Baltic Times*, 2017). Important to note that the Lithuanian Minister speaking about the future EU-UK relationship above all emphasised the importance 'to keep the current level of security cooperation with the UK' (*The Baltic Times*, 2017). Officials and diplomats from the three Baltic States, when asked whether a 'hard' or 'soft' exit of the UK would be the preferred by their countries, advocated for a 'soft' exit (Cooper, 2017). Yet again, Estonia and Lithuania have specifically noted the importance of the defence and security engagement with the UK, which they wish to be preserved and continued (Cooper, 2017).

The new framework for cooperation between the EU and the UK on trade and economic relations, as well as on foreign and security policy, will eventually be negotiated and the Baltic States will wish to have as much of the UK in the EU as possible. As one EU negotiator has noted the upcoming EU-UK negotiations 'in many ways…is an absurd exercise…a tragedy in which we all must play our predestined role' because 'we are tearing something down to replace it with something very similar' (Macdonald, 2017). It remains to be seen whether the future partnership framework between the EU and UK will be something similar to the membership itself, which

might not be easy to achieve ‘because the Brexit process is likely to have eroded trust’ (Begg, 2016, p. 193). Nevertheless, from the perspective of the Baltic States this ironic commentary is relevant because in the first place the Baltic States did not want Brexit to happen, but since it has they want the future relationship with the UK to be very close.

Another negative impact might be that Brexit opened yet another setting for **Russia** to exploit internal divisions within EU27 and in their relations with the UK. Russia might not only attempt to weaken the unity and resolve of Europeans, but also take a chance to drive further wedges between the Atlantic and Continental parts of the Euro-Atlantic region, in an attempt to disaggregate the West (Rogers and Tyushka, 2017). For the Baltic States, Russia’s meddling into the politics of foreign states is well known, the real question will be the ability of the EU and its Member States to recognise and withstand those external pressures.

Indeed, the UK will be missed immediately by the Baltic States with regard to EU policy formulation and application towards Russia, since ‘Europe does not defend itself by hard power alone…hard-proofing Member States against Russian influence is also a matter of EU policy, particularly in the energy and corporate sectors’ (Wilson, 2016, p. 181). Also sanctions imposed on Russia by the EU is a matter for regular review and the EU27 without the UK will ‘be more susceptible to talk of “dialogue” and rapprochement with Russia, and easier to divide and rule’ (Wilson, 2016, p. 182). Here again the agreement on robust future EU-UK cooperation on foreign and security policy, including mechanisms to coordinate policy of sanctions, is of utmost importance to the Baltic States.

Brexit is likely to have a detrimental effect on EU’s **Eastern Partnership** and enlargement policies because of two reasons: firstly, the UK was a leading advocate of enlargement within the EU, conceptually the UK was promoting ‘widening’ in opposition to ‘deepening’ of the EU; and secondly, ‘introspection and domestic politics are now the driving force within the EU’ (Wilson, 2016, p. 183). It is to be expected that there will be no energy and no ambition for expansion on the part of the EU for the foreseeable future, and the partner countries might lose an interest in the EU since the ultimate incentive for their reforms, rapprochement with the EU will be absent. Eventually, close association and cooperation of Eastern partner countries with the

EU might be recognised as a sufficient framework to substitute membership, and the EU and its Eastern partners might pursue their relationship in the form of ‘outer ring’ scenario (Wilson, 2016, p. 184).

Longer-term impact of Brexit

János Martonyi states an obvious but telling observation that ‘the first important political consequence of Brexit has been the **birth of the EU27**’ (Martonyi, 2017). However, it is still not clear how this EU27 will develop over time or what direction it will take.

On 1st March 2017 European Commission President Juncker presented the White Paper on the Future of Europe with a view to start a broad debate and eventually decide on the course of action for the EU. There are five scenarios described in the White Paper on ‘how Europe could evolve by 2025’:

1. ‘Carrying on’ – continuing with the current course of action;
2. ‘Nothing but the single market’ – focusing on the single market, no agreement to work closely in other areas;
3. ‘Those who want more do more’ – willing Member States proceeding with closer integration in specific policy areas;
4. ‘Doing less more efficiently’ – focusing only on certain priority policy areas;
5. ‘Doing much more together’ – proceeding with closer integration across all policy areas, moving towards the federation (European Commission, 2017).

Some analysts suggest that the paper issued by the Commission should be seen as an ‘important flip side process of the Brexit negotiations and the need to ensure that member states buy into this project of continuing EU unity’ (Herszenhorn, 2017). Also, it seems that Brexit brought the recognition that continuation with the current course of action could be quite risky since the EU will remain vulnerable to any other political, economic or financial accident (Peet, 2017). Therefore, a ‘creative rethink of the entire European project’ (Peet, 2017) is what is needed, and the discussions pertaining to the future of the EU have already kicked off.

On 6th March the leaders of four major European powers – Germany, France, Italy and Spain – after their meeting in Versailles chose to send a common message on the need to proceed with closer European integration though at different speeds depending on the will and readiness of individual Member States. In a way the four

leaders endorsed the third scenario of the White Paper, which proposes ‘greater cooperation and integration to the degree each country is ready for it, on issues such as defence, security, taxation and social policies’ (De La Baume, Herszenhorn, 2017).

On 25th March, nine months after the UK referendum, and just few days before the invocation of the exit from the EU clause by the UK, the leaders of the EU27, gathered on the sixtieth anniversary of the Rome Treaties, to show unity and commitment to a common European future. Yet, together with the demonstrated unity, the concern about the future was visibly present. The broad guideline for taking the European project further was formulated in the Declaration: ‘We will act together, at different paces and intensity where necessary, while moving in the same direction, as we have done in the past, in line with the Treaties and keeping the door open to those who want to join later’ (European Council, 2017). It seems that the earlier message of the four Versailles leaders found its way into the Declaration, setting the direction to proceed with internal differentiation.

Even though, internal differentiation might have been conceptually accepted as an inevitable way to proceed, it is far from being clear how it will happen in reality. There is a variety of terms extensively used in debates: inner and outer circles, core and periphery, two- or multi-speed, two- or multi-tier Europe (Synovitz and Jozwiak, 2017). Yet, major concerns are related to the need to prevent creation of the ‘hard core’ – ‘permanent institutional structures’ for groups of states proceeding with closer integration, but rather to promote ‘a variable geometry’ depending on the policy area and to guarantee the possibility for others to join in at a later stage (Martonyi, 2017).

The term which most widely reflects not only the future, but also the present situation within the EU is ‘differentiated integration.’ Even though varied integration among Member States already exists, divisions within the EU are likely to grow and ‘the Union of the future will increasingly take the form of differentiated integration’…and…’this may be the true legacy of Brexit’ (Begg, 2016, p.198).

As said before, the Baltic States regard their membership in the EU as an important framework for economic, financial, social, cultural development, but also more broadly as a foundation to ensure and strengthen national security. Unity, solidarity, cohesion, viability are the terms used by the Baltic States to broadly describe the ideal Union, which would provide solid ground for security. It is likely that they would not wish to be

left outside the closer integration effort. Addressing proposals for closer cooperation in defence area Estonian Prime Minister Jüri Ratas explained that his country 'must be at the core of European defence policy' because cooperation with western institutions is an anchor of security and independence of Estonia (Estonian Presidency of the Council of the EU, 2017). Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė overall did not oppose the intention to move towards closer cooperation, though she was strongly against 'any amendments to the EU treaties' reasoning that the treaties already contained all necessary instruments for that purpose (President of the Republic of Lithuania, 2017).

Narrowing down to **defence**, the Baltic States have always given a clear preference to NATO, for them 'the role of the EU has traditionally been secondary' (Andžāns, 2016, p. 42) and complementarity between two organisations has been a must. Nevertheless, defence policy area is highlighted as one of the priority areas in four scenarios in the White Paper of the Commission, except the second scenario which refocuses EU integration exclusively on the single market (European Commission, 2017). Presently, with the current course of action, there are few initiatives proposed to move ahead with defence coordination and cooperation, such as the Permanent Structured Cooperation, Coordinated Annual Review on Defence, and the European Defence Fund (Council of the EU, 2017). These initiatives are still in the making, it is to be seen if there is a success. Though, it is not likely that the Baltic States would upfront reject participation in them. Latvia, for example, might be ready to positively consider participation in enhanced European defence cooperation in due time, especially if new developments bring any positive effects (Andžāns, 2016, p. 48). Estonia, on the other hand, seems to prefer being actively engaged right away as it sees an opportunity to be 'among the vectors of development' influencing cooperation culture, threat perception, defence spending and investment policy (Estonian Presidency of the Council of the EU, 2017). Lithuania generally supports European initiatives to enhance defence capabilities in Europe, though immediately relates that it is 'important to complement NATO and avoid overlapping' (Lithuanian Ministry of National Defence, 2017). Though, deeper considerations should take place in the Baltic States in relation to their future European policies, including defence.

Conclusions

Summing up, there will be no influence of Brexit to the Baltic States in strictly military security terms because the UK's exit from the EU should not have a significant strategic effect on Britain's defence policy and plans at least in short – medium perspective. London will continue pursuing its bilateral, regional and NATO wide engagement and this will ensure that the UK remains a major contributor to security in Europe, and as such in the Baltic region.

Nevertheless, for the Baltic States both membership in NATO and the EU strengthens their security, albeit in different, yet often complimentary, ways. Thus, UK's exit from the EU is seen as a first big and worrisome sign of fracture in the Union. Indeed, based on the analysis, the likely scenario of the future EU will entail differentiated integration among its Member States. In such context the Baltic States might pay greater focus on the Northern European region, which is determined by their geographical position. For them the Northern European focus would also further reinforce connection with the UK, for the UK it might be a pivot point to the EU.

In the words of President Dalia Grybauskaitė the UK 'will remain an important part of Europe even after leaving the EU' (President of the Republic of Lithuania, 2017). The Baltic States are interested that the EU and UK achieve strong and constructive relationship not only on trade, but also on foreign, security and defence policies. However, this might not be easily attainable due to internal political dynamics in the EU and the UK, but also due to external pressures.

Simms suggests that 'almost uniquely among European states, Britain is strong enough to survive on her own' due to its constitutional tradition, and enduring economic and military potential (Simms, 2016, p. 237). 'Nearly all the other European states, by contrast, are too weak to prosper as independent actors – with survival being the limit of their ambition' (Simms, 2016, p. 227). This statement is of particular relevance to the Baltic States – on the one hand, the membership in the EU is fundamentally multiplying their security in many different ways, on the other hand, engagement of the UK in Europe means UK's readiness to project and extend security over its allies, whereas all other European states can only contemplate their own defence. Thus, the Baltic States will have to pay due regard both to their European interests and their interest to have the UK actively present in Europe.

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