

9TH ANNUAL HELSINKI SUMMER SESSION A NEW AGE OF NORDIC AND BALTIC SEA SECURITY?

6-7 June 2022

Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has upended the post-Cold War European security architecture and re-energised the transatlantic relationship. The West has stood united in the face of Russian aggression, putting together an unprecedented array of sanctions and providing vast amounts of military and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. The war has had seismic implications for the Nordic and Baltic Sea region as well. Germany, previously hesitant to pursue an unambiguously tough line on Russia, has announced substantial increases in defence spending and is pursuing policies more in line with those of the Baltic states and Poland. NATO is strengthening its presence on the Eastern flank and rethinking its strategic posture in the region. Meanwhile, Sweden and Finland, traditionally militarily non-aligned, are applying for NATO membership. This year's Helsinki Summer Session brings together experts from the region, wider Europe and the United States to explore the future parameters of regional security from inside-out and outside-in perspectives. The event will consist of four panels covering the US-Finland bilateral relationship, the "Northern" and "Southern" Baltic Sea regions, and the transatlantic relationship.

Programme:

Monday, June 6, Arkadiankatu 23 H (inner courtyard)

14.00-16.00 The United States and Finland: Perspectives on Bilateral Relations in an Age of Historic Change

Speakers: Heidi Fransila, Director, Blic

Leo Michel, Non-Resident Fellow, FIIA

Alexandra Pasternak-Jackson, CEO, Amcham

Matti Pesu, Leading researcher, FIIA

Chair: Charly Salenius-Pasternak, Leading researcher, FIIA

Tuesday, June 7, Hotel Mestari (Fredrikinkatu 51-53, Helsinki)

9.00-11.00 Transatlantic relations and the post-Cold War order: A new beginning for EU-US relations?

Speakers: Mary Sarotte, Professor, Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis Distinguished Professor of Historical Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

Nathalie Tocci, Director, IAI

Ville Sinkkonen, Postdoctoral Fellow, FIIA

Chair: Niklas Helwig, Senior Research Fellow, FIIA

11.15-13.15 The View from the High North

Speakers: Nicola Clase, the Ambassador of Sweden to Finland

Robin Marc Allers, Associate Professor, Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies

Kristi Raik, Director, Estonian Foreign Policy Institute

Baldur Thorhallsson, Professor, University of Iceland

Chair: Charly Salonijs-Pasternak, Leading Researcher, FIIA

14.30-16.30 Transatlantic Geostrategies in the Southern Baltic Sea Region

Speakers: Andris Banka, Senior Researcher and Lecturer at the University of Greifswald

Peter Viggo Jakobsen, Associate Professor, Royal Danish Defence College

Dovile Jakniunaite, Professor, Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University

Katri Pynnöniemi, Assistant Professor, University of Helsinki & National Defence University

Amelie Theussen, Senior Researcher, DIIS

Chair: Eoin McNamara, Visiting Research Fellow, FIIA

Speakers' biographies



Heidi Fransila is a director and government affairs consultant at Blic Public Affairs. She has nearly 25 years of experience working on security and defense policy issues with the Finnish Government, mainly with the Ministry of Defence. During her years as a civil servant, Heidi was responsible for developing Finnish defense policy cooperation with international organizations (EU, NATO, UN and OSCE), bilateral defense cooperation with the United States and long-term strategic planning. Her government career included service at the Embassy of Finland in Washington DC and at the UK MOD in London. Heidi holds a Master's degree in International Affairs from The George Washington University in Washington, DC and a Bachelor's degree in political science from Concordia College, Moorhead, MN.



Leo Michel is a Non-resident senior fellow at the Atlantic Council and Non-resident fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, focusing on transatlantic defense relations. Before his retirement from the US Department of Defense (DoD) in July 2015, Mr. Michel was a Distinguished Research Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, the think-tank component of DoD's National Defense University. During 1986-2002, Mr. Michel served in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, where his positions included: Director for NATO Policy; Director for Non-Nuclear Arms Control; Deputy U.S. Representative to the U.S.-Russia Bilateral Consultative Commission; Deputy Director, Verification Policy; and DoD Representative on the faculty of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. Mr. Michel was promoted to the career Senior Executive Service in 2000. Before joining DoD, Mr. Michel served in the CIA's Directorate for Intelligence. He previously worked for a US Member of Congress and as a correspondent for French media, and served as a US Navy officer during 1969-72. He has a BA from Princeton University and MA from Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies.



Alexandra Pasternak-Jackson is the CEO of Amcham Finland. A dual-citizen of Finland and the United States, she has 15 years of transatlantic business experience, working to promote international business and foreign direct investment (FDI) to Finland, as well as providing opportunities and networks for Finnish companies heading to the US market. Pasternak-Jackson is a frequent public speaker and moderator, addressing senior leadership audiences in both the United States and Finland on topics ranging from foreign direct investment and the transatlantic economy, to networking and women's leadership topics.



Matti Pesu is a Leading Researcher at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA). His research interests include Finland's national security, Northern European security and transatlantic relations. He holds a doctoral degree (DSocSci, International Relations) from the Tampere University.



Charly Salenius-Pasternak is a Leading Researcher at FIIA and leads the work of the Center on US Politics and Power (CUSPP). His work at FIIA focuses on international security issues, especially Nordic and transatlantic security (including NATO), as well as U.S. foreign and defence policy. Recently he has focused on Finnish-Swedish defence cooperation and the evolution of US and NATO alliance reassurance approaches in light of the changed regional security situation. In 2017, he was a visiting research fellow at the Changing Character of War programme at Pembroke College (Oxford University), where he studied the hybridization of warfare and the impact of the Information Age on the character of war.

Speakers' biographies



Nathalie Tocci is Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Honorary Professor at the University of Tübingen and Pierre Keller Visiting Professor at the Harvard Kennedy School. She has been Special Advisor to EU High Representative and Vice President of the Commission Josep Borrell. As Special Advisor to HRVP Federica Mogherini she wrote the European Global Strategy and worked on its implementation. She has been a member of Eni's Board of Directors since May 2020. Previously she held research positions at the Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, the Transatlantic Academy, Washington and the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence. Her research interests include European foreign policy, conflict resolution, the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Her major publications include: *Framing the EU's Global Strategy*, Springer-Palgrave Macmillan, 2017 (author); *The EU, Promoting Regional Integration, and Conflict Resolution*, Springer-Palgrave Macmillan, 2017 (co-editor); *Turkey and the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015 (co-author); *Multilateralism in the 21st Century*, Routledge, 2013 (co-editor), *Turkey's European Future: Behind the Scenes of America's Influence on EU-Turkey Relations*, New York University Press, 2011 (author); and *The EU and Conflict Resolution*, Routledge, 2007 (author). She is the 2008 winner of the Anna Lindh award for the study of European Foreign Policy.



Mary Elise Sarotte, an expert in the history of international relations, is the inaugural holder of the Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis Distinguished Professorship of Historical Studies. She is also a research associate at Harvard University's Center for European Studies. Sarotte earned her AB in History and Science at Harvard and her PhD in History at Yale University. She is the author or editor of six books, including *The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall* and *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe*, both of which were selected as Financial Times Books of the Year, among other distinctions and awards. Following graduate school, Sarotte served as a White House Fellow, then joined the faculty of the University of Cambridge, where she received tenure before accepting an offer to return to the United States to teach at USC. Sarotte is a former Humboldt Scholar, a former member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Her most recent book is *Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of Post-Cold War Stalemate*, on what the fight over NATO expansion did to Western relations with Russia.



Ville Sinkkonen is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Center on US Politics and Power. His research focuses on US foreign policy, hegemony, normative power and the politics of trust in international relations. Sinkkonen is the author of "A Comparative Appraisal of Normative Power" (Brill, 2015) and his work has been published in the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* and *European Review of International Studies*, among others. He holds a doctoral degree (LL.D.) from the University of Turku.



Niklas Helwig is a Senior Research Fellow at FIIA. His research focuses on EU foreign and security policy, German foreign and security policy, as well as the transatlantic security alliance. Before he returned to FIIA in 2019, he worked at the RAND Corporation, at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS, Washington), at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP, Berlin) and at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS, Brussels). He holds a PhD from the University of Cologne and the University of Edinburgh ('co-tutelle').

Speakers' biographies



Ambassador Nicola Clase currently serves as Coordinator for Migration and Refugee Issues at the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Prior to that Nicola Clase served as the Swedish Ambassador to the UK for six years. Nicola Clase held the position as State Secretary for foreign and EU affairs in the Prime Minister's Office from 2006-2008. As State Secretary for Foreign and EU affairs she served as the Prime Minister's Sherpa on EU affairs and was appointed the Swedish Government's chief negotiator on the EU Lisbon Treaty. From 1991 through 1999 and from 2002 through October 2004 Ambassador Clase served in the Swedish Foreign Ministry and had postings in London and Copenhagen. Born June 8, 1965 in Gothenburg, Sweden she earned her Master Degree in East Asian Studies from the University of Stockholm. She has also studied at Beijing Teacher's College (Beijing Shifan Daxue) in China. She served as a fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (WCFIA) at Harvard University 1999- 2000 and as an associate at Harvard University 2008 - 2009. She resides in Stockholm.



Robin Mark Allers is Associate Professor at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS) at the Norwegian Defence University College (FHS). He holds a PhD from the University of Hamburg. He has previously worked at the University of Oslo and has been at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies since 2009. His research interests are German and European security policy, EU's defence and security policy, the NATO-EU relationship as well as Norwegian foreign and security policy.



Kristi Raik is the Director of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute at ICDS since February 2018. She is also an Adjunct Professor at the University of Turku. She has previously served inter alia as a Senior Research Fellow and Acting Programme Director at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki; an official at the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union in Brussels; and a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels and the International Centre for Policy Studies in Kyiv. Kristi has a PhD from the University of Turku. She has published, lectured and commented widely on European foreign and security policy.



Baldur Thorhallsson is a Professor of Political Science, and founder and Research Director for the Centre for Small State Studies, at the University of Iceland. His research focus has primarily been on small European states, small state theory and Iceland's foreign policy. His recent articles are included in *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *Scandinavian Journal of History* and *Global Affairs*. His latest edited books are titled *Iceland's Shelter-Seeking Behavior: From Settlement to Republic* (Cornell University Press 2021), *Small States and the New Security Environment* (co-editor) (Springer 2021) and *Small States and Shelter Theory: Iceland's External Affairs* (Routledge 2019). He holds a PhD (1999) and MA (1994) in Political Science from the University of Essex in the United Kingdom.



Andris Banka is a Senior Researcher and Lecturer at the University of Greifswald, Germany. His research focuses on the security of the Baltic states, NATO and US-Baltic relations. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Birmingham, UK. He has taught international relations and politics classes in Germany, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

Speakers' biographies



Peter Viggo Jakobsen is an Associate Professor at the Department of Strategy at the Royal Danish Defence College in Copenhagen and Professor (part time) at the Center for War Studies, University of Southern Denmark. His primary research interests are Danish and Nordic defence and security and the role of NATO and the UN in international peace and security. He is a member of several editorial boards for the following journals European Security (Taylor and Francis, London), International Peacekeeping (Routledge, London), Politica (Aarhus) and Military and Strategic Affairs (Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv). He has been a Visiting professor at International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), USA (2006) and Dept. of War Studies, King's College of London (1996). Jakobsen holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from Department of Political Science, Aarhus University.



Dovile Jakniunaite is professor at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science of Vilnius University, head of the Institute's International Relations Department. Her main research fields are foreign policy analysis, security studies, international relations theory, border studies, Russian foreign policy, conflicts in Georgia and Ukraine, unrecognized de facto states. She is the author of the books on Russia's neighbourhood policy and on Georgia's territorial conflicts, currently is doing research on mobility in the pandemic context and concept of periphery in Eastern Europe and Baltic States.



Katri Pynnöniemi is an assistant professor at the University of Helsinki (Aleksanteri-institute) and holds Mannerheim Chair of Russian Security Studies. The joint professorship between the University of Helsinki and the National Defense University was established in August 2017. Previously she has worked as a senior researcher at the Finnish Institute for International Affairs. Pynnöniemi's responsibilities include development of research on Russian security policy at the University of Helsinki and at the National Defense University. Pynnöniemi's own research focuses on Russian foreign and security politics, with emphasis on changes in strategic thinking (doctrines, strategies and concepts), conceptualization and implementation of information warfare tools as part of Russian foreign policy, and the analysis of treat perceptions and enemy images in Russian strategic communication/deception.



Amelie Theussen is a Senior Researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies in Copenhagen. She researches the changing character of war and its effects on political and legal norms relating to the use of force. Additionally, she writes about German and Danish foreign and security policy, including Baltic Sea security and defense reform. Her latest publications are an edited volume (together with Sten Rynning and Olivier Schmitt) on war and temporality, *War Time*, published with Brookings and Chatham House in 2021, and "International law is dead, long live international law: the state practice of drone strikes" published in *International Politics* (2021).



Eoin Micheál McNamara is a visiting research fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA) and a PhD researcher at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, University of Tartu in Estonia where he taught extensively in International Relations between 2013 and 2020. His main research interests include: security studies; transatlantic relations; NATO; US grand strategy; and the transformation war. He has published in the *NATO Review*, the *Revue Militaire Suisse*, the *Defence Forces Review* and *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, among other outlets, and his commentary on security and defence policy has been quoted in the *New York Times*, the *Irish Times*, and with the Estonian Public Broadcasting Service (ERR) and Ireland's national broadcaster Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ). He has been awarded visiting research fellowships at the Centre for War Studies (CWS) at the University of Southern Denmark (2020) and at the Institute of International Relations (IIR) in Prague, Czech Republic (2019).