

NATO's southern flank: The neglected theatre of transatlantic security?

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Essay questions

- Is the Euro-Atlantic community responding effectively and efficiently to new security threats arising in the Southern flank?
- Is a NATO "Mediterranean Strategy" needed?
- Will the Trump Administration succeed in re-balancing intra-NATO imbalances?
- Is NATO obsolete?



Problem with NATO's Southern flank

Lingering issues

- NATO's core business: Central Europe
- From UK to US control
- Soviet/Russian southward ambitions
 - "Of all the challenges facing the United States today, one of the most crucial is the restoration of sense of direction and purpose to its policy on NATO's southern flank" (CSIA European Security Working Group, *International Security*, 1978-79)

New issues

- > Post-2011: long-term instability and power vacuum
- State failures: Libya and Syria
- Disrupting non-State actors: illegal traffics; migration flows; terrorism
- State actors: Iran and Russia



Post-Cold War NATO

Multidimensional adaptation



- ✓ Objectives: Collective defense & Collective security
- ✓ Military:

 Defense and deterrence

 Inter-operability
- ✓ Strategic: New doctrines Out-of-area operations
- ✓ Institutional:

 Partnership & enlargement

 Reform of I.M.C.S.

 NATO-EU cooperation



Post-Cold War NATO

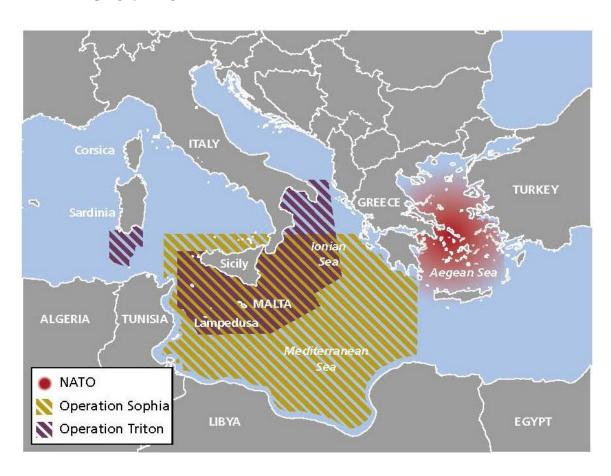
■ *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions Over Time and Space* (1999)

	Threat	Risk
Inclusive	Collective security	Security management institutions* and diplomatic conferences
Exclusive	Alliances* and alignments	Out-of-area coalitions



21st century Mediterranean security

NATO at work



- ✓ Partnerships 2004: Med. Dialogue
- ✓ Defense and deterrence 2010-... NATO BMD
- ✓ Operations
 2001-16 Active Endeavour
 2016-... Sea Guardian
 2011 Unified Protector
 2013 Turkish air defense
 2016-... Aegean Sea
- ✓ EU operations 2013(-18) EUBAM Libya 2014-... Triton 2015-(18) EUNAVFOR Sophia



NATOs' current posture

- Strategic Concept (Nov. 2010)
 - Art. 4: "... continue fulfilling effectively three essential core tasks"
 - a) Collective defense
 - b) Crisis management
 - "... actively employ an appropriate mix of those political and military tools to help manage developing crises [...] before they escalate into conflict; to stop ongoing conflicts [...]; to help consolidate stability in post-conflict situations [...]"
 - a) Cooperative security
 - Artt. 36 and 37: reform and transformation
- Maritime Strategy (Mar. 2011)
 - The maritime contribution to Alliance security
 - Deterrence and collective defense
 - Crisis management
 - Cooperative security
 - Maritime security
 - ✓ I.S.R. / Maritime interdiction missions / Energy security



Problems for NATO "Med. Strategy"

- Priority to Eastern flank (and High North)
 - Wide spectrum of issues: what goals and tools?
 - Blow to institutionalist theories?
- Legacy of 2011 Libya operation
 - Power vacuum; Jihadism
 - Europe's backlash: crisis & unemployment; xenophobia & populism; "2 percent rule"
- Contradictory US leadership
 - Obama: "leading from behind"; Pacific
 - Trump: NATO skepticism; Russia
- Absence of "Mediterranean lobby" within NATO
 - No unifying threat
 - Bilateral relations and free-riding