

# Security Challenges in the Baltic Sea Region

Historical Perspectives  
and the Way Forward



22 April 2017, Stockholm  
Stockholm City Conference Centre

# ORGANIZERS

**The Association of Estonians in Sweden** (REE/REL) is the central organisation of Estonians in Sweden. It was originally established 1956 as a parliament for exile Estonians in Sweden. Modern REL has now both private members and is a confederation of Estonian organisations in Sweden. REL consists of 10 regional departments and 15 member organisations with 1500 members in total. The main tasks of the Association are to preserve the Estonian language and culture in Sweden, defend the interests of Estonians in Sweden and develop the cultural and political ties between both countries.

[www.sverigeesterna.se](http://www.sverigeesterna.se)

[www.facebook.com/sverigeesterna/](https://www.facebook.com/sverigeesterna/)

+ 46 8 21 66 49

[info@sverigeesterna.se](mailto:info@sverigeesterna.se)

Wallingatan 34

111 24 Stockholm, Sweden



**Estonian World Council** (ÜEKN) was founded in the early 50-s and was incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1982 in the United States. ÜEKN is a global organization uniting Estonians abroad. Members: Association of Estonians in Great Britain, Council of Estonian Societies in Australia, Estonian Community in the Federal Republic of Germany, Estonian Central Council in Canada, Estonian American National Council, Association of Estonians in Sweden, Estonian Association in Latvia, Estonian Community in Lithuania, Estonian Association in Ukraine, Union of Estonians in Finland, Czech-Estonian Club, Russian Estonian Societies.



ÜLEMAAILMNE EESTI KESKNÕUKOGU  
ESTONIAN WORLD COUNCIL, INC.

[www.uekn.org](http://www.uekn.org)

[www.facebook.com/estonianworldcouncil/](https://www.facebook.com/estonianworldcouncil/)

[uekn.world@gmail.com](mailto:uekn.world@gmail.com)

2 Spruce Tree Lane

Forestdale, MA 02644-1644 USA

**The Association of Latvians in Sweden** (Zviedrijas Latviešu Apvienība, ZLA) is the central unifying organization of all Latvians in Sweden. It is based on two previous organizations – The Latvian Relief Committee (founded in 1945) and The Central Council of Latvians in Sweden (founded in 1953) which merged in 2012 to form the ZLA.

The main aim of the ZLA is to help Latvians retain their

Latvian identity, language and culture even though they are living abroad. It is a democratically structured organization and cooperates with Latvians and Latvian institutions both within Latvia and in other countries in order to strengthen a free, just, honest, democratic, civil society in Latvia. The ZLA works in eight regionally defined sections covering all of Sweden: Southern Sweden, Gothenburg, Örebro, Uppsala, Northern Sweden, and Stockholm.

Wallingatan 34

111 24 Stockholm

[info@zla.se](mailto:info@zla.se)

[www.ZLA.se](http://www.ZLA.se)

[www.facebook.com/latviesi.zviedrija](https://www.facebook.com/latviesi.zviedrija)



ZVIEDRIJAS  
LATVIEŠU  
APVIENĪBA  
ESTONIAKESKPOBUND I SVEDIGEN

**The Swedish-Latvian Association** (SV-LT) was established some 25 years ago (first time in fact already in 1925-40). The members take an interest mainly in Latvian culture and politics. They wish to enlighten Swedes about Latvia. Programs are being arranged regularly on subjects like "The latest book about Latvia", "Latvia and her relations with the neighbours", "Present economic and social situation in Latvia" etc. The Association is yearly supporting The Red Cross in Riga. There is a Latvian-Swedish Association in Riga with which we have a good co-operation and visit once in a while. Twelve years ago the Association started to arrange yearly a special Baltic day. It has turned out to be a success as now many other associations participate.

[www.svensklettiska.se](http://www.svensklettiska.se)

[www.facebook.com/groups/Lettland/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/Lettland/)



**Lithuanian Community in Sweden** (LBS) was founded in 1944 and is one of the oldest official Lithuanian diaspora organisations. Currently LBS includes over 10 local chapters, schools and clubs uniting over 1000 active members. The largest of the chapters are Stockholm Lithuanian community and Skåne Lithuanian community. Since its founding LBS has sought to preserve the Lithuanian cultural identity, culture, traditions and language among Lithuanians living in Sweden.

[www.lietuviai.se](http://www.lietuviai.se)

[www.facebook.com/lietuviaisvedijoje](https://www.facebook.com/lietuviaisvedijoje)



# PROGRAMME

12.30 REGISTRATION & Coffee

13.00 OPENING ADDRESSES  
& Welcome

Mrs. Leelo Pukk, Chair of the Estonian National Congress in Sweden (REL Esinduskogu)

Mrs. Marju Rink-Abel, Chair of the Estonian World Council (ÜEKN)

Mrs. Elisabeth Bauer, Head of the Office for the Nordic and Baltic countries of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS)

13.10 INTRODUCTION and Overview  
of the Conference

Mrs. Anna Wieslander (Moderator), Director for Northern Europe at Atlantic Council; Secretary General of the Swedish Defence Association

KEYNOTE SPEECH: Germany's  
Role in the Baltic Sea Region

Ambassador Hans-Jürgen Heimsoeth, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Sweden

13.30 PANEL DISCUSSION  
"Security Challenges in the  
Baltic Sea Region: Lessons from  
History"

Dr Hans-Jürgen Heimsoeth, Ambassador of Germany

Mr. Gunnar Hökmark, Member of the European Parliament, politician (M), Sweden

Prof. Hain Rebas, Sweden and Estonia

Mr. David Lindén, Nerikes Allehanda, Sweden

Mr. Ilmar Metsalo, The Ulkopolitist, Finland

14.30 Coffee break

15.00 INTRODUCTIONS

Mrs. Riina Kaljurand (Moderator), Research Fellow at the International Centre for Defence and Security in Tallinn (ICDS); Director of Lennart Meri Conference, Estonia

KEYNOTE SPEECH: Security  
Challenges for NATO and its  
Partners in the Baltic Sea Region

Ambassador Wiesław Tarka, Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Sweden

PANEL DISCUSSION  
"Future Security Challenges  
in the Baltic Sea Region:  
Possibilities, Problems and  
Effective Responses"

Ambassador Eitvydas Bajarunas, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania

Mrs. Lolita Čigāne, Member of Saeima, Latvia

Major General (ret) Karlis Neretnieks, Swedish Academy of War Sciences

Dr. Jana Puglierin, German Council on Foreign relations (DGAP)

Prof. Matthew Rhodes, George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies, Germany

Dr. Mike Winnerstig, ICDS and Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), Sweden

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16.45 Closing Remarks Dr. Björn von Sydow, Chairman of the Swedish Defence Commission (Försvarsberedningen); Member of Riksdagen (S), Sweden

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16.55 Conference Conclusions Mrs. Sirle Sööt, Chair of the Association of Estonians in Sweden  
Mr. Marcus Kolga, Chairman of the Estonian Central Council in Canada

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17.00- Networking Opportunity  
19.00

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18.30 Dinner & Dance, **for those registered and in possession of a Dinner ticket!**

# PARTICIPANTS



**Mrs. Leelo Pukk** is a retired Chemistry teacher at Enskilda Gymnasiet in Stockholm. For more than 40 years, she has been an active contributor to the work of the Association of Estonians in Sweden. She is currently the Chairwoman of the Estonian National Congress of Sweden (Rootsi Eestelaste Liit, REL) which has existed since 1956 in Sweden. She is also the Senior Vice-President of the Estonian World Council. She has been an active member of the Moderate party in Sweden for many years.

[@Sverigeesterna](#)



**Mrs. Marju Rink Abel** is, since 2016, the President of the Estonian World Council. She is also the President of the Estonian American National Council, since 2006, of which she has been a member since 1990. She also serves on the boards of the Joint Baltic American National Committee (JBANC) and the Central and East European Coalition in Washington, DC and will be assuming the Presidency of JBANC this year. Her advocacy work has helped shape these organizations' Baltic and East European policy and strategy in working with the U.S. Congress. She has worked for 33 years at the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), and the Congressional Audit Agency, managing information and computing resources, and auditing internal operations.

[@marjura1](#) [@JBANCchatter](#)



**Mrs. Elisabeth Bauer** is, since 2015, the Head of the Office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) for the Baltic and Nordic countries, based in Riga, Latvia. A historian by training, Mrs Bauer has worked for KAS in different capacities and places since 1993. From 1993 to 2005 she was a scientific officer (or the Scientific Officer) at different KAS offices in Germany. From 2005 to 2010 she was the Head of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's office in St. Petersburg. Between 2011 and 2014, before starting her current post as Head of the Nordic-Baltic Office in Riga, she was the Head of the Regional Office of KAS in Westfalia, based in Dortmund.

[@KASLatvia](#)





**Mrs. Anna Wieslander** is the Director for Northern Europe at the Atlantic Council. She concurrently serves as the Secretary General of the Swedish Defence Association (Allmänna Försvarsföreningen, AFF), a non-partisan NGO that has for more than 125 years promoted a deeper understanding of defence and security issues among the Swedish public. She is an experienced manager, moderator, and security and defence commentator who has published extensively on Northern European and transatlantic security challenges. She is an expert in the field of security and defence policy, NATO and the PfP, the transatlantic link and defence industry issues.  
[@AnnwieAnna](#) [@AFF\\_Sweden](#) [@AtlanticCouncil](#)



**Dr. Hans-Jürgen Heimsoeth** is the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Sweden (2016-present). From 2008 to 2012, Dr Heimsoeth was the Ambassador of Germany to Ukraine. Early in his diplomatic career, he served at the West German Embassy in the Soviet Union (1984-87). He completed his PhD thesis at the Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg on the collapse of the Third French Republic in 1939-40 (1987). From 1997-2000 Dr. Heimsoeth was Head of Political Affairs at the Embassy of Germany in Poland. In 2000, he was appointed Ambassador and Commissioner for the Baltic Sea Region at the Federal Foreign Office and chaired the Committee of Senior Officials (CSO) of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) until 2001. From 2001 to 2004, Dr. Heimsoeth headed divisions for relations with Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic States, Norway and Island at the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. From 2005-2008, he was Consul General in New York and from 2012 to 2015, the Permanent Representative of Germany to the OECD.  
[@GermanAmbSWE](#) [@TyskaAmbassaden](#)



**Gunnar Hökmark** is, since 2004, a Swedish Member of the European Parliament for the Moderate party, in the Group of the European People's Party (EPP). From 1982 until 2004 he was a Member of the Swedish Parliament (Riksdagen) for Moderaterna. He is a Captain in the Reserve of the Armoured Forces (pansartrupperna) of the Swedish Armed Forces. In 1990, together with Peeter Luksep, Håkan Holmberg and Andres Küng, he initiated the Monday demonstrations (Måndagsrörelsen) - weekly meetings in Stockholm's Norrmalmstorg in support of the Baltic states' regaining their independence. The demonstrations spread to several dozen other Swedish cities and continued until the Soviet Union dissolved and the Russian Federation formally recognized the independence of the Baltic states in September

1991. For his commitment and support to the three Baltic states, Hökmark received the Cross of Commander for the Order of Merits to Lithuania (Už nuopelnus Lietuvai), the Order of the Three Stars of Latvia (Triju Zvaigžņu orden) and the Order of the White Star of Estonia (Valgetähe III klassi teenetemärk).

[@ghokmark](#)



**Prof. emeritus Hain Rebas**, historian and Captain of the Swedish, later Major of the Estonian Armed Forces (res.), between 1990 and 1992 acted Adviser to the Foreign Minister of Estonia Lennart Meri. He was the first Western all-year Visiting professor of Tartu State University, member of both the Estonian Congress and of Estonia's Constitutional Assembly. In 1992/93 he served as Estonia's first postwar constitutional Minister of Defence. He has published extensively on Estonian/European history and security politics in international fora. Rebas holds a Ph.D degree from Gothenburg University with a thesis *Infiltration och handel: Studier i senmedeltida nordisk Balticumpolitik i tiden omkring 1440-1479* (1976). From 1980 until 2008, Rebas held the Chair for Nordic History at the University of Kiel in Germany. In 1987/88 he was Visiting Professor at the University of Toronto, in 2006 at the University of Kaliningrad. In 2001 he received the Order of the White Star of Estonia (III cl.). He takes pride in being Honorary Member of the Õpetatud Eesti Selts/Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft.



**Mr. David Lindén** is Editorial Writer at the Swedish broadsheet *Nerikes Allehanda*, based in Örebro. He holds a BA and MLitt from Newcastle University and examines in his PhD thesis at King's College London the "New Right" in Scandinavia from 1975 to 1991 to understand how the Conservative Parties in Sweden and Denmark sought inspiration from the US Republican party and the British Conservative Party. He is the author of a historical biography of a 16<sup>th</sup> century Swedish bishop "who brought Machiavellian political thought to Sweden": *Hemming Gadh: Vasatidens gudfader* (Atlantis, 2016). His second historical biography is dedicated to the life and work of 17<sup>th</sup> century Swedish statesman Johan Skytte who was the Swedish governor general of Livonia: *Johan Skytte - Stormaktstidens gudfader* (2017, forthcoming).

[@davidlinden1](#) [@NApunktSE](#)



**Mr. Ilmar Metsalo** is Senior Editor at The Ulkopolitist, a Finnish foreign policy online journal and holds an MSSc in Political History from the University of Helsinki. Metsalo currently works in a communications firm. He is writing an article about the changes in Finnish foreign policy in 1991. He maintains a particular interest in the Baltic Sea region and Nordic-Baltic relations and has studied the analyses by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland of the independence movements in the Baltic States, with a focus on the period between 1986 to 1991. He has discussed the archival records in Finnish media, in a Svenska YLE report in 2016 (“Sverige, vad döljer du för oss?” by Stefan Brunlow, 6 December)

[@IlmarMetsalo](#) [@Ulkopolitist](#)



**Mrs. Riina Kaljurand** is the Director of the Lennart Meri Conference and a Research Fellow at the International Centre for Defence and Security (ICDS) in Tallinn. Riina Kaljurand holds a BA and MA in Political Science from the University of Stockholm. From 1993 to 1997, she worked at the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where she held, i.a., positions at the Embassies in Oslo and Stockholm. From 2004 to 2007, she worked at the Estonian Ministry of Defence. Her main research areas are the security of the Baltic Sea region, Nordic-Baltic security and defence cooperation and Russia's soft power, issues on which she has published extensively.

[@RiinaKaljurand](#) [@ICDS\\_Tallinn](#)



**Ambassador Wiesław Tarka**, is since 2015, the Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Sweden. He was previously the Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Croatia (2008-2012) and held the post of Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration (2005-2007). Ambassador Tarka has maintained close links with Sweden throughout his diplomatic career. He is now (since 2015) on his third posting to Stockholm, having previously served in Sweden from 1991 to 1996 and 1998 to 2002. He is the recipient of the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta and the Croatian Order of Prince Branimir. Ambassador Tarka is also a fluent speaker of Swedish, German, Russian, English, French and Croatian.

[@WieslawTarka](#) [@PLinSweden](#) [@PolandMFA](#)





**Dr. Jana Puglierin** is Head of the Alfred von Oppenheim Center for European Policy Studies at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) and a foreign and security policy analyst focusing on Germany, the EU and transatlantic relations. From 2013 to 2015 she was a programme officer at the DGAP's Future Forum Berlin (Berliner Forum Zukunft). Her doctoral thesis was concerned with the life and intellectual contributions of John H. Herz to the development of Realist thought and International Relations in the USA (John H. Herz: Leben und Denken zwischen Idealismus und Realismus, Deutschland und Amerika, 2011, Duncker & Humblot). She worked at the German Bundestag (Office of MdB Roderich Kiesewetter) on, i.a., German and European Foreign and Security Policy. Between 2003 and 2010, she was a researcher and lecturer at the University of Bonn and a lecturer at Chemnitz University. [@jana\\_puglierin](#) [@dgapev](#)



**Major General (ret) Karlis Neretnieks** is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences (Kungliga Krigsvetenskapsakademien, KKrvA) since 1989. He served as Commander of the Mechanized Brigade P18 on Gotland, in the Swedish Armed Forces' International Command (SWEDINT) and was Chief of Operations in the Central Joint Command (Mellersta militärområdet, Milo Mitt). Between 1998 and 2002, he was President of the Swedish National Defence College (Försvarshögskolan) and from 2002 to 2004 Adviser at the Swedish Defence Ministry on Central and Eastern Europe. From 2005 to 2012 he was a Senior Analyst at the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) and from 2006 to 2010 at the Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP). He is now active in KKrvA Section 1 "Land Warfare Studies". Neretnieks speaks fluent Latvian and German.

[@neretnieks](#) [@KKrVA\\_Sverige](#)



**Dr. Mike Winnerstig** is Deputy Director of Research at the Swedish Defence Research Agency (Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut, FOI), a Non-Resident Research Fellow at the ICDS in Tallinn (since 2017) and since 2005 a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of the War Sciences (KKrvA). He holds a PhD in Politics from the University of Stockholm (1999) and has been a research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University, the Centre for Defence Studies at Aberdeen University and the German Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. Dr. Winnerstig lectures on International Relations theory and European security at the Estonian School of Diplomacy in

Tallinn. He has published extensively on the security and defence policy of the United States, NATO, the security of the Baltic Sea region and Swedish-Finnish defence cooperation.

[@FOIresearch](#) [@ICDS\\_Tallinn](#)



**Prof. Matthew Rhodes** is Professor of National Security at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, where he started in 2003 as the Director of Programs in Central and Southeast Europe. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison (1997). From 1999 to 2003, he was Assistant Professor of Strategy and International Security at the U.S. Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Prior to that, he was Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Central College, Pella, Iowa (1998-1999) and Jan Hus Foundation Academic Mentor at Palacky University in the Czech Republic (1997-98). Professor Rhodes' research is concerned with U.S. foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations and European security issues.

[@Marshall\\_Center](#)



**Mrs. Lolita Čigāne** is, since 2014, the Chair of the European Affairs Committee of the Latvian Parliament (Saeima). She is a Member of Parliament for the party Unity. After her election to the Saeima in 2010, she rejoined Parliament after the 2011 elections and was re-elected again in 2014. She holds an MA in International Relations and European Studies from Central European University (CEU) in Budapest and an MSc from the London School of Economics (LSE). Prior to becoming active in Latvian politics, she worked as a journalist, public policy analyst and international consultant on good-governance, anti-corruption and elections, among others, for Transparency International Latvia and the Centre for Public Policy Providus (2004-2007). Mrs Čigane spent her early career closely engaged with Sweden, spending part of her studies in Västerås and working with several Swedish companies and organizations.

[@lolita\\_cigane](#)



**Ambassador Eitvydas Bajarūnas** is Ambassador-at-Large with responsibility for Hybrid Threats at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania in Vilnius. From 2011 to 2016, he was the Lithuanian Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden, and from 2013 to 2014, was the NATO Contact Point Embassy (CPE) in Sweden at the Lithuanian Embassy in Stockholm. Bajarunas was Counselor at the Mission of the Republic of Lithuania at NATO from 1996 to 1999. Prior to his ambassadorial appointment, Bajarunas was, from 2009 to 2011,

Political Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania. From 2005 to 2008, he was the Consul General of the Republic of Lithuania in Saint Petersburg.

[@EitvydasB](#) [@LithuaniaMFA](#)



**Dr. Björn von Sydow** is the Chairman of the Swedish Defence Commission (Försvarsberedningen). Since 1994 he has been an elected Member of the Swedish Parliament for the Social Democratic Party. From 1997 to 2002, Dr. von Sydow was the Swedish Minister of Defence. From 2002 to 2006, he was the Speaker of the Swedish Parliament. Dr von Sydow is currently a Member of the Swedish War Delegation and is also the Chair of the Swedish Parliament's (Riksdagen) delegation to NATO's Parliamentary Assembly. Dr von Sydow holds a PhD in Political Science from Linköping University (1978) and has been an Associate Professor in Political Science at Stockholm University. He is an elected member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Science.

[@socialdemokrat](#)



**Mrs. Sirle Sööt** is the Chairwoman of the Association of Estonians in Sweden (REL, Sverigeesterna). She works at the Swedish Ministry of Justice in Stockholm. Mrs Sööt is a graduate of the Estonian School of Diplomacy in Tallinn (2001) and also holds an MA in European Union Law from Stockholm University. After completing her studies at the Estonian School of Diplomacy, she moved to Sweden in 2002 and since 2005 she has been an active member of the Estonian community in Stockholm. She has led several Estonian organisations and public awareness campaigns of issues of particular concern to Estonian Swedes, most recently a public awareness campaign to #STOPNORDSTREAM2.

[@tinysirle](#) [@Sverigeesterna](#)



**Mr. Marcus Kolga** is the President of the Estonian Central Council in Canada and is a Senior Fellow at the Macdonald Laurier Institute Foreign Policy Center. He is a leading Canadian expert on Russian and Central and Eastern European issues and an international award winning documentary filmmaker, journalist and digital communications strategist. He is also the founder and publisher of the online magazine UpNorth.eu that features analysis and political and cultural news from the Nordic and Baltic region. In 2015, Mr Kolga was awarded the Estonian Order of the White Star by President Toomas Hendrik Ilves.

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