

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to analyze NATO's policy of enlargement and determine whether this policy have influenced its relations with the Russian Federation and to assess if the expansion benefits both Russia and NATO in the senses that it ensures the regional security in Europe, specifically in the Eastern European hemisphere, or if it instead brought the relations between the organization and Russia into a series of conflicting interest between the parties that could affect the post cold war structure of the International Order. One could argue that NATO's role in the international order after the Cold War has ended with the collapse and formal dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.<sup>1</sup>

However, instead of dissolving, NATO persists to exist and develop as one of the fundamental security infrastructure in Europe. One case being explored in this would be the phenomenon of NATO's expansion, or rather; enlargement in terms of its membership, and how does its expansion influenced the diplomatic relations between NATO with the Russian Federation. This case represents two possibilities that set the scope of the issue in a nutshell on this study. The first possibility is on the case of NATO's expansion is that I intend to research is about NATO's necessity to expand its membership and its role in a post cold war international order. The second possibility on the case, is how NATO's expansion can implicate several factors that affects the multilateral relations between NATO and the Russian Federation, in terms of the security cooperation between the organization and the Russian Federation, and in terms of Russia's

---

<sup>1</sup> Vojtech Mastny, "NATO at Fifty: Did NATO Win the Cold War? Looking over the Wall," *Foreign Affairs* 78 (1999): 180.

perception that NATO's enlargement would be a present threat towards the security of the Russian Federation and towards Europe.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, these two possibilities represent certain signs that the enlargement of NATO might be beneficial for NATO, although it might not be as positively accepted in the Russian Federation. One sign significantly is Russia's reaction towards the inclusion of the countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Union, i.e. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, into NATO. That being said, the relations between Russia and NATO may come only to benefit NATO's own operations rather than creating mutual benefits for both NATO and the Russian Federation.<sup>3</sup>

## **1.1 BACKGROUND**

Since the end of the Cold War in 1991 with the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union, the existing boundaries that define the key features of the structure of the International Order – Bipolarity, Ideological Struggle, and the Arms Race Competitions between the Soviet Union and the United States – have disappeared. With the international community entering a new era that hasn't witnessed a conflict on a global scale since the end of Second World War, the role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have come to evolve along in order to seek itself a purpose as so to justify its existence in a post-cold war international order, which by the early days in the 1990s after the collapse of

---

<sup>2</sup> Sean Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

the Soviet Union, was marked by Unipolarity – Due to the superpower status being solely held by the United States.<sup>4</sup>

This leads to the most fundamental change in NATO's role in a post-cold war International order, which realized that, NATO remains as the only credible collective military structure in Europe, NATO retained two of the original unspoken mandates that it still held: to deter the rise of militant nationalism and to provide the foundation of a collective security treaty that would encourage the democratization and political integration in Europe.<sup>5</sup> In entering this new post-cold war international Order, it became apparent that while the end of the Cold War may have eliminated the threat of a military invasion by a state, some degree of instability occurred in parts of Europe and have culminated into a civil war, such as the security challenges emerged in the Balkans, with regional and ethnic wars becoming the major threat to European security, which witnessed among the worst atrocities committed in the time of conflict since the Second World War, the Srebrenica Massacre.<sup>6</sup>

In order to identify and tackle the new non-traditional threats that arise after the cold war, it is seen as a necessity that changes would be needed to preserve peace and stability in Europe. Originally, it started with the “London declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance” during the NATO Summit in London on June 1991, to changed the strategic concept, operational command structure, the force structure, and nuclear posture, and the defense strategy of the alliance

---

<sup>4</sup> Michael Mastanduno, “Preserving the unipolar moment: realist theories and US grand strategy after the Cold War,” *International security* 21.4 (1997): 50.

<sup>5</sup> “A Short History of NATO”. North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2014, [Online] <http://www.nato.int/history/nato-history.html>, Accessed: 25<sup>th</sup> October 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. Cit.

in response to the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989, while emphasizing the role of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe's (CSCE) – Now named as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) since 1995 – emerging role in the European security structure.<sup>7</sup>

But after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, further changes and transformation of the role of the alliance were implemented in response of the new multitude of challenges. Thereafter, the leaders of NATO countries held a summit at Rome in 1991, approving a new strategic concept for repurposing NATO's role in the new Europe. The new concept retained the call for NATO's traditional collective defense role while also calling for a smaller flexible military force. The new concept, emphasized on the role of the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), NATO's new role in Europe, and the maturation of the European Economic Community as part of the new security architecture in Europe.<sup>8</sup>

In a continuation, by December of the same year, North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) was established as a forum to facilitate the dialogue between NATO member countries and Non-NATO countries on political and security related issues between the alliance and its partnering countries. However, due to the multilateral aspect of the NACC, the concern for the countries to have aspired for political stability, democratization, and integration with Europe couldn't develop as much as the aspiring countries had envisioned, however, this

---

<sup>7</sup>“*Declaration on Peace and Cooperation*”. North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1991, [Online] [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_23846.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23846.htm). Accessed: 1st September 2015

<sup>8</sup>: “*The Evolution of NATO 1988-2001*”, Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 2013, [online] at <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/evolution-of-nato>, Accessed: 1st September 2015.

changed during the Summit Meeting of Heads of States and Government at Brussels in January 10-11 1994. The Brussels Summit discussed on the adaptation of NATO's command and control structures for its Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) to be more flexible that it would allow the means to facilitate contingency and peace-support operations in which the participating nations may also include countries that are not members of the alliance, more importantly, the Brussels Summit addressed the issue of NATO's enlargement.<sup>9</sup>

During this Summit, the alliance reconfirmed that it would be opened for further enlargement of its membership, through the launching of the Partnership for Peace program (PfP), an initiative set forth in the Brussels Summit for progressing a bilateral cooperation between NATO and Individual partnering countries.

Finally, in the next NATO summit held in the 8-9<sup>th</sup> July of 1997 at Madrid, three countries that were formerly members of the Warsaw Pact, The Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary, were invited for talks to join the alliance, with a projection of their accession into NATO in 1999.<sup>10</sup> By the time the three countries have become full members, the Membership Action Plan (MAP), another program by NATO to advice the countries that aspired for NATO membership by assisting and providing practical support towards those individual countries' aspiration to join the alliance, was launched at the Washington Summit in April 24-25 1999, Among the first countries that becomes the first to join MAP includes, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania,

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Jeffrey Simon. *Slovakia and NATO: The Madrid Summit and After*. (Washington D.C.: National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1997), 4.

Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. It should be noted that these countries not only include former members of the Warsaw Pact (Bulgaria and Slovakia), but also formerly a republic in the Yugoslavia (Slovenia), and in the Former Soviet Union (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania).<sup>11</sup> Therefore it is seen in its pattern that many countries from the former Eastern Block and including those of the former Yugoslavia, aspired to join NATO as they see this organization as fundamental towards their interest of stability, security, democratization, and eventual integration into Europe.<sup>12</sup> However, while the enlargement of NATO was welcomed by all members in the organization and praised by the aspiring members, a member of the EAPC and PfP, the Russian Federation, raised its concerns on the effect of the enlargement towards Russia. Its concerns was primarily based on the fear that the expansion of NATO eastward would threaten its fragile democracy and any prospects for a future cooperation between Russia and democratic Western countries.<sup>13</sup>

In the view of the Russian Federation, it is within their believe that their opposition towards the expansion of NATO is in the more defensive manner rather than being aggressive, one that they point out wouldn't be any different than with what France and the United Kingdom has done in many parts of the world towards its former colonies, which provides a clear consideration that the territories within the reach of NATO's expansion has given them a moral and historical justification since it was formerly part of the Soviet Union and the old

---

<sup>11</sup> "Membership Action Plan", North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2014, [Online] [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_37356.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_37356.htm), Accessed: 1st September 2015

<sup>12</sup> North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2012, *Op Cit.*

<sup>13</sup> U.S. Department of State, 2013, *Loc. Cit.*

Russian Empire.<sup>14</sup> Another considerable factor that needs to be accounted which influences the Russian opposition towards NATO expansion is the fact that the expansion of the alliance closer towards Russia's borders would mean that the military infrastructure of NATO would also be deployed towards its new members, which includes the establishment of new foreign military bases directly beside Russia, and even the possibility of nuclear weapons being deployed within the new NATO members, just as what the alliance did with its members in Germany, Greece, Netherlands, through their Nuclear Weapons sharing program.<sup>15</sup>

## 1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

This research focuses on the analysis of NATO's expansion after the cold war and its implications towards NATO-Russian relations as a result of the expansion. Starting with the description of NATO's policy of expansion and relating with post cold war NATO-Russian relations, along with an explanation of its implications towards security, geopolitics, affecting NATO, Russia, or Eastern Europe. Seeing that the NATO's expansion faced political opposition from Russia, who preferred the OSCE as the principal security organization in Europe, the Author believes that NATO's expansion could be directed against Russia and it leads towards the existing condition for NATO-Russian relations to persist, thus the author broke down this research into three main research questions, they are:

---

<sup>14</sup> Anatol Lieven. "Russian opposition to NATO expansion," *The World Today* 51 (1995): 197.

<sup>15</sup> Alexei K. Pushkov. "Don't isolate us: A Russian view of NATO expansion," *The National Interest* 47 (1997): 60.

- 1) What is the description of NATO's expansion after the Cold War?
- 2) What are the Geopolitical and Geostrategic implications of NATO's expansion after the Cold War towards regional security in the Eastern European Hemisphere?
- 3) How does Russia's reaction to the expansion affects NATO-Russian relations?

### **1.3 OBJECTIVES**

The objectives of this research are basically to answer all of the research questions above upon the case study of the research topic. Thus, when this research study is completed, the readers and I can have a better understanding of the problems being discussed in this research as well as a degree of clairvoyance for further in depth knowledge of the problem being discussed in this research, as well as the understanding towards the answer of this research. The objectives of this research are bellow:

- 1) To describe the detailsof the chronological events of international politics surrounding Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union in regards to NATO's approach on the former Eastern Block.
- 2) To explain NATO's expansion after the Cold War in terms of its policy process, and the political process for NATO to perform this policy based on what it entails towards enlarging itself along with the reasoning for the former eastern block to join NATO.
- 3) To explain Russia's view on NATO's expansion in terms if their reasoning, and their justification, upon their view that NATO's

expansion represents a threat towards security in Europe, along with Russia's political reaction towards this expansion.

- 4) To present a critical analysis towards the data presented both from NATO and the Russian Federation in regards towards the scope of this topic and maintain an objective credence as a researcher to remain neutral in the procurement and the acquisition of the data.
- 5) To analyze a case study related to the topic of this research in order to understand of the relations, connections, and implications of this case study, to see if it has relations in the present day events, and create a final conclusion based on the discovered answers towards the research questions.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH BENEFITS**

This research is written not just merely to fulfill one of the author's academic requirements. But more than that, it can be very beneficial for the readers in some points, such as:

- 1) *Providing the explanation on understanding NATO's role after the Cold War.*  
By explaining NATO's role after the Cold War, specifically in regards to regional focus of this topic, the reader will have a clear understanding of the necessity for NATO to exist after the Cold War.
- 2) *Providing the view of Russia in regards to NATO's expansion.* By providing the view of the Russian federation on NATO's expansion, the reader will have a good knowledge and understanding of Russia's political stance in the post Cold War international politics.
- 3) *As a reference for further study of NATO or Russia in academic research.*

Any insights that came as a result of this research can contribute towards the study of NATOor Russia in the field of Academia as a reference.

## **1.5STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS**

In order to be able to understand the point of this research as a whole, the author presents this research with an organized, structured, and systematic writing method. Therefore, this research will be divided into 5 chapters. Each of the following provides a description of the chapter:

### **Chapter 1 – Introduction**

The first chapter consists of:

- Historical Background – the description of the background of the topic for this research.
- Research Questions – the problems that the author points out which will be discussed further in the research.
- Objectives – all the main points of research questions that are going to be answered.
- Research Benefits – describing the benefits of the research both for the author as well as for the readers.
- Structure of the Thesis – the elaboration of writing system that shows the structure of this research.

### **Chapter 2 – Framework**

The second chapter consists of:

- Literature Review – listing all the books that are being used for the data information and analysis.
- Conceptual and Theoretical Basis – explaining each theory that is related to the substance of the research. Those theories are: Neorealism, International Security, Geopolitics, and National Interest. The concepts and theories will be defined in order create a certain framework to avoid any misinterpretation.
- Analytical Framework – presenting the key points that are going to be analyzed in a form of analysis.

### **Chapter 3 – Research Method**

This chapter consists of the explanation on the research method that will be used by the author in this research, which is qualitative method. The process of collecting data will be attained through books, journals, and articles. Thus, most of the data for this research will be in a form of historical chronology, theories, ideas, and opinions instead of numbers and statistics.

### **Chapter 4 – Result and Discussions**

This chapter consists of the discussion that the author will brought up after all of the required data for this research has been attained, the details of the expansionist policy taken by NATO after the cold war, and the details of Russia's political stance on the subject, their military strength, and the conditions that classify security in eastern Europe after the cold war, in which the result of these findings will serve as the basis for discussions by the author,

within this chapter. Starting from NATO's expansion unto the implications that results out of this expansion towards NATO-Russian relations.

### **Chapter 5 – Conclusion and Recommendation**

This chapter consists of the final conclusion of the research by the author, along with recommendations and inputs that will answer the research questions previously mentioned in the first chapter, and as the final wrap up of this research.

