

THE NATO-RUSSIA COUNCIL AND CHANGES IN RUSSIA'S POLICY  
TOWARDS NATO

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE NATO-RUSSIA COUNCIL AND CHANGES IN RUSSIA'S POLICY TOWARDS NATO**

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The objective of this thesis is to explain the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after the creation of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in 2002. It argues that contrary to the liberal view which assumes that the NRC presents an example of international cooperation through institutions, the NRC has been functioning in accordance with power politics or concerns of Russia and the security priorities of NATO. Russian military action in Georgia and its military intervention in Ukraine followed by its annexation of Crimea resulted in the suspension of the NRC. Although the NRC had been a forum where a lot of practical activities initiated and developed, this did not lead to a broader strategic or political rapprochement between Russia and NATO. Therefore, both the NRC and Russia's relations with NATO could be explained by political realist approach to international relations.

This thesis is composed of seven main chapters, introduction and conclusion. Chapter 2 develops the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 3 examines Russia-NATO relations between 1991 and 2002. Chapter 4 and 5 discuss the creation of the NRC and the role of NRC cooperation in Russia-NATO relations respectively. Chapter 6 and 7 examine the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO between 2002 and 2014. Before

the concluding chapter, chapter 8 discusses the most recent Ukraine crisis and its impact on Russia-NATO relations.

**Keywords:** NATO-Russia Council (NRC), Cooperation, Russia-NATO relations, liberalism, realism

## ÖZ

### NATO-RUSYA KONSEYİ VE RUSYA'NIN NATO'YA YÖNELİK POLİTİKASINDAKİ DEĞİŞİMLER

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Bu çalışmanın amacı 2002 yılında NATO-Rusya Konseyi (NRK) kurulduktan sonra Rusya'nın NATO'ya yönelik politikalarındaki değişimleri incelemektir. Bu çalışma NRK'nin kurumlar aracılığıyla uluslararası işbirliğinin sağlanmasının bir örneği olduğunu savunan liberal görüşe karşı olarak Konsey'in Rusya'nın güç siyaseti veya kaygıları doğrultusunda ve NATO'nun güvenlik önceliklerine göre işlevini yerine getirdiğini savunmaktadır. Rusya'nın Gürcistan'daki askeri harekâtı ve Ukrayna'daki askeri müdahalesini takip eden Kırım'ı ilhakı, Konsey kapsamındaki faaliyetlerin askıya alınmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır. NRK kapsamında birçok pratik faaliyet başlatılmış ve geliştirilmiş olmasına rağmen bu durum Rusya ve NATO arasında daha kapsamlı bir stratejik veya siyasi yakınlaşmanın oluşmasına yol açmamıştır. Dolayısıyla, hem NRK hem de Rusya'nın NATO ile olan ilişkileri siyasal realist uluslararası ilişkiler yaklaşımı ile açıklanabilir.

Bu tez giriş ve sonuç hariç yedi ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İkinci bölüm çalışmanın kuramsal çerçevesini geliştirmektedir. Üçüncü bölüm 1991 ve 2002 yılları arasındaki Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini incelemektedir. Dördüncü ve beşinci bölümler sırasıyla NRK'nin kuruluşunu ve NRK işbirliğinin Rusya-NATO ilişkilerindeki rolünü tartışmaktadır. Altıncı ve yedinci bölümler 2002 ve 2014 yılları arasında Rusya'nın

NATO'ya yönelik politikalarındaki deęişimleri incelemektedirler. Sonuç bölümü öncesindeki sekizinci bölüm ise Ukrayna'daki krizi ve bu krizin Rusya-NATO ilişkilerine etkisini tartışmaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** NATO-Rusya Konseyi (NRK), İşbirliği, Rusya-NATO ilişkileri, liberalizm, realizm

To My Lovely Wife and Daughter



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAF	Afghan Air Force
ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
ANSF	Afghan National Security Forces
CAI	Cooperative Airspace Initiative
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSCE	Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
EU	European Union
IPP	Individual Partnership Program
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MAP	Membership Action Plans
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGC	NATO-Georgia Commission
NRC	NATO-Russia Council

OAE	Operation Active Endeavour
OSCE	Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PJC	Permanent Joint Council
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
TMD	Theatre Missile Defense
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The creation of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) at the Rome Summit in May 2002 opened a new chapter in Russia-NATO relations. It was intended as a measure to move beyond the frustrations of the Permanent Joint Council (PJC). Although its brief was broadly similar to that of the PJC, the NRC was evaluated as ‘historic’ by the NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson and more generally as marking the final demise of the Cold War. Thus, Russia would be for the first time an equal partner in discussions on crucial matters such as the fight against terrorism, nuclear non-proliferation and crisis management. This mechanism pleased Moscow since it requires joint decision-making through consensus, assisted by a high-level preparatory committee. While Moscow was restricted to a purely consultative role in the former arrangements, the Rome agreement represented a significant step forward in this regard.<sup>1</sup> This agreement on the creation of the NRC was a major milestone, confirming Russia’s shift from being an implacable enemy of the West to being its partner.<sup>2</sup>

The roots of the NRC lie in Putin’s foreign policy. As the new leader of Russia, his core foreign policy was to improve relations with the West to strengthen the Russian state. To this end, he was quick to re-launch Russia’s relationship with the alliance. The

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Founding Act, the PJC would ‘provide mechanism for consultations, coordination and, to the maximum extent possible, where appropriate, for joint decisions and joint action with respect to security of issues of common concern...’ *Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Russian Federation*, 27 May 1997, p. 7 The Rome Declaration states that ‘... In the framework of the NATO-Russia Council, NATO member states and Russia will work as equal partners in areas of common interest. The NATO-Russia Council will provide a mechanism for consultation, consensus-building, cooperation, joint decision, and joint action for the member states of NATO and Russia on a wide spectrum of security issues in the Euro-Atlantic region.’ *NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation*, May 28, 2002, p. 6

<sup>2</sup> Michael Waller, *Russian Politics Today: The Return of a Tradition*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005, p. 267

normalization of relations began with NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson's visit to Moscow in February 2000. He even went further when he was asked during an interview with the BBC in March 2000 "if Russia might someday join NATO"; he responded that "he did not rule out such a possibility."<sup>3</sup> In May 2000, the PJC resumed its work and gradually expanded its agenda to include other issues of mutual interest.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September caused a doxic change in international security that also altered the context of Russia-NATO relations. Right after the tragic events, "Putin expressed his condolences to the US president and unequivocally sided with the US in the fight against terrorism."<sup>4</sup> Pledging its support to the US campaign in Afghanistan, Russia offered airspace and shared intelligence with the US. It also welcomed the deployment of Western forces in Central Asian states and the use of Central Asian air bases by the US and its European allies. However, in his speech to the Bundestag on 25 September 2001, Putin stated that there would be no Greater Europe without trust and continued that "we renounce our stereotypes and ambitions and from now on will jointly work for the security of the people of Europe and the world as a whole."<sup>5</sup> He also added that existing mechanisms of cooperation is not efficient for working together and "do not offer Russia real opportunities for taking part in drafting and making decisions."<sup>6</sup>

As a response to Russia's support, Western countries had attempted to develop closer cooperation with Russia within the NATO framework. To this end, under the leadership of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, NATO began strengthening its institutional relations with Russia. After a few months of negotiations, in May 2002, the alliance and Russia agreed on the nature and the role of the new mechanism. As a reflection both of

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<sup>3</sup> "Vladimir Putin's Interview with the BBC, David Frost", *The Russia Journal*, No. 52, 13 March 2000

<sup>4</sup> Domitilla, Sagramoso, *Russia's Western Orientation After 11<sup>th</sup> September: Russia's Enhanced Cooperation with NATO and the European Union*, Roma: Rubbettino Editore, 2004, p. 7

<sup>5</sup> Putin's Speech in the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany, 25 September 2001, [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2001/09/25/0001\\_type82912type82914\\_138535.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2001/09/25/0001_type82912type82914_138535.shtml), accessed on 13 January 2014

<sup>6</sup> Putin's Speech in the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany, 25 September 2001, [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2001/09/25/0001\\_type82912type82914\\_138535.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2001/09/25/0001_type82912type82914_138535.shtml), accessed on 13 January 2014

relations on the mend after Kosovo and of shared political, security and strategic interests following 11 September 2001, NATO and Russia agreed to take their relationship a step further by the creation of the NRC. With the creation of the NRC, they demonstrated their resolve “to work together as equal partners in areas of common interest and to stand together against common threats and risks to their security.”<sup>7</sup> Significantly, the new mechanism would work on the principle of consensus which distinguished it from the PJC arrangement, “where NATO’s positions on all issues tended to be coordinated among NATO’s 19 allies before discussions were held with Russia.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, the new ‘at 20’ format pleased Moscow since it requires joint-decision through consensus, assisted by Preparatory Committee (PC).

### **1.1 Scope of the Study**

This dissertation seeks to examine Russia-NATO relations by placing these two antagonistic entities in a context of cooperation within the NRC framework. It discusses the founding of the NRC in 2002 and reasons behind the creation of it. Moreover, it evaluates its achievements focusing on the work done on the identified areas of cooperation and discusses their role in Russia-NATO relations. The main objective of this study is to examine the changes in Russia’s policy towards NATO after its creation in 2002. To this end, it discusses major issues and events that have greatly affected Russia-NATO relations between 2002 and 2014. This thesis is also devoted to discuss the most recent Ukraine crisis in 2014 after which the relations between Russia and NATO reached the lowest point second time after the Georgia crisis in 2008 in the last fifteen years.

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<sup>7</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>8</sup> Domitilla Sagramoso, *Russia’s Western Orientation After 11<sup>th</sup> September: Russia’s Enhanced Cooperation with NATO and the European Union*, Roma: Rubbettino Editore, 2004, p. 50

## 1.2 Literature Review

This part is devoted to explore the existing literature on Russia-NATO relations in the post-Cold War era. There are many academic works which studied Russia-NATO relations in general focusing on the most important issues and the events. However, only some of them touched upon the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO. This study aims to provide a deep analytical and theoretical framework for understanding the institutional relationship focusing on the cooperation in the NRC and its functioning.

In the 1990s, most of the theoretical studies were about NATO enlargement. In his article, Stephen M. Walt provided brief analysis of realist view on NATO expansion and Russia's likely response.<sup>9</sup> He also touched upon liberal and constructivist views on NATO enlargement. Frank Schimmelfennig sought to explain NATO enlargement in connection with Russia focusing mainly on CEE states' bid for NATO membership and NATO's decision to expand to the east.<sup>10</sup> For him, both neorealist and neoliberal variations can account for the former but fail to explain the alliance's interest in expansion. He argued that this puzzle can be solved by a constructivist approach analyzing NATO expansion as a process international socialization. Michael C. Williams and Iver B. Neumann, focusing on Russia-NATO relations in terms of NATO enlargement, developed a theory of symbolic power which provides significant contribution among them to understanding the relations between NATO and Russia and "highlighting forms of power at work in the social construction of security communities".<sup>11</sup> Lars S. Skalnes tried to provide answers to the puzzles why NATO

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<sup>9</sup> Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", *Foreign Policy*, Issue 10, 1998, pp. 29-46

<sup>10</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig, "NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation", *Security Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2-3, 1998, pp. 198-234

<sup>11</sup> They talked about the possibility of a security community between the alliance and Russia but remained skeptical. See for detailed analysis Michael C. Williams and Iver B. Neumann, "From Alliance to Security

decided to expand, “why membership was tied to continued domestic reform, why it has so far been unwilling to include Russia, and finally why it signed Founding Act which promoted consultation and security cooperation between the alliance and Russia.”<sup>12</sup> He argued that neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism cannot provide adequate answers to these questions and therefore he developed ‘institutional stability theory’.

The theoretical studies published after the 2000s and most recently differ in focus. Vincent Pauliot, building on Pierre Bourdieu’s sociology, developed a theory of practice of security communities and applied it to the post-Cold War Russia-NATO relations.<sup>13</sup> He demonstrated that although diplomacy has become a normal practice between NATO and Russia, it stopped short of self-evident practice. He argued that this limited pacification between the two former enemies is due to fierce symbolic power struggles that thwart security community development.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Mathias Conrad, based on the constructivist approach of security communities, demonstrated how the lack of a common identity between Russia and NATO “undermined the nascent security community that had developed in the first years of Putin’s presidency.”<sup>15</sup>

Luca Ratti tried to put empirical findings into theoretical perspectives for understanding Russia-NATO relations since the end of the Cold-War. In his studies<sup>16</sup>, he laid out the

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Community: NATO, Russia, and the Power of Identity”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2000, pp. 357-387

<sup>12</sup> Lars S. Skalnes, “From the Outside in, from the Inside Out: NATO Expansion and International Relations Theory”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998, pp. 44-87

<sup>13</sup> Vincent Pouliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010

<sup>14</sup> See his earlier work on this subject Vincent Pauliot, “Pacification without Collective Identification: Russia and the Transatlantic Security Community in the post-Cold War Era”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 44, No. 5, 2007, pp. 605-622

<sup>15</sup> Mathias Conrad, *NATO-Russia Relations under Putin: Emergence of Decay of a Security Community? An Analysis of the Russian Discourse on NATO (2000-2008)*, LIT VERLAG Dr. W. Hopf: Berlin, 2011

<sup>16</sup> Luca Ratti, “Back to the Future: International Relations Theory and NATO Russia Relations Since the End of the Cold War”, *International Journal*, Spring 2009, pp. 399-422, Luca Ratti, “NATO-Russia Relations after 9/11: New Challenges, Old Issues”, *NATO beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, eds. Ellen Hallams, Luca Ratti and Benjamin Zyla, New York: Palgrave Macmillan,



main theoretical perspectives that have been used to explain both the nature of the NATO as an alliance and the relations between the alliance and Russia. He applied liberal, social-constructivist and realist perspectives to the record of key post-Cold War Russia-NATO relations. He developed his theoretical studies focusing on issues and events such as NATO enlargement, the September 11, missile crisis, the Georgia crisis and revitalization of relations after the Georgia crisis. Alina Mogoş evaluated the Russian foreign policy approach in terms of NATO's intentions to observe whether there is a predictable relationship between the alliance and Russia. For this, her theory-testing article analyzed Russian foreign policy documents, experts' works in IR theory and Russian journalists' works on the subject.<sup>17</sup> The connection between Russia's behavior in pursuing its foreign policy objectives and the Realist paradigm is understood by the examination of the Russian security and foreign policy documents in relation to Russia's actions after 2000s. Jacek Wieclawski, in his article which analyzed the Russian foreign policy against the background of main thesis of classical realism, neorealism and neoclassical realism, concluded that its foreign policy has for a long time reflecting the classical realist thesis.<sup>18</sup> In this context, his work also examined the realist assumptions in connection with Russia's response to NATO eastern enlargement and the US missile shield plans in Central Europe on the territory of Poland and Czech Republic.

Russian liberal and realist perspectives also play important role in understanding major changes in international politics since the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are several scholars who are studying Russian theories of IR such as Alexander Sergounin, Tatyana Shakleyina, Aleksei D. Bogaturov, Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov. Their studies are useful to understand post-Cold War Russia-NATO relations from Russian IR perspectives.

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2013, pp. 258-278, Luca Ratti, "Resetting' NATO-Russia Relations: A Realist Appraisal Two Decades after the USSR", *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 26, No.2, 2013, pp. 141-161

<sup>17</sup> Alina Mogoş, "NATO-Russia: Predictable Relationship", *Journal of European Studies and International Relations*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2012, pp. 39-47

<sup>18</sup> Jacek Wieclawski, "Contemporary Realism and the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation", *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol 2, No. 1, 2011, pp. 170-179

Russia-NATO relations have been analyzed through a number of literatures composed of scholarly works as well as policy papers, briefs, newspaper archives and analysis. This thesis uses these resources in its analysis of the evolution of Russia-NATO relations after the creation of the NRC in 2002. In his book-length analysis covering the period between 1991 and 2005, Martin A. Smith examined the nature and substance of partnership relations between Russia and the alliance and discussed the impact of Kosovo crisis, the September 11, the Iraq crisis and the creation of the NRC on this complex relationship.<sup>19</sup> He concluded that Russia and the alliance “so far developed a pragmatic partnership and it would potentially develop into a more significant strategic partnership.”<sup>20</sup> Lionel Ponsard discussed evolution of Russia-NATO relations focusing on the structure used to formalize these relations and the difficulties that NATO and Russia faced until the creation of the NRC.<sup>21</sup> He asked whether Russian identity was a stumbling block to their relationship and demonstrated how cooperative security could serve as a means to bridge the gap between them.<sup>22</sup> Tuomas Forsberg analyzed Russia-NATO relations in the 1990s and the factors that contributed to improvement of this

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<sup>19</sup> Martin A. Smith, *Russia and NATO since 1991: From Cold War Through Cold Peace to Partnership?*, New York: Routledge, 2006: See also Martin A. Smith, “A Bumpy Road to An Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002”, *European Security*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2002, pp. 59-77

<sup>20</sup> He made the first detailed and comprehensive analysis of Russia-NATO relations between 1991 and 2005. For him, the partnership between Russia and the alliance was primarily of the pragmatic kind. It was mainly based on tactical calculations and became operative only when both sides’ important interests coincided.

<sup>21</sup> Lionel Ponsard, “The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO”, *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007

<sup>22</sup> Cooperative security, as opposed to other model of cooperation such as collective security or collective defense, is not treaty bound and can be described as a federation of free states that strive to achieve security through consented cooperation. He tried to demonstrate that under the new international circumstances cooperative security is compatible with Russia’s understanding of its security relations with other states. As a evidence of this, he referred to some examples of Russian cooperative security initiatives throughout history: the Alexander I’s Holy Alliance and Concert of Europe, Brezhnev’s détente, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In this context, as a case study, he also discussed Gorbachev’s New Political Thinking and Common European Home.

relationship after 1999 which resulted in the creation of the NRC in 2002.<sup>23</sup> He argued that despite smooth partnership, Moscow would prefer collaboration over confrontation.

Aurel Braun's edited book studied Russia-NATO relations in the post-Cold War mainly focusing on enlargement. For Stanley R. Sloan, although enlargement had troubled the cooperative relationship, it did not destroy it completely and lead to a 'new Cold War'.<sup>24</sup> For him, because NATO allies do not want to see Russia re-emerge as a challenge to Europe's peace and stability, NATO policies usually had been designed to invite Russia to involve constructively in European and global security affairs. Roland Danreuther's work which also focused on enlargement made the similar conclusion.<sup>25</sup> He thought that the main external challenge for NATO remained Russia which continuously opposed to the general evolution of NATO strategy and activism in European security affairs and concluded that it was better for the alliance to have cooperative Russia than having obstructionist Russia.

There are several studies on the effect of 11 September on Russia-NATO relations and change in Russian policy towards NATO after 11 September. Kara Bosworth mainly focused on the improvement of Russia-NATO relationship since 11 September and argued that this would ease the way to further Russian integration into the European security architecture through the project of nascent European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) of the EU.<sup>26</sup> Marek Menkiszak, after analyzing Russia-NATO relations in the 1990s, discussed Russia's pro-Western turn after 11 September which had given

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<sup>23</sup> Tuomas Forsberg, "Russia's Relationship with NATO: A Qualitative Change or Old Wine in New Bottles?", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.21, No.3, September 2005, pp. 332-353

<sup>24</sup> Stanley R. Sloan, 'NATO beyond Russia', *NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Aurel Braun, New York: Routledge, 2008, pp. 72-90: See also Jeffrey Simon, "NATO Enlargement and Russia", *NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Aurel Braun, New York: Routledge, 2008, pp. 91-108

<sup>25</sup> Roland Danreuther, "Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russia Relations", *Survival*, Winter 1999-2000, pp. 145-164

<sup>26</sup> Kara Bosworth, "The Effect of 11 September on Russia-NATO relations", *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 3:3, 2002, pp. 361-387

Russia a chance to benefit in relations with the alliance.<sup>27</sup> For him, although it was crucial for Russia to set up institutions with NATO and make strategic decisions, the future of cooperation would depend more on Russia's internal transformations than on the alliance's attitude towards Russia. For Robert E. Hunter, 11 September caused a change in Russia's policy towards the US and eventually towards the alliance which resulted in the creation of the NRC. He questioned whether this change was a set of moves by Putin to take advantage of circumstances or would prove to be a strategic significance indicating Russia's more lasting engagement with the West's powers and institutions.<sup>28</sup>

The most recent studies mainly focus on the major issues and the events those affected the relationship between Russia and NATO in the last 10 years. Roger E. Kanet and Maxime Henri Andre Larive examined NATO and Russia's foreign policy understandings and political culture, and discussed their actual relations.<sup>29</sup> They think Russian invasion of Georgia in 2008 was a major wake-up call for NATO allies... and the issues among others NATO enlargement, the development of missile shield, and the globalization of NATO have contributed to the deterioration of relations between Russia and the alliance. Mathias Conrad provided an analysis of the Russian discourse on NATO for understanding Russia-NATO relations under Putin between 2000 and 2008. In order to do this, he focused on the issues and the events such as CFE Treaty, NATO membership of Georgia and Ukraine, missile defense, Kosovo and the Georgia war.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Marek Menkiszak, "Relations between Russia and NATO before and after the 11<sup>th</sup> of September", *CES Studies*, 2002, pp. 33-47

<sup>28</sup> Robert Hunter, "NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September", *South European and Black Sea Studies*, 3:3, 2003, pp. 28-54: See also Janine Sleivyte, 'NATO/US-Russia Relations after 11 September and their Implications for Baltic Security', *Baltic Defense Review*, No. 7, Vol. 7, 2002, pp. 48-70

<sup>29</sup> Roger E. Kanet and Maxime Henri Andre Larive, "NATO and Russia: Perpetual New Beginning", *Perceptions*, Spring, Volume XVII, No 1, 2012, pp. 75-96

<sup>30</sup> Mathias Conrad, *NATO-Russia Relations under Putin: Emergence of Decay of a Security Community? An Analysis of the Russian Discourse on NATO (2000-2008)*, LIT VERLAG Dr. W. Hopf: Berlin, 2011

Andrew Foxall analyzed the most recent Ukraine crisis in 2014 and its impact on Russia-NATO relations.<sup>31</sup> He discussed Russian annexation of Crimea and the alliance's response to Russian aggression and concluded that the NATO summit in Wales must make clear the alliance's readiness to protect itself and the newly established post-Cold War international system in the face of Russian aggression.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Andrew Monaghan examined the Ukraine crisis in terms of Russia-NATO relations and evaluated it "as a potential turning point in Euro-Atlantic security." For him, the Ukraine crisis has very clearly shown that "Moscow understands European security in very different conceptual terms from the West."<sup>33</sup> John J. Mearsheimer explored the reasons behind the Ukraine crisis and argued that, in contrast to the prevailing wisdom in the West, the US and its allies in Europe share the most responsibility for the crisis.<sup>34</sup> He even proposed them to stop their current policy and work to create a prosperous but neutral Ukraine which would not threaten Russia and would allow them to repair its relations with Moscow.

Most of the above works touched upon the institutional cooperation between Russia and NATO. However, only few works provided short analysis of the structure and the functioning of the NRC since its creation in 2002. Jakup Kulhanek studied Putin's foreign policy in terms of the evolution of Russia's relations with the alliance which led to the founding of the NRC in 2002. His work examined the founding of the NRC and tried to answer whether Russia's perception of NATO changed in his first two years in

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<sup>31</sup> Andrew Foxall, "A Fateful Summit: The Future of NATO's Relationship with Russia", *Russia Studies Centre The Henry Jackson Society Policy Paper*, No. 1, September 2014, pp. 1-13

<sup>32</sup> Andrew Foxall discussed NATO's response by suspending all practical cooperation with Russia within the NRC and through undertaking a number of small-scale initiatives; air defense and surveillance, maritime deployments and military exercises. For him, in addition to developing an agenda or strategy to counter or roll back Russia's influence, NATO could undertake several concrete measures...

<sup>33</sup> Andrew Monaghan, "The Ukraine Crisis and NATO-Russia Relations", *NATO Review*, August 2014: He mentioned Western officials and politicians' opinions on the crisis that it creates new security realities in 21<sup>st</sup> century and demands a significant response from NATO.

<sup>34</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin", *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014

office and why Russia eventually embraced the NRC.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, Martin A. Smith examined the creation of this new mechanism and its track record and argued that there had been little evidence of a ‘spillover effect’ between low and high politics.<sup>36</sup> He also discussed the 2008 Georgia crisis and its impact on the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO. Vincent Pauliot framed the Georgia war within the issue of NATO enlargement and briefly discussed NATO’s decision to suspend the NRC activities.<sup>37</sup> Dmitri Trenin analyzed Ukraine and Georgia’s bid for NATO membership and revealed NRC’s problem till the Georgia crisis. For him, the NRC’s agenda needs to be expanded by including other items such as the issue of strategic missile defense and the CFE Treaty.<sup>38</sup> These scholars provided short analysis of the structure and the functioning of the NRC and its main areas of prospective cooperation. Only Vincent Pauliot provided detailed analysis of practical cooperation in the NRC between the period 2002 and 2006. He discovered that there are two masters at the NRC table but no apprentice and, therefore, he concluded that intense symbolic power struggles characterize post-Cold War Russia-NATO relations at the practical level.

### 1.3 Research Questions

The main research problem of this dissertation is why Russia, after Putin became the President of Russian Federation, had decided to improve its relations with the alliance which resulted in the creation of the NRC in 2002. One may pose a question that

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<sup>35</sup> Jakub Kulhanek, “Putin’s Foreign Policy and the Founding of the NATO-Russia Council”, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2009, pp. 136-154

<sup>36</sup> Martin A. Smith, “NATO Russia Relations: Will the Future Resemble the Past”, *NATO in Search of a Vision*, eds. Gülnur Aybet and Rebecca Moore, Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2010, pp. 99-129: In his earlier work, he used *the Times*’ commentary calling the NRC as ‘the most far-reaching change in the North Atlantic alliance since NATO was founded in 1949.’ Martin A. Smith, “A Bumpy Road to An Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002”, *European Security*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2002, pp. 59-77

<sup>37</sup> Vincent Pouliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010

<sup>38</sup> Dmitri Trenin, “NATO and Russia: Partnership and Peril”, *Current History*, October 2009, pp. 299-303

whether the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO, or in general towards the West after Putin came to power or after the September 11 were pragmatic or revolutionary. This research exploits the hypothesis that with his pragmatic approach to Russia's foreign policy recognizing the importance of security ties with the Western nations, therefore improving relations with NATO, Putin aims to prove that Russia is an essential actor in global security issues.

The other research question is to examine changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after the creation of the NRC in 2002. Detailed analysis of Russia-NATO relations sheds light on this problem. In order to do this, the thesis analyzes Russia-NATO relations between 2002 and 2014 focusing on the major controversial issues such as NATO enlargement, the impasse over the CFE treaty, missile crisis and the events such as Georgia crisis in 2008 and the Ukraine crisis in 2014.

#### **1.4 Theory and Methodology of the Study**

This study aspires to apply two major IR theories of liberalism and realism to understand Russia's policy towards NATO. The thesis investigates the merits and potentials of these theoretical perspectives to explain Russia-NATO relations focusing on institutional relationship and cooperation, the September 11, NATO expansion, missile crisis, Russia's military intervention in Georgia, reset in Russia-NATO relations and the Ukraine crisis.

This thesis analyzes the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after the creation of the NRC in 2002. To this end, it discusses Russia-NATO relations focusing on the successive phases marked by decisive issues and events. This methodology offers a diachronic approach which deals with the evolution of Russia's policy towards NATO within the historical specificities of each phase between 2002 and 2014. Instead of picking up a particular phase in Russia-NATO relations, this thesis has chosen to focus on the entire history of Russia's policy towards NATO since the creation of the NRC in 2002. This helps us understand patterns of change and continuity in Russia-NATO

relations and changes in Russia's policy towards NATO. In this way, it is easy to comprehend the subject from theoretical perspectives. This study lays greater emphasis on the last events of Ukraine crisis in 2014 which have since spurred escalating tensions between Russia and the West, and therefore between Russia and NATO. Russia's actions in Ukraine help this study clarify its argument from theoretical perspective.

This thesis has another methodology which is used to bring this research to its achievement. The Russian approach is taken throughout the study to achieve the main objective of the thesis. Russia-NATO relations and the question of cooperation in this relationship are not sufficiently studied from the Russian approach. This approach helps us to better understand, explain and anticipate Russia's actions and reactions.

The data used throughout the thesis is drawn from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data for the NRC such as official documents, declarations, statements, speeches and news are mostly accessed from the NRC and NATO official websites. 'NATO Review' articles are also used to look at some most pressing security issues related with Russia-NATO relations. The thesis also utilizes information and insights attained from interviews with NATO officials, political analysts and academics during the academic workshops and conferences. As another primary source, Russia's official documents such as Military Doctrine, National Security Concept and Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation are used widely when discussing Russia's view of NATO expansion or the missile defense. Another methodology is a data collection through the analysis of library sources including books, academic journal and newspaper archives. The study also relies on publications in Russian that are obtained from libraries and internet sources. In addition, internet sources composed of online journals and books, websites of newspapers, state departments and ministries and research centers are considered in this dissertation. Publications and reports prepared by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Russia Studies Centre, Ifri Russia/NIS Center, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Center for Security Studies (CSS) and the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies prove to be important sources for obtaining data for Russia-NATO relations.



## **1.5 Main Argument**

This thesis argues that contrary to the liberal view which assumes that the NRC presents an example of international cooperation through institutions, the NRC has been functioning in accordance with power politics or concerns of Russia and the security priorities of NATO. Russian military action in Georgia and its military intervention in Ukraine followed by its annexation of Crimea resulted in the suspension of the NRC. Therefore, both the NRC and Russia's relations with NATO could be explained by political realist approach to international relations.

This thesis demonstrated that the cooperation between Russia and NATO in the NRC had been crucially circumscribed. We have not witnessed a spillover effect between low and high politics. Although the NRC has been a forum where a lot of practical activities initiated and developed, this did not lead to a broader strategic or political rapprochement between Russia and NATO. Despite the NRC's achievements, the relationship between Russia and NATO still remains constantly prone to disruption as a result of long-term disputes or disagreements unresolved. In this respect, all the developments around the NRC are in line with realism's offer of "a pessimistic analysis of the prospects for international cooperation and of the capabilities of international institutions."

## **1.6 Structure of the Thesis**

The PhD dissertation is composed of nine chapters. After introductory chapter, the second chapter provides theoretical approaches to explain Russia-NATO relations. It discusses liberal and realist perspectives of international relations theory to understand the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after the creation of the NRC in 2002. The first part examines the main assumptions of liberal theory of international relations and uses them to explain the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO. The

second part discusses the main assumptions of realist theory of international relations and applies them to explain both Russia-NATO relations and the most important issues and events related with this relationship. In parallel to analyzing liberal and realist perspectives, this chapter also discusses how Russian liberalism and realism view international politics and Russia-NATO relations.

The third chapter outlines the Russia's relations with NATO in the post-Cold war era between the period 1991 and 2002. With the end of the Cold War, NATO began to construct a new role for itself in international relations. To this end, it has entered into the process of serious transformation. Within this new mission framework, NATO and Russia have entered into the new phase of relations. This chapter traces the evolution of this relationship. The chapter examines formal relations between Russia and NATO that began within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) in 1991 and the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program in 1994. It focuses on the institutional relationship with/after the signing of the Founding Act in 1997 which created the PJC as the main channel of communication and cooperation between Moscow and Brussels. This part focuses on the contents, objectives and the political-legal characteristics of the Founding Act. Moreover, it analyzes the central objective of the PJC and its structure.

In parallel, this chapter examines the issue of enlargement, NATO intervention in Bosnia and also Kosovo crisis (1999) that has greatly affected Russia-NATO relations and therefore institutional relationship. Then, the chapter discusses Putin's foreign policy towards the West, particularly his foreign policy's reflection in Russia's relations with the alliance after he became the president of the Russian Federation. The last part of this chapter discusses the impact on Russia-NATO relations of September 11 which brought Russia and its former Cold War adversaries in the West closer together.

After 11 September, Russia-NATO relations acquired new meaning resulting in the creation of the NRC in 2002. In this sense, the fourth chapter examines the founding of the NRC. It discusses Russia's interest in boosting relations with NATO and NATO's response to it. Here, it briefly discusses Russia-NATO rapprochement after Putin's

presidency in 2000 and 11 September and explains the reason why Russia under Putin continuously promoted the idea of new institutional relationship between Russia and the alliance. Then, it discusses Blair's proposal to create new joint council and intense negotiations between Russia and NATO, and assesses the different views on their move/efforts towards the creation of the NRC.

The NRC was created with the signing of the Rome declaration in May 2002. It was created to upgrade Russia's status. To this end, the chapter examines the Rome declaration answering the question 'what does the NRC provide for Russia compared to the PJC?'. This part examines the objective behind the creation of the NRC and its retrieval or safeguarding mechanism with respect to Russia and NATO members, and assesses Russia's gains in its creation. Next, this chapter analyses the functioning and the structure of the new council. The following part examines the differences and similarities between the NRC and the PJC by comparing their functioning and structures. The last part points out some comments and criticisms by the different outlooks just before and after the creation of the NRC.

In the Rome declaration, Russia and NATO outlined the main areas of prospective cooperation such as the struggle against terrorism, crisis management and nonproliferation. Other areas of cooperation include arms control and confidence – building measures, theatre missile defense, search and rescue at sea, military-to-military cooperation, civil emergencies, and scientific cooperation on new threats and challenges. Since 2002, the NRC has been the key structure in developing the new agenda for cooperation and has developed a number of practical cooperation projects in the areas of common interest. In this sense, the fifth chapter analyses achievements in these areas to evaluate the level of cooperation between Russia and NATO within the NRC framework. In between, this chapter also discusses the role of NRC cooperation in Russia-NATO relations. This helps us to assess their potential to foster partnership in the coming years.

The chapter starts with the analysis of the struggle against terrorism which is viewed by Russia and the alliance as an overarching task, requiring a comprehensive response at different levels. It examines the NATO-Russia Action Plan on Terrorism which sets out the agenda for cooperation. This part also examines how Russia and NATO cooperate on Afghanistan on the institutional level. The next parts continue with the analysis of other areas of cooperation.

The sixth and seventh chapters examine the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after the creation the NRC, which is the main objective of the dissertation. In this context, the sixth chapter examines Russia-NATO relations between 2002 and 2008. This chapter is composed of two main parts. The first part covers the period between 2002 and 2004 and seeks to find out whether the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO are revolutionary or pragmatic. Then, it examines the NRC's first tests of NATO enlargement (2002) and Iraq crisis (2002-2003), and Russian attitude to them. Lastly, it makes a review of the progress achieved with the NRC agenda in the areas of mutual interest.

The second part covers the period between 2004 and 2008 and analyses Putin's policy towards NATO after he was reelected in 2004 for his second term as President of Russian Federation. Here, the dissertation discusses this subject focusing on the two contentious issues have hung over Russia-NATO relations: the impasse over the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), the US missile defense plans in Europe. Lastly, this part makes a review of the progress achieved with the NRC agenda in the areas of mutual interest between (2004-2008).

The seventh chapter examines Russia's policy towards NATO between 2008 and 2014. The chapter examines the importance of the NATO Bucharest Summit Russia-NATO relations. Then, it discusses the Georgia crisis in terms of Russia-NATO relations. This part analyses Russia's intervention in Georgia war and NATO's response to Russia by suspending the NRC activities. Then, it points out some criticisms on NATO's response

and suspension of NRC activities. Next, the chapter explains why NATO had re-engaged in a concentrated effort to improve relations with Russia and why NRC cooperation resumed in 2009. In this sense, this part examines NATO's future relationship with Russia which is reflected in the Lisbon Summit declaration. The last part analyses the NATO Chicago Summit in terms of Russia-NATO relations and the reasons why Putin did not attend the summit.

The eight chapter discusses the most prolonged and deadly crisis in Ukraine and its impact on Russia-NATO relations. It analyses the reasons behind the crisis and how it became international crisis. Then, the chapter seeks to analyze Russia's annexation of Crimea. This part deals with 'declaration of independence' and its relationship with the referendum held in Crimea. Next, the chapter discusses NATO's most important response to Russia's military intervention in Ukraine and its annexation of Crimea by suspending all practical cooperation between NATO and Russia in the framework of the NRC. Moreover, this part examines NATO's plan to take extra measures to reinforce the NATO's collective defense in the wake of Ukraine crisis. The chapter examines the new developments in the eastern and the southern part of Ukraine drifting Ukraine into deep crisis. Lastly, the chapter discusses NATO Wales Summit in relation to NATO allies' response to Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL APPROACHES**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides two major IR perspectives of liberalism and realism as a theoretical framework for understanding the relations between Russia and NATO in the post-Cold War era. In this respect, the chapter is composed of two main parts. The first part discusses the main assumptions of liberal theory of international relations and uses them to explain Russia-NATO relations. In this theoretical perspective, this part mainly seeks to discuss the first formal institutional relations between Russia and NATO in the 1990s and after 2002 with the creation of the NRC. Similarly, the second part discusses the main assumptions of realist theory of international relations and applies them to explain Russia-NATO relations. This part attempts to explain the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO and the controversial issues and events that affected this relationship. Moreover, these two parts briefly discuss respectively how Russian IR perspectives of liberalism and realism see international politics in terms of Russia-NATO relations.

#### **2.2 Liberalism and Russia-NATO Relations**

The collapse of the Soviet Communism enhanced the influence of liberal theories which had been discredited for a long time by other approaches in the IR discipline. For liberal scholars, the end of the Cold War was as a triumph over other perspectives in the discipline. There was even talk of the ‘end of history’ as Francis Fukuyama argued in his work published in 1992 that “the collapse of the Soviet Union proved that liberal

democracy had no serious ideological competitor” and that it may constitute the ‘end point of mankind’s ideological evolution’ and the ‘final form of human government’ and as such constituted the ‘end of history.’<sup>39</sup>

Liberal scholars generally see states as the central players in international affair. Their concern for power is overridden by economic and political considerations such as desire for prosperity or commitment to liberal values. For liberals, the sources of international conflict lie in the internal qualities of states. When states enjoy political legitimacy and have a market-based economy, they are devoted to peace and stability. Liberals argue that the spread of democracy is the key to world peace, claiming that democratic states were more peaceful than authoritarian states. Michael W. Doyle claimed that “liberal democracies are uniquely willing to eschew the use of force in their relations with one another.”<sup>40</sup> However, he also argued that “although liberal democracies tend to be peaceful in their relations, they may be war-prone towards non-liberals.”<sup>41</sup>

For liberals, actors pursue their objectives through cooperation rather than conflict or aggression. International institutions have an independent impact on state preferences and policies, fostering cooperation among different actors. Institutions “help overcome selfish state behavior by encouraging states to forego immediate gains for the greater benefits of enduring cooperation.”<sup>42</sup> Neoliberal institutionalists are more optimistic about the possibilities for cooperation and the reason is found in their claim that international institutions shape, although do not determine, state behavior. They argue that “institutions can mitigate the inhibitory effects of anarchy on the states’ willingness

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<sup>39</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: The Free Press A Division of Macmillan , 1992, p. Xi

<sup>40</sup> Andrew Linklater, “Liberal Democracy, Constitutionalism and the New World Order”, *The Post-Cold War Order: Diagnoses and Prognoses*, eds. R. Leaver and J. Richardson, London: St Leonards, 1993, p. 29

<sup>41</sup> Michael W. Doyle, “Liberalism and the End of the Cold War”, *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War*, eds. Richard Ned Lebow and Thomas Risse-Kappen, New York: Colombia University Press, 1996, p.

<sup>42</sup> Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories”, *Foreign Policy*, Issue 10, 1998, p. 2

to work together when they share common interests.”<sup>43</sup> Institutions make it easier for states to realize their mutual gains of cooperation, gains that cannot be realized through unilateral action. Neoliberal institutionalists argue that institutions reflect common interests rather than conflict. For them, “institutions shape policies mainly by providing information and thus help states to communicate and to monitor and enforce their compliance with international agreements.”<sup>44</sup> They make cheating more difficult and thus “increase the prospects for international cooperation.” Moreover, “institutions reduce transaction costs associated with negotiation and implementation of agreements and help states coordinate on a particular equilibrium.”<sup>45</sup> In short, “institutions promote international cooperation by reducing the net benefits of defection while increasing those of cooperation.”<sup>46</sup>

While accepting NATO’s primary function of collective defense defined by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, liberalism suggests that the glue holding NATO members together is also function of similar domestic systems. In the liberal view, although the alliance was created against Soviet communism, “it has been traditionally linked to the notions of democracy and freedom.”<sup>47</sup> Its members had embraced and promoted a set of liberal democratic values, as well as worked towards a resolution of all major conflicts among them. As changes took place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, in 1990,

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<sup>43</sup> Joseph M. Grieco, “Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: The Limits of Neoliberal Institutionalism and the Future of Realist Theory”, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism; the Contemporary Debate*, ed. David A. Baldwin, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p. 303

<sup>44</sup> Lars S. Skalnes, “From the Outside in, from the Inside Out: NATO Expansion and International Relations Theory”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998, pp. 68-69

<sup>45</sup> Lars S. Skalnes, “From the Outside in, from the Inside Out: NATO Expansion and International Relations Theory”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998, p. 68

<sup>46</sup> See Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 89-90; Robert O. Keohane, ‘Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge after the Cold War’, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism; the Contemporary Debate*, ed. David A. Baldwin, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, pp. 274-278

<sup>47</sup> Ellen Hallams, Lucal Ratti and Benjamin Zyla, “Introduction”, *NATO beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, eds. Ellen Hallams, Lucal Ratti and Benjamin Zyla, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 13



the alliance declared that it ‘must be an agent of change.’<sup>48</sup> Its new mission would be to construct a new security order in Europe on the basis of shared liberal democratic values. To this end, in the post-Cold war era, NATO allies had committed themselves to encourage the growth of their values outside NATO’s borders, and to pursue this vision, they developed a variety of political tools such as the NACC, the PFP, and special arrangements with Russia and Ukraine. From the liberal perspective, since 1991, NATO have taken the shape of an institutional regime whose policy shaped by liberal democratic principles and values.

With the revival of liberal thought, these assumptions have inspired the liberal analysis of NATO-Russia relations in the post-Cold War. Indeed, liberal scholars were optimistic about NATO-Russia relations. Liberal scholars saw prospect in Russia’s domestic developments in the 1990s. They were right in their predictions because within this NATO’s new mission framework Russia and NATO have come into new phase of relations. Formal relations began under the NACC in 1991 and later developed with the PFP program in 1994. In 1997, Russia signed the Founding Act which would promote security cooperation with NATO and under which the PJC was established as the main forum for consultation and cooperation between Russia and NATO members. The Act signified “an enduring political commitment undertaken at the highest political level... to build together a lasting inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic area on the principles of democracy and cooperative security.”<sup>49</sup>

After 11 September 2001, liberal scholars had anticipated a gradual converge of interests between the alliance and Russia. A closer cooperation seemed to be underway which led to the creation of the NRC in 2002. According to the Rome Declaration, Russia and NATO member states reaffirmed “the goals, principles and commitments set forth in the Founding Act” and declared that they would “observe in good faith their obligations

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<sup>48</sup> London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance, London, 5-6 July 1990

<sup>49</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russia Federation Signed in Paris, France, e-Library, 27 May, 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm)

under international law, including the UN Charter and the provisions and principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the OSCE Charter for European security.”<sup>50</sup> However, Russian attitude towards the NATO enlargement, its actions during the Georgia and Ukraine crisis in 2008 and in 2014 did not make their anticipations come true. Moreover, liberal scholars also criticized Moscow’s successive attempts to slow down democratic reforms and portrayed the beginning of Putin’s third presidential term in May 2012 as not a step in the right direction, which will make him the longest serving president after Stalin which can be viewed as a hurdle to the development of democratic society in Russia.<sup>51</sup>

In this liberal logic, Russia’s interaction with NATO “would accelerate its liberal democratic transformation and lead to a gradual and steady convergence of its interests and policies with those of the alliance.”<sup>52</sup> By contrast, any attempt by Russia to interfere in the affairs of its neighboring states and quell domestic opposition would be portrayed as proto-imperial and undemocratic. Steven Flanagan from the Policy Planning staff involved in the enlargement process argued that “any European state outside the Alliance would not be excluded by a geostrategic gambit; rather states would exclude themselves from the new collective security pact by their failure to realize or uphold the expanded Alliance principles.”<sup>53</sup>

NATO also enlarged by admitting new members from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). For NATO allies, there were three main reasons why it should expand its membership: “with the Cold War’s end, it should be open to the new democracies that have regained their independence, that share common values, and that can advance the

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<sup>50</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>51</sup> Luca Ratti, “‘Resetting’ NATO-Russia Relations: A Realist Appraisal Two Decades after the USSR”, *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 26, No.2, 2013, p. 149

<sup>52</sup> Luca Ratti, “‘Resetting’ NATO-Russia Relations: A Realist Appraisal Two Decades after the USSR”, *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 26, No.2, 2013, p. 148

<sup>53</sup> Cited in James M. Goldgeier, “NATO Expansion: The Anatomy of a Decision”, *Washington Quarterly*, Vol 21, No. 1, 1998, p. 89

military and political goals of the alliance; the prospect of NATO membership provides these nations with additional incentives to strengthen their democratic and legal institutions, ensure civilian command of their armed forces, liberalize their economies, and respect human rights, including the rights of national minorities; it also can foster among them a greater willingness to resolve disputes peacefully and contribute to peacekeeping operations, helping to promote regional stability and peace.”<sup>54</sup> Before NATO’s decision, liberal scholars had also argued “that criteria for membership need to be spelled out clearly in advance and should include commitment to values.”<sup>55</sup>

Liberal scholars thought that the fragile democracies in these countries must be stabilized. They thought if the process of democratization fails, the cost would be much greater than expanding NATO. For them, enlargement reinforces “the nascent democracies of Central Europe and extend NATO’s conflict management mechanisms to the region.”<sup>56</sup> During his welcoming speech in 2004 when new members admitted to the alliance, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell said “... NATO is transformed... into an alliance concerned mainly with the defense of common values and common ideas...”<sup>57</sup>

Liberals argued that NATO enlargement would provide these states all the benefits of multilateral security: “in a climate of reduced uncertainty, they would gain the opportunity to influence decisions made by the great powers as well as to make their own voice heard.”<sup>58</sup> With respect to this point, however, liberals view NATO

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<sup>54</sup> Strobe Talbott, “Why NATO Should Grow”, *New York Review of Books*, 1995, p. 27

<sup>55</sup> Ronald D. Asmus, Richard L. Kugler and F. Stephen Larrabee, “Building a New NATO”, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1993

<sup>56</sup> Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories”, *Foreign Policy*, Issue 10, 1998, p. 1

<sup>57</sup> Remarks by the US Secretary of State Colin L. Powell at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Accession Lunch, Washington, 29 March 2004, <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2004/s040329a.htm>, accessed on 14 November 2014

<sup>58</sup> Charles-Philippe David, “Fountain of Youth or Cure Worse than Disease? NATO Enlargement: A Conceptual Deadlock”, *The Future of NATO: Enlargement, Russia and European Security*, eds. Charles-Philippe David and Jacques Levesque, Quebec: Mc-Gill-Quence’s University Press, 1999, p. 21

enlargement as “not a response to strategic threats but rather a reward and marker of sameness with the West on the basis of shared values and practices.” NATO membership is normally discussed as more than just security matter: “it is cast first and foremost as the ultimate codification of the region’s identity and values.”<sup>59</sup> From an official perspective, NATO is “designed... to prevent a threat from ever rising,” but “NATO enlargement is not taking place in response to a new Russian threat.”<sup>60</sup> As the US and German spokesmen repeatedly emphasized, “the NATO door would remain open for all those who meet the criteria – including, in the long run, Russia.”<sup>61</sup> Longer-term thinkers did not exclude “the prospect that Russia could reform itself” and believed “a conciliatory NATO should be supporting the kind that would lead Russia to adopt genuine pluralistic democracy, respect for the rule of law, openness and civilian control of its military forces.”<sup>62</sup>

Liberals also thought that because these states required both economic growth and security, NATO enlargement had to be carried out in tandem with the EU or other institutions. However, some liberal institutionalist scholars advocated EU or WEU enlargement, instead of NATO enlargement. For them, theoretically, “this would increase the economic security of these states while decreasing the geopolitical insecurity of Russia.”<sup>63</sup>

What I have analyzed till now shows that NATO enlargement is consistent with liberalism. However, it has difficulty in explaining why Russia was excluded from

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<sup>59</sup> Merje Kuus, “‘Love, Peace and NATO’: Imperial Subject-Making in Central Europe”, Vol. 39, No. 2 , *Antipode*, 2007, p. 269

<sup>60</sup> Madeleine Albright , cited in Lars S. Skalmes, “From the Outside in, from the Inside Out: NATO Expansion and International Relations Theory”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998, p. 54

<sup>61</sup> Jane M. O. Sharp, “Spreading the Security Blanket”, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 54, No. 1, January February 1998, p. 25

<sup>62</sup> Jane M. O. Sharp, “Spreading the Security Blanket”, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 54, No. 1, January February 1998, p. 25

<sup>63</sup> Charles-Philippe David, “Fountain of Youth or Cure Worse than Disease? NATO Enlargement: A Conceptual Deadlock”, *The Future of NATO: Enlargement, Russia and European Security*, eds. Charles-Philippe David and Jacques Levesque, Quebec: Mc-Gill-Quence’s University Press, 1999, p. 22

NATO enlargement. If NATO membership aimed to bolster democracy and promote liberal economic policies, why not extend that aim to Russia or why not lay down domestic reforms as condition for Russia's membership in NATO. Liberal theories cannot offer an answer to these questions and thus cannot explain why Russia was continuously excluded from NATO enlargement.

The NRC was created to promote cooperation between Brussels and Moscow in areas of common interest. Here, the question is whether liberalism can explain why the alliance and Russia created the NRC to promote cooperation between NATO and Russia. The founding of the NRC is in line with the liberal assumption that "actors pursue their objectives through cooperation rather than conflict or aggression." Neoliberal institutionalists "stress national interest and the mutual gains that made by cooperating in institutions." They "maintain that some institutionalized security arrangements can help states better understand each other's aims."<sup>64</sup>

Since its creation in 2002, the NRC has developed a number of practical cooperation projects in the areas of common interest. This is consistent with the liberal assumption that institutions "help overcome selfish state behavior by encouraging states to forego immediate gains for the greater benefits of enduring cooperation." This is also consistent with the neoliberal institutionalist assumption that "institutions can mitigate the inhibitory effects of anarchy on the states' willingness to work together when they share common interests."

The NRC has facilitated the exchange of information between Brussels and Moscow, promoted consultation and cooperation, and generally reduced the transaction costs associated with joint exercises and projects and so on. Under these considerations, the functioning of the NRC is broadly consistent with a neoliberal institutionalism. According to neoliberal institutionalism, institutions "shape policies mainly by providing information and help states to communicate and also reduce transaction costs associated with negotiating and implementing agreements."

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<sup>64</sup> Sean Kay, *NATO and European Security*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998, p. 5

In the liberal view, cooperation is also not necessarily limited with Russia's hybrid democracy. Indeed, it creates institutions and practices which can lead to and result in further interaction. However, if the Western countries want to establish real institutions to promote effective cooperation, which perceived by the West and Russia as promoting equally advantageous relations, "liberal norms of trust needs to be developed within Russian society, creating the conditions and opportunities for a genuine partnership between NATO and Moscow."<sup>65</sup>

The Russian liberal perspective is unable to dominate Russian IR discourse significantly. However, it plays an important role in challenging the Russian realism and providing it an intellectual alternative. It is argued that, in Russia, "liberal perspective has developed a pattern of intellectual dependence on the Western liberal IR."<sup>66</sup> Although liberal orientation in the Russian IR scholarship is getting diversified, "liberalism remains largely a product of Western, particularly American, intellectual hegemony, and more so than any other theoretical perspectives."<sup>67</sup>

For the Russian liberals, the multilateral institutions and regimes could guarantee the stability of the international system. Although they do not neglect multipolar world in their studies, they argue that "the future development of the international system is no longer predominantly determined by the shape and outcome of rivalries among the major centers of economic and military power, but increasingly by the dynamics of their common development and interdependence."<sup>68</sup> Some of them criticize the Russian realists "for exaggerating the role of power capabilities and traditional geopolitical

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<sup>65</sup> Luca Ratti, "NATO-Russia Relations after 9/11: New Challenges, Old Issues", *NATO beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, eds. Ellen Hallams, Luca Ratti and Benjamin Zyla, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 263

<sup>66</sup> Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov, "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR", *International Political Sociology*, Vol 1, Issue 4, 2007, p. 308

<sup>67</sup> Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov, "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR", *International Political Sociology*, Vol 1, Issue 4, 2007, p. 308

<sup>68</sup> Alexander Sergounin, "Russia: IR at a Crossroads", *International Relations Scholarship around the World*, eds. Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 233

factors in world politics.”<sup>69</sup> Liberals argue that the idea of geopolitical drive for control over territories should be replaced with geo-economic thinking.

Liberals think that “Russia should not oppose the dominant international trends of globalization and democratization, Western norms and institutions and should accept them and become part of globalizing majority.”<sup>70</sup> They emphasize the importance of foreign policy in Russia’s successful reformation and revival. They associate Russia with the West in general and with Europe in particular. For them, “Russia’s relations with the USA are vitally important and seeking any alternative partner in the East is counterproductive and dangerous.”<sup>71</sup>

On the issue of global security regime, the Russian liberals “acknowledge the unipolarity of the world and America’s global leadership, and accept the universal character of Western values and institutions.”<sup>72</sup> However, they are concerned about the decreasing role of international organizations and international law, and the rise of the unilateralism after the 11 September 2001. One group insisted that Russia to restore the crucial role of international organizations and law in world affairs. Another group, like realists, suggested that Russia switched to more flexible and informal institutions (such as G-8) and the ‘concert of powers’ model, which could help to prevent the complete collapse of the world order and keep the chaos at a manageable level.

Russian liberals have argued for a cooperative solution to NATO enlargement, “which would strengthen and institutionalize interaction between Russia and the West.”

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<sup>69</sup> Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov, “A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR”, *International Political Sociology*, Vol 1, Issue 4, 2007, p. 317

<sup>70</sup> V Kulagin, “Mir I Zapad v Rossiiskoi Politologii”, *Mezhdunarodnyye Protsessy*, Vol. 4, No. 3, September-December 2006, pp. 97-105, cited in Tatyana Shakleyina, “Russian Debates on Relations with the United States”, *International Studies Association 51<sup>st</sup> Annual Convention*, New Orleans, 17-21 February 2010, p. 3

<sup>71</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina, “Russia in the New Distribution of Power”, *Emerging Powers in a Comparative Perspective: The Political and Economic Rise of the BRIC Countries*, eds. Vidya Nadkarni and Norma C. Noonan, New York: An Imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013, p. 165

<sup>72</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina, “Russia in the New Distribution of Power”, *Emerging Powers in a Comparative Perspective: The Political and Economic Rise of the BRIC Countries*, eds. Vidya Nadkarni and Norma C. Noonan, New York: An Imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013, p. 165

Basically, they have argued that “the predominant interest of Russia in Europe should be the strengthening of multilateralism as a guarantee against a return to balance of power politics in Europe.”<sup>73</sup> They advocated NATO expansion, “defended its military intervention in Yugoslavia, and even advocated its expansion at the expense of Russia’s traditional sphere of geopolitical interests.” In reality, somebody can hardly imagine any nation “advocating expansion to its borders of a military alliance that has been historically hostile and consistently refused to admit Russia as its member.”<sup>74</sup>

They viewed no serious threat stemming from NATO expansion and believed that it was a “natural reaction of the former Soviet satellites to Russia’s unpredictable behavior.”<sup>75</sup> NATO is the main guarantor of stability in Europe and Russia was interested in NATO’s responsibility for the stability of borders in CEE, a region with potential hotbeds of instability that could endanger Russia and the CIS. They believed once NATO accepted the CEE countries, they would no longer have an incentive to be hostile to Moscow. Thus, partnership between the alliance and Russia could play an important role in resolution of conflicts in Russia’s relations with its neighbors.

NATO allies worried that enlargement might backfire. They were concerned that it could have a negative impact on Russia’s foreign and domestic policy. After the disintegration of the USSR, liberal-westernizers dominated Russian foreign policy. Even, they were blamed by other factions “for making too many concessions to the West, thus encouraging Western politicians to take further advantage of Russia.” However, they had united against objecting NATO expansion even they had different reasons.<sup>76</sup> While ultranationalists condemned “NATO’s decision to expand as the

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<sup>73</sup> Alexander Sergounin, “Russia: IR at a Crossroads”, *International Relations Scholarship around the World*, eds. Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 233

<sup>74</sup> Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov, “A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR”, *International Political Sociology*, Vol 1, Issue 4, 2007, p. 313

<sup>75</sup> Alexander Sergounin, “Russia: IR at a Crossroads”, *International Relations Scholarship around the World*, eds. Arlene B. Tichner and Ole Wæver, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 233

<sup>76</sup> Margot Light, John Lowenhardt and Stephen White, “Russia and the Dual Expansion of Europe”, *Russia between East and West: Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Gabriel Gorodetsky, New York: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003, p.



declaration of a new Cold War”, many reformers, “who were committed consolidation of Russian democracy and to Russia’s increasing integration with the West, feared that this view would strengthen anti-democratic elements in Russian politics.”<sup>77</sup> Their complaint was that the issue of enlargement was fueling Russian nationalism and undermining their efforts to build a pro-Western democratic Russia.<sup>78</sup> Because “the issue lends itself to such xenophobic demagogy, they also tended to oppose NATO enlargement.”<sup>79</sup>

Russian liberals think that “domestic policy and problems are of primary importance and object to Russia’s contemporary pursuit of a great power policy.”<sup>80</sup> In this sense, Russia has to solve problems which were postponed as the Soviet Union pursued a global strategy that required a giant share of its resources. More importantly, they want Russia to focus on domestic problems much more dangerous than NATO enlargement such as “economic decline, organized crime, environmental decay, nationalism and separatism.” For them, “Russian diplomacy should be focused not on resistance to the issue of NATO enlargement, but on dialogue with the alliance about disarmament and confidence-building.”

On the nature of the post-Cold War European security model, “Russian liberal scholars are quite pessimistic on the creation of an effective pan-European structure in which Russia could have a major say.” They think Russia’s foreign policy should not be focused on joining, but on cooperation with Western European organizations “to facilitate its own integration into the world economy and the community of democratic

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<sup>77</sup> Strobe Talbott, “Why NATO Should Grow”, *New York Review of Books*, 1995

<sup>78</sup> Sean Kay, *NATO and European Security*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998, p. 90

<sup>79</sup> Strobe Talbott, “Why NATO Should Grow”, *New York Review of Books*, 1995, p. 27

<sup>80</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina, “Russia in the New Distribution of Power”, *Emerging Powers in a Comparative Perspective: The Political and Economic Rise of the BRIC Countries*, eds. Vidya Nadkarni and Norma C. Noonan, New York: An Imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013, p. 165

states.”<sup>81</sup> This can be achieved through creating mechanisms of extra-institutional cooperation with NATO and other organizations. They were/are satisfied with the PJC cooperative format, and the EU’s Northern Dimension (1999), a joint policy between EU, Russia, Norway and Iceland to promote economic integration, competitiveness and sustainable development in Northern Europe.

### **2.3 Realism and Russia-NATO Relations**

Realism was the dominant theory of international relations in the Cold War years. It dominated “because it provided simple but powerful explanations for war, imperialism, alliances, obstacles to cooperation, and other international phenomena, and because its emphasis on competition was consistent with the central features of the American-Soviet rivalry.”<sup>82</sup> It portrays international politics “as a struggle for power among self-interested states and is generally pessimistic about the prospects for eliminating conflict and war.”

Throughout the Cold War, realist thought in IR discipline evolved considerably and it can be distinguished between two major realist interpretations of international affairs. These are classical realism or state-centric realism and neorealism or system-centric realism. Classical realism or state-centric realism “emphasizes the state as the principal actor in international affairs and the fact there is no authority superior to these sovereign political unit.”<sup>83</sup> Morgenthau and Niebuhr “believed that states had an innate desire to dominate others which led them to fight wars.” Kenneth Waltz developed Neorealism or system-centric realism focusing on the effects of the international system. His version of

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<sup>81</sup> Alexander Sergounin, “Discussions of International Relations in post-Communist Russia”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 37, 2004, p. 27

<sup>82</sup> Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories”, *Foreign Policy*, Issue 10, 1998, p. 2

<sup>83</sup> Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*, New Jersey: Princeton Economic Press, 2001, p. 16

system-centric realism emphasizes the distribution of power among states within international system as the principal determinant of state behavior.

In general, realism makes several assumptions regarding the nature of international politics. First, “states are the main actors in international politics.”<sup>84</sup> Realism assumes international system as anarchic and this interpretation views “the state as the main actor in international politics.” Second, “international anarchy is the main force that shapes states’ motives and actions.” Third, “states in anarchy are preoccupied with power and security and are prone to conflict and competition and international anarchy inhibits their willingness to cooperate even when they share common interests.”<sup>85</sup> Finally, “international institutions have marginal effects on the prospects for cooperation.”<sup>86</sup> Here, it should be noted that realism acknowledges the importance of international institutions in the determination of international affairs. Realism argues that “institutions are unable to mitigate anarchy’s constraining effects on interstate cooperation.”<sup>87</sup> In general, realists view international cooperation as “possible under anarchy, but harder to achieve, more difficult to maintain, and more dependent on state power.”<sup>88</sup> In this respect, realists offer “a pessimistic analysis of the prospects for international cooperation and of the capabilities of international institutions.”

Neorealism assumes that “the international system is an anarchical self-help system in which states must be primarily concerned with their security if they want to survive and

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<sup>84</sup> Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Knopf, 1973, p. 10, Kenneth Waltz, *Theories of International Politics*, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979, p. 95

<sup>85</sup> Robert Gilpin, “The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism”, *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert Keohane, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, p. 304

<sup>86</sup> Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Knopf, 1973, p. 516, Kenneth Waltz, *Theories of International Politics*, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979, pp. 115-116

<sup>87</sup> Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism”, *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3, Summer 1988, p. 485

<sup>88</sup> Joseph M. Grieco, “Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: The Limits of Neoliberal Institutionalism and the Future of Realist Theory”, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism; the Contemporary Debate*, ed. David A. Baldwin, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p. 302

protect their autonomy.”<sup>89</sup> States achieve this goal with power, above all military power. States are “sensitive to changes in the distribution of power in the international system and worry about relative gains of other states and seek to defend and enhance their position in the international power structure.”<sup>90</sup> In principle, states prefer not to align because they value autonomy and therefore “they will not form alliances in the absence of threats and alliances will dissolve when threats disappear.”<sup>91</sup>

Neorealism assumes that states in anarchy ‘balance’ rather than ‘bandwagon’. Actors balance to reduce their risk by opposing the stronger party. In hierarchic political orders, their tendency is to jump on the moving train of a leading candidate, because “losing does not place their security in jeopardy.”<sup>92</sup> They attempt to increase their gains by siding with the winning side. However, in anarchy, bandwagoning “courts disaster by strengthening someone who later may turn on you.”<sup>93</sup> For realist thought, “whereas balance of power theory predicts that states will react to imbalances of power, balance of threat theory predicts that when there imbalance of threat states will form alliance.”<sup>94</sup>

These realist assumptions have deep implications for the understanding of Russia-NATO relations. In order to understand NATO expansion, initially we need to know whether CEE states and NATO members perceived Russia as a potential threat. It was true that CEE states did perceive Russia as a potential threat. In this context, ‘balance of threat theory’ can explain their bid for NATO membership. Although Soviet domination over these countries is over with the collapse of the Soviet Union, they were still

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<sup>89</sup> Kenneth Waltz, *Theories of International Politics*, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979, p.

<sup>90</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig, “NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2-3, p. 202

<sup>91</sup> Lars S. Skalnes, “From the Outside in, from the Inside Out: NATO Expansion and International Relations Theory”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998, p. 59

<sup>92</sup> Kenneth Waltz, *Theories of International Politics*, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979, p. 126

<sup>93</sup> Jack Donnelly, ‘Realism’, *Theories of International Relations*, eds. Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak, Jack Donnelly, Mathew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smith and Jacqui True, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 36

<sup>94</sup> Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London, 1990, p. 263

suspicious of new Russia. Therefore, it was considered reasonable for these states “to balance a potential Russian threat by joining NATO – just as west European countries flocked to the United States during the Cold War, although the Soviet Union had always been the weaker superpower.”<sup>95</sup>

The initial reason why these states sought for NATO membership was the fact that Russia was still pursuing its foreign policy within the realist view of international relations. For them, the alliance would protect them from Russia’s expansionist tendencies. In other words, they perceive(d) it as a security blanket protecting them from Russia. In the realist perspective, the bid for NATO membership of these countries is considered as an effort “to win an insurance policy against a Russian resurgence and to balance Moscow rather than all-out embracement of Western democratic values and practices.” With the collapse of the Soviet Union, they wished to keep the status quo, “agreeing with the centrality of the United States and the lack of spheres of influence, so, through joining the champion of the Cold War, the strongest security guarantee existing, they choose the balance against the threat that Russia could pose against them.”<sup>96</sup>

A number of realist strategists such as Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and William Odom supported NATO enlargement. They hoped that the ‘banwagoning’ effect would take hold and feared that the ‘balancing’ phenomenon would re-emerge. Their thesis can be summarized as follows:

If NATO does not admit CEE states, a strategic void will develop between Germany and Russia, increasing the likelihood of confrontation between these two great powers and the emergence of an unstable, multipolar system in Europe; the admission process should be launched and completed rapidly to take advantage of Russia’s weakness (its military weakness in particular) and prevent Russia from its former sphere of influence; NATO enlargement opens the possibility of new security architecture in Europe. Although the inclusion of

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<sup>95</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig, “NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2-3, p. 205

<sup>96</sup> Alina Mogoş, “NATO-Russia: Predictable Relationship”, *Journal of European Studies and International Relations*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2012, p. 42

Russia in this architecture is the subject of considerable debate, the realists generally reject as nonsensical the possibility of Russian membership in NATO.<sup>97</sup>

Other realists such as George Kennan, Michael Mandelbaum, and Michael Brown opposed NATO enlargement fearing that eastward expansion may cause a ‘debalancing’. Their main points were:

Russia currently poses no threat, but hasty enlargement could herald the return to power of a radical nationalist regime in Moscow, creating equivalent of a Weimar Russia dedicated to rebuilding a security zone in opposition to NATO: for example, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) might be turned into a military alliance; once the enlargement process is under way, Russia would be less to honor disarmament treaties or generally to maintain the climate of trust that has developed between it and the United States, particularly since it would fear further eastward moves by NATO, drawing ever closer to its borders; If CEE states truly feel threatened, why are they scaling back their military forces and why have countries with legitimate concerns, such as Ukraine, expressed no intention of joining NATO? In reality, there is no strategic void in Central and Eastern Europe. On the other hand, the enlargement formula raises the whole question of exclusion – that is, discriminatory treatment meted out to the countries that want to join NATO but are being shut out of the process (at least for now); a new security architecture already exists in the form of ‘common security’. It has yielded the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) disarmament agreements, confidence building measures, and the shift towards defensive military doctrines. In seeking a military alliance with the Central and Eastern European States, NATO would be undermining the progress of common security in favor of a conception of defense rendered obsolete by the end of the Cold War.<sup>98</sup>

‘Balance of power theory’ cannot explain their interest in NATO membership. Their bid for membership is a clear example of ‘bandwagoning’ – occurs when a state aligns with the winning power and alliance in times of fundamental change in the international system. This contradicts the balance of power theory. According to Kenneth Waltz,

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<sup>97</sup> Charles-Philippe David, “Fountain of Youth or Cure Worse than Disease? NATO Enlargement: A Conceptual Deadlock”, *The Future of NATO: Enlargement, Russia and European Security*, eds. Charles-Philippe David and Jacques Levesque, Quebec: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999, p. 16

<sup>98</sup> Charles-Philippe David, “Fountain of Youth or Cure Worse than Disease? NATO Enlargement: A Conceptual Deadlock”, *The Future of NATO: Enlargement, Russia and European Security*, eds. Charles-Philippe David and Jacques Levesque, Quebec: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999, pp. 16-17

“secondary states, if they are free to choose, flock to the weaker side; for it is the stronger side that threatens them. On the weaker side, they are both more appreciated and safer, provided, of course, that the coalition they join achieves enough defensive or deterrent strength to dissuade adversaries from attacking.”<sup>99</sup> However, it can be argued that Russia, with its nuclear second-strike capability, could have provided the CEE states with the security benefits of deterrence and defense.

At that time, NATO member states had little reason to perceive Russia as a threat. One of the scholars argued that “if we restrict our attention to Russian power and offensive capabilities, Russia does not pose a threat to either Western or Eastern Europe, much less to the United States.”<sup>100</sup> This shows that because a neorealist explanation relies on threat and because Russia did not constitute a threat, neorealism cannot explain why the alliance would expand. Moreover, with its systemic-level focus, it cannot explain why NATO membership was linked to domestic reforms in prospective member states.

Russia’s exclusion from NATO enlargement is consistent with neorealism. “Alliances are against, and only derivatively for, someone, or something”<sup>101</sup> and “advisory relations provide the *raison d’être* for alliances and alignments; so much is obvious.”<sup>102</sup> In this sense, because Russia is regarded as the only conceivable enemy of the alliance in Europe, NATO expansion should stop short of including Russia. According to the realist

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<sup>99</sup> Kenneth Waltz, *Theories of International Politics*, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979, p. 127

<sup>100</sup> He supported his arguments as follows: ‘In keeping with the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, much of Russian firepower is concentrated east of the Ural Mountains. The Russian military is badly organized – witness Chechnya – and furthermore the army operates at considerably below authorized manpower levels. The military is currently unable to launch a conventional attack on Western Europe and would require at least a year before it could do so, a condition that gives the West adequate time to respond to a Russian conventional build-up. Moreover, if threat really were the main motive underlying NATO enlargement, the strategic locations of countries such as Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania would have made them the prime candidates for membership. The fact that these countries probably will be excluded from joining, at least in the first round, also suggests that perception of threat is not a very important motive for NATO.’, Lars S. Skalnes, “From the Outside in, from the Inside Out: NATO Expansion and International Relations Theory”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998, p. 64

<sup>101</sup> George Liska, *Nations in Alliance: The Limits of Interdependence*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1962, p. 12

<sup>102</sup> Glen H. Snyder, “Alliances, Balance, and Stability”, *International Organization*, Vol. 45, No. 1, Winter 1991, p. 125

view, Russia's full membership in NATO "would undermine American leadership" and its veto right "would challenge a consensual decision-making culture of the alliance."<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the significant impediments would be "the integration of Russian armed forces with those of the alliance and the management of the Russian nuclear arsenal." It should be also noted that another reason why neorealism consistent with Russia's exclusion might be NATO's unwilling to internalize Russia's problems such as Chechnya.

From the realist view, preclusion is considered to be the only reason for the alliance's decision to enlarge. Russia's relative weakness in the post-Cold War era provided NATO a unique opportunity to expand eastwards. "If in the future Russia regained strength and returned to its traditional policy toward CEE states, enlarged NATO would be able to deny Russia the restoration of the former Soviet hegemonic sphere."<sup>104</sup> However, as many critics have noted, NATO eastward enlargement "would inevitably fuel Russian suspicions and jeopardize relations between Russia and the West."<sup>105</sup> For the time being, Russia's weakness diminished such concerns but would provoke a threat in the future. For me, Russia's opposition to Ukraine and Georgia's bid for NATO membership, Russia's military actions Georgia and its military intervention in Ukraine crisis proved some realists' concerns to be true.

Realist narratives emphasize that Russia perceives NATO as a military enterprise and they argue that the alliance's projection beyond its traditional area has undermined relations between Russia and the West. In the realist view, NATO expansion is considered as "an effort to extend Western influence - well beyond the traditional sphere

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<sup>103</sup> Luca Ratti, "Resetting' NATO-Russia Relations: A Realist Appraisal Two Decades after the USSR", *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 26, No.2, 2013, p. 159

<sup>104</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig, "NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation", *Security Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2-3, p. 207

<sup>105</sup> Stephen M. Walt, "Why Alliances Endure or Collapse", *Survival*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 1997, p. 173



of US vital interests - during a period of Russian weakness and was/is likely to provoke a harsh response from Moscow.”<sup>106</sup>

Realists are very attached to the concept of sphere of influence. The Russians show the same feeling. Although Russia faced general loss of influence in world affairs with the collapse of the Soviet Union, it refused to simply abandon its Great Power status. As a result, Russia tried to re-establish its predominance in the former Soviet area. In 1993, Yeltsin “initiated a greater assertiveness in foreign policy by introducing namely a neo-imperialist policy towards the former Soviet republics, the so called ‘near abroad’.”<sup>107</sup> ‘Near abroad’ policy can be considered at the equivalent of the sphere of influence policy as the principles are the same. Taking this point into consideration and the zero-sum game that prevails in the Russian thinking, we can understand Russia’s view of the NATO expansion to the East. Since 1997, it has been viewed by all Russia’s foreign policy documents as a threat to its national security. The 1997 National Security Concept maintained that “the creation by major powers of powerful groupings of armed forces in regions adjacent to Russia’s territory remains a threat to Russia’s national security in the defense sphere.”<sup>108</sup> Although the 2000 National Security Concept did not specify what countermeasures it considered appropriate, it referred to the NATO’s expansion to the East as one of the ‘main threats’ to Russian national security in the ‘international sphere’.<sup>109</sup>

Faced with the alliance’s activism in its ‘near abroad’, Russia turned back to a number of Great Power tactics; in 2002, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)

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<sup>106</sup> Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories”, *Foreign Policy*, Issue 10, 1998, p. 1

<sup>107</sup> Lionel Ponsard, “The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO”, *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 63

<sup>108</sup> Lawrence T. Caldwell, “Russian Concepts of National Security”, *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century & the Shadow of the Past*, ed. Robert Levgold, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 314

<sup>109</sup> Lawrence T. Caldwell, “Russian Concepts of National Security”, *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century & the Shadow of the Past*, ed. Robert Levgold, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 314

was created and its Rapid Deployment Force for Central Asia was deployed at a new Kant airbase in Kyrgyzstan which was established in 2003 in the vicinity of an American contingent; at the Minks summit in 2006, its member states pledged to expand the collective force's zone of operation beyond CSTO's territory; "in order to balance NATO's influence in the CIS, Russia also employed Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which comprises China, Russia and the four Central Asian countries."<sup>110</sup>

From the realist perspective, the events of 11 September 2001 marked no paradigm shift in relations between NATO and Russia. Their strategies have been influenced less by the events like the September 11 but more by underlying structural factors and concerns. In this sense, one of the scholars argued that

Moscow continues to view the NATO's expanding role and its involvement in Afghanistan as a strategy, which among others, aimed at besieging Russia from the Baltic to the Black Sea and Central Asia, rather than at expanding a democratic security community; for this reason, it has resisted many of the alliance's endeavors, while attempting to reestablish a degree of influence over former Soviet republics in Europe and Central Asia... In the realist view therefore, even after 9/11 cooperation could only take on a limited basis, as a genuine engagement between NATO and Russia was deterred by conflicting strategic priorities.<sup>111</sup>

The creation of the NRC in 2002 to promote cooperation on common threats is consistent with neorealism. Although the NRC does not constitute an alliance, neorealists can also explain its creation in terms of the threats such as nuclear proliferation, arms race and terrorism that could pose to the alliance. In the case of the Founding Act, the fact that NATO insisted the Act to be legally non-binding is also consistent with the realist claim that states try to preserve their autonomy.

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<sup>110</sup> Vincent Pouliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 220

<sup>111</sup> Luca Ratti, "NATO-Russia Relations after 9/11: New Challenges, Old Issues", *NATO beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, eds. Ellen Hallams, Luca Ratti and Benjamin Zyla, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 266

Russia, a member of an anarchic system, considers that ‘no one is entitled to command and no one is obliged to obey.’<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the states must take into account Russia’s interests. As we witnessed during the Georgia war in 2008, “Russia has no moral obligation to restrain from any action if its interests are at stake.”<sup>113</sup> More importantly, Russia’s military actions in Georgia and its recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent republics showed that despite cooperating with NATO, it is able to undertake actions to protect its interests. In this way, we can understand why Russia constantly opposes NATO expansion and some other NATO’s actions. According to the 2010 Military Doctrine, Russia views NATO member countries’ movement of military infrastructure to the borders of Russia and NATO expansion as a primary threat to its security.<sup>114</sup> Moscow was to adjust its military doctrine by the end of 2014 in accordance with NATO expansion, problems of missile defense and the crisis in Ukraine in 2014.

Russia has demonstrated the significance of the power politics in international politics. According to classical realism, the nature of international relations is “conflictual and the world politics is considered as a power politics.”<sup>115</sup> Despite its general loss of influence in world affairs with the end of the Cold War, “Moscow has always mentioned to put Russia in the right place in the world politics” expecting NATO member states to respect its ‘legitimate interests’ and to treat it on the special terms.<sup>116</sup> The establishment of the PJC and the NRC can be given as an example in this regard. At the same time, Moscow is “reluctant to any interference” in its ‘near abroad’ and its military acts in

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<sup>112</sup> Kenneth Waltz, *Theories of International Politics*, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979, p. 88

<sup>113</sup> Alina Mogoş, “NATO-Russia: Predictable Relationship”, *Journal of European Studies and International Relations*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2012, p. 42

<sup>114</sup> The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, 5 February 2010, [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia\\_military\\_doctrine.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia_military_doctrine.pdf), accessed on 12 December 2014

<sup>115</sup> ‘Power politics’ which focuses on the potential of conflict among the great powers, zero-sum game and the logic of the zones of influence’ See Jacek Wieclawski, “Contemporary Realism and the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation”, *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol 2, No. 1, 2011, p. 173

<sup>116</sup> Jacek Wieclawski, “Contemporary Realism and the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation”, *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol 2, No. 1, 2011, p. 172

Georgia showed that it is “determined to use the military force to keep its influence there, irrespective of the international consequences.”<sup>117</sup>

In the foreign policy context, Moscow emphasizes restoration of Russia’s international prestige and elimination “of the levers of influence that Western countries have had on Russia since the end of the Cold War.”<sup>118</sup> This policy is very similar to prestige-seeking approach that Hans J. Morgenthau identifies as one of three basic assumptions of the struggle for power. For Morgenthau, prestige ‘is the policy of demonstrating the power a nation has or think it has, or wants other nations to believe it has’ and is a means of demonstrating power to achieve short or long term goals.<sup>119</sup> Here, Putin’s determined effort to re-establish Moscow’s sphere of influence in the former Soviet area to demonstrate his country’s power is good example in this regard. He also wanted to re-establish the credibility of the Russian army. Russia accomplished both with its military actions in Georgia. In this sense, Moscow’s efforts “to demonstrate its power and ensure that it receives the respect it deserves” are consistent with Morgenthau’s description of a prestige-seeking state.<sup>120</sup>

After Russia’s military action in Georgia and its military intervention in Ukraine, the activities of the NRC were suspended. These actions showed that despite cooperating with NATO in the NRC, Russia is ready to undertake actions deemed necessary to protect its interests. Therefore, although cooperation between Russia and NATO member states in the NRC presents an example of international cooperation, it has been

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<sup>117</sup> Jacek Wieclawski, “Contemporary Realism and the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation”, *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol 2, No. 1, 2011, p. 173

<sup>118</sup> Olga Oliker, Keith Crane, Lowell H. Schwartz and Catherine Yusupov, *Russian Foreign Policy: Sources and Implications*, RAND Corporation, 2009, p. 89, [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND\\_MG768.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG768.pdf), accessed on 14 December 2014

<sup>119</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, pp. 67-79

<sup>120</sup> Olga Oliker, Keith Crane, Lowell H. Schwartz and Catherine Yusupov, *Russian Foreign Policy: Sources and Implications*, RAND Corporation, 2009, p. 90, [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND\\_MG768.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG768.pdf), accessed on 14 December 2014

functioning in accordance with power politics and concerns of Russia. Here, Russia's actions are consistent with the realist assumptions that "the states in anarchy are preoccupied with power and security and are prone to conflict and competition and international anarchy inhibits their willingness to cooperate even when they share common interests."

The cooperation between Russia and NATO in the NRC had been crucially circumscribed. We have not witnessed a spillover effect between low and high politics. Although the NRC had been a forum where many practical activities initiated and developed, this did not result in a broader strategic or political rapprochement between Russia and NATO allies. As a result, despite the NRC's achievements, the relationship between Russia and NATO still remains constantly prone to disruption as a result of long-term disputes or disagreements unresolved. All these developments are in line with the general realist view that "international cooperation is possible under anarchy, but it is harder to achieve, more difficult to maintain and more dependent on state power." According to realism, "international institutions have marginal effects on the prospects for cooperation and they are unable to mitigate anarchy's constraining effects on interstate cooperation." The developments around the NRC are in line with realism's "offer of a pessimistic analysis of the prospects for international cooperation and of the capabilities of international institutions."

After the Georgia crisis in 2008, the Obama administration sought to reset relations with Russia. This 'reset' policy soon embraced by NATO. The activities of the NRC were resumed. As a result, the relations between Russia and NATO had slowly improved since early 2009. These developments can be explained with the structural realism "which argues that international institutions behave as proxies of their more powerful states."<sup>121</sup> However, the 'reset' policy could not advance Russia's integration in the Euro-Atlantic settlement. Putin's unwillingness to participate at the NATO Chicago Summit in 2012 can be seen as a significant feature of the relationship. According to

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<sup>121</sup> Luca Ratti, "'Resetting' NATO-Russia Relations: A Realist Appraisal Two Decades after the USSR", *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 26, No.2, 2013, p. 142

liberal and also constructivist scholars, this was the result of “Moscow’s resistance to fully embrace liberal-democratic values and of underdeveloped cooperative practices.” In contrast, according to the realists, “both previous attempts to engage Russia and the limited achievements of the ‘reset’ policy were the consequence of the lack of adequate systemic incentives to a full integration of Russia within the alliance.”<sup>122</sup>

Russian foreign policy has been reflecting the most of the main assumptions of the classical realism. For the most cases, Russia has demonstrated “the state’s central role in international relations, the aim of its power and priority of its national interests, self-help nature of its foreign policy in international politics” as well as its leaders’ motivations in foreign and security policies. Russian foreign policy reflects the classical realist assumptions that the states are the main actors in international politics and its attitude towards international organizations is line with classical realism. The Russian approach to the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) are the best examples in this regard. The NRC is another forum in which Russia and NATO member states work as equal partners in areas of common interest. Putin sought to improve relations with NATO and wanted to increase Moscow’s influence on NATO’s decision-making. Eventually, in 2002, Russia and NATO allies created the NRC which would give Russia decision-making rights. Since then, the NRC had provided a “new mechanism for consultation consensus-building, cooperation, joint-decision and joint action” for Russia and NATO member states on a range of security issues in the Euro-Atlantic region.<sup>123</sup>

Russia also demonstrated another fundamental classical realist assumption “about the anarchy in international relations and priority of the state’s interest.”<sup>124</sup> For Russia,

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<sup>122</sup> Luca Ratti, “‘Resetting’ NATO-Russia Relations: A Realist Appraisal Two Decades after the USSR”, *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 26, No.2, 2013, p. 159

<sup>123</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>124</sup> “Realism assumes that international system is anarchic meaning there is no superior authority able to enforce its rules over the community of sovereign states. This leads to the focus on the national interests considered as the fundamental criteria for effectiveness of any state’s foreign policy.”

national interest comes first in its foreign policy and it has been reflected “by all important official documents” and they have “often made impression that Russia is not interested in any international cooperation that does not satisfy its interests.”<sup>125</sup> The national interest is the key concept both in the National Security Concepts and Foreign Policy Concepts of the Russian Federation adopted in 2000 and 2008. Realism assumes that the states act in accordance with their interests and the interests are defined in terms of power. They pursue their interests to maximize their power and security. In the case of Russia, power means both economic power and capacity to influence other states’ decision. In the realist perspective, “the political means need to adjust to pursuing national interests and to combating the forces that threaten the interests.”<sup>126</sup> According to the 2000 National Security Concept, the key national interest of Russia is sustainable economic development and in international sphere, it is “to strengthen its positions as a great power and as one of the influential centers of a multipolar world...”<sup>127</sup> The same document stresses in several times that Russia “continues to play an important role in global processes” despite the fact that some states deny this role ignoring Russian interests. In the 2000 Putin’s Foreign Policy Concept, the priority of Russian foreign policy is to “achieve firm and prestigious positions in the world community, most fully consistent with the interest of the Russian Federation as a great power...”<sup>128</sup> In the 2008 Medvedev’s Foreign Policy Concept, the same main interests are also emphasized that reflect the same realist perspectives over international politics.

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<sup>125</sup> Jacek Wieclawski, “Contemporary Realism and the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation”, *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol 2, No. 1, 2011, p. 171

<sup>126</sup> Robert N Berki, “Political Realism”,

<sup>127</sup> “National Security Concept of the Russian Federation, approved by Presidential Decree No. 24 of 10 January 2000”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-osndoc.nsf/1e5f0de28fe77fdcc32575d900298676/36aba64ac09f737fc32575d9002bbf31!OpenDocument>, accessed on 12 December 2014

<sup>128</sup> “The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, approved by the President of the Russian Federation V. Putin, 28 June 2000”, <http://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>, accessed on 12 December 2014

Russia has always protected its interests in cooperation with international actors.<sup>129</sup> Moscow's lack of confidence to other international actors and its perception of external threats to its interests are important factors that shape its foreign policy. Moscow's objection to NATO enlargement and its campaign against the US missile defense plans in Central Europe are good examples in this sense. On the Western side, one way of securing Russia's non-opposition to NATO enlargement was to reaffirm the pledge in the Founding Act that the NATO member states had "no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of new members."<sup>130</sup> When Russia voiced anxiety that further deployments might be followed after the second round of NATO enlargement in 2004, at the NRC meeting, the alliance member states "reiterated its previous pledges regarding the non-deployment of nuclear weapons and substantial conventional armaments on a permanent basis on the territories of the new members."<sup>131</sup>

Classical realists pay special attention to power, especially military potential of the state. For the sake of its effective foreign policy, state attempts to increase its power, especially its military capabilities. Russia's military capabilities have indeed played a key role in its foreign policy and "facing the problems with the modernization of its conventional armed forces Moscow has used a card of its nuclear arsenal instead."<sup>132</sup> Here, Russia's threat to deploy Iskander-M tactical missiles in the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad, nestled between NATO members of Poland and Lithuania, to neutralize interceptor missiles and radar station that the US wants to cite in Central Europe is good

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<sup>129</sup> In the realist perspective, the priority of national interests comes from the state's lack of confidence to any other subjects in the international arena. The anarchic nature of international politics means the self-help character of the state's foreign policy and each state relies on its capabilities to provide security and protect interests.

<sup>130</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>131</sup> Zdzislaw Lachowski and Pal Dunay, "Conventional Arms Control and Military Confidence Building", *SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 655

<sup>132</sup> Jacek Wieclawski, "Contemporary Realism and the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation", *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol 2, No. 1, 2011, p. 172



example in this regard.<sup>133</sup> Putin, during his discussion with Ukraine President Viktor Yushchenko on the possibility of Ukraine's membership in NATO, stated if Ukraine permitted NATO to deploy its missile defense system on its territory, it too could be targeted by Russian nuclear arsenal in case Russia felt that the US plans could weaken Russia's nuclear deterrent.<sup>134</sup>

In international politics, sometimes the behavior of the leaders has a great impact on any country's foreign and security policy. For Morgenthau, leaders of states are motivated by their lust for power.<sup>135</sup> He also assumed that the statesmen "think and act in terms of interests defined as power."<sup>136</sup> This is reflected in Putin's role in the Ukraine crisis and the annexation of Crimea in 2014 by Russia after which the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO in the NRC was affected. His attitude towards NATO's open door policy and the issue of missile defense are also good examples in this regard.

Russian realists are not interested in international institutions and a more democratic world order instead they emphasize "growing national power as the main interests of Russia in world politics." While liberals stress the possibilities for achieving international agreements and cooperation, realists put emphasis on principal differences of interests among major actors in world politics. They "see the world culturally diverse" and "emphasize conflict over cooperation in relationships among different civilizations." They are mostly anti-Western and are in favor of "building close relations with Asian and Muslim nations to contain the West's drive for domination."<sup>137</sup> For them,

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<sup>133</sup> Tom Parfitt and Ian Traynor, "US rejects Kremlin's Call to Scrap Missile Shield", *the Guardian*, 14 November 2008, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/nov/14/medvedev-nuclear-missiles-robert-gates>, accessed on 14 November 2014

<sup>134</sup> Vladimir Putin, "Press Conference following Talks with President of Ukraine Yushchenko", Moscow, February 2007

<sup>135</sup> Colin Elman, "Realism", *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction*, ed. Marthin Griffiths, New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 13

<sup>136</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, pp. 5-6

<sup>137</sup> Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov, "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR", *International Political Sociology*, Vol 1, Issue 4, 2007, p. 319

Russia should continue “with an international strategy based on its historic traditions, political culture and attributes of a great power.”<sup>138</sup> For them, the “world is a field of competition for natural resources and influence, and Russian policy makers need to work “to ensure favorable environment and conditions for Russia’s economic development and security and the growth of its influence in regional and world politics.”<sup>139</sup>

For Russian realists, the external political threats are the attempts to challenge the territorial integrity of Russia, blocking of integration processes in the CIS, political instability in neighboring countries, and efforts to weaken Russia’s role in international organizations. Among external military threats are armed conflicts in the proximity of Russia, nuclear proliferation, and lack of proper borders. Although they favor peaceful methods to meet security challenges, they do not rule out the use military force if differences between states’ vital interests could not be reconciled.

Russian realists agree that Russian foreign policy strategy must be based upon national interests. However, they disagree on the foreign policy orientation for Russia. Some realists support concentration on the former Soviet area. Others suggest “the answer to global challenges in a creation of Russia-China axis against the US or in establishing geo-economic cooperation by developing relations with Asia.”<sup>140</sup> Although some of them support an alliance with the West, they attach great importance on conditions acceptable to Russia.

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<sup>138</sup> Tatyana Shakleyina, “Russian Debates on Relations with the United States”, *International Studies Association 51<sup>st</sup> Annual Convention*, New Orleans, 17-21 February 2010, p. 10

<sup>139</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina, “Russia in the New Distribution of Power”, *Emerging Powers in a Comparative Perspective: The Political and Economic Rise of the BRIC Countries*, eds. Vidya Nadkarni and Norma C. Noonan, New York: An Imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013, p. 166

<sup>140</sup> In part, these disagreements among them can be attributed to their diverse perceptions of the external threat. Some associate main threat with the US global hegemonic ambitions and its efforts to turn the world into American interest. Such efforts and ambitions, they argue, increase pressures upon the existing world order and do not leave any room for the self-regulating and natural mechanisms of international relations to play their critical role and reduce the world’s escalating tensions. Others, however, do not relate Russia’s main threats to the activities of the US. In their view, Russia must cooperate with the US and other countries in addressing more serious threats, such as controlling nuclear and conventional arms proliferation, terrorism, and drug trafficking. Tatyana A. Shakleyina and Aleksei D. Bogaturov, “The Russian Realist School of International Relations”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 37, 2004, p. 42

On the issue of European security, Russian realists think that in a multipolar world “only a flexible pan-European security system can guarantee a balance of power in Europe and the national sovereignty of particular countries.”<sup>141</sup> They think the OSCE, in which Russia has equal role with other major Western powers, can be the core of such a security system. Russia officially favored the OSCE to regulate European security than NATO since Russia and the US have an equal role in this organization. Russia, as an alternative to NATO expansion, had supported to upgrade the OSCE, thus it could give “Moscow a degree of influence over security arrangements in Europe while confirming Russia’s role as the main player in CIS security.”<sup>142</sup> Russian realists oppose NATO expansion view it as “detrimental to the regional security system and Russia’s security.” Although they accept NATO’s positive role in European security, they favor the OSCE as the main collective security organization in Europe. For them, “Kosovo crisis is an evidence of the threat emanating from the NATO-centric European security model.”<sup>143</sup>

For Russian realists, September 11 is seen as the return of the 19<sup>th</sup> century-like world, in which selfish national interests prevailed and international organizations were unable to prevent the spread of violence, meaning Russia should be prepared to build and shift coalitions based on its national interests. They give Russia’s cooperation with the US in Afghanistan and its alliance with Germany and France over Iraq as examples of such ad hoc coalitions. Although Russian realists acknowledge the obvious superiority of the US as the world’s only remaining superpower, they interpret the situation from their own power perspective. Some realists argue the developing trend towards multipolarity. Some of them see the world as unipolar in its structure. Some others propose a compromise concept of ‘pluralistic unipolarity’, meaning “there is only one pole in the world that has collective nature consisting of the US and other G-8 countries united in

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<sup>141</sup> Alexander Sergounin, “Russia: IR at a Crossroads”, *International Relations Scholarship around the World*, eds. Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 234

<sup>142</sup> Angela E. Stent, *Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, the Soviet Collapse, and the New Europe*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998, p. 229

<sup>143</sup> Alexander Sergounin, “Discussions of International Relations in post-Communist Russia”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 37, 2004, p. 25

their ability to influence international affairs and by shared sense of responsibility for maintaining stability in the world.”<sup>144</sup> However, there are realists who believe the possibility of a multipolar world in which Russia could become one of the power poles, especially in the post-Soviet space. They also believe Russia should also work on strengthening international collective decision-making bodies such as G-8 and the UN. The G-8 is seen as less informal but more flexible and reliable security regime and suggested that China and India be included to make it more authoritative and representative. The UNSC “could be useful when there is a consensus between the five permanent members or Russia could block undesirable initiative and strategies.”<sup>145</sup>

**Table 1 Russian liberal and realist perspectives on international politics based on foreign policy orientation.**<sup>146</sup>

<b>Philosophical World View</b>	<b>Atlanticism (Liberalism)</b>		<b>Realism</b>	
<b>Support Group</b>	West-oriented Liberals		Pragmatic Statists	
<b>Politician</b>	A. Kozyrev	M. Gorbachev	V. Putin	E. Primakov
<b>Foreign policy Orientation</b>	Globalism		Pragmatic Internationalism	Pragmatic Internationalism
<b>Attitude toward the West</b>	Cooperation with the West		Great power pragmatism	Great power balance
<b>IP perspective Pattern</b>	Convergence pattern (Interdependence)		Compromising pattern (influence and international prestige)	

<sup>144</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina and Aleksei D. Bogaturov, “The Russian Realist School of International Relations”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 37, 2004, p. 41

<sup>145</sup> Alexander Sergounin, “Russia: IR at a Crossroads”, *International Relations Scholarship around the World*, eds. Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Waeber, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 231

<sup>146</sup> Shin Beom-Shink, “Russia’s Perspectives on International Politics: A Comparison of Liberalist, Realist and Geopolitical Paradigms”, *Acta Slavica Japonica*, No. 26, 2009, p. 7

In the post-Soviet era, Russian diplomacy has been transformed according to the Kozyrev doctrine, the Primakov doctrine and the Putin doctrine. They are defined by Russian scholars as ‘Liberal Westernism’, ‘Great Power Balancing’, and ‘Great Power Pragmatism’. In the first half of the 1990s, “many IR scholars and politicians favored Russia’s pro-American foreign policy, accepting the argument of the benefits unipolarity could bring.”<sup>147</sup> They made little effort to define Russia’s status and national interest in the global context and foreign policy experts did not use the realist concepts of great power (*velikoderzhavnost*) and balance of power.

Under the Kozyrev doctrine, pro-Western liberalism played a major role in defining Russian foreign policy. Kozyrev did not support a great power policy for his country. In 1992-1995 Russia pursued a one-dimensional course towards closer cooperation with the West. It had not articulated “a convincing justification for deferring to Western leadership as it had not yet developed a coherent vision of its own interests”, for many Russian observers, “the pursuit of integration with the West in the early 1990s was less a strategic decision than an indication that Russia lacked a strategy entirely.”<sup>148</sup> The first Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (1993) neither provided an accurate portrayal of the international situation that Russia faced after 1991 nor clearly formulated Russia’s plans and ambitions in a geopolitically changed situation. Although the CIS was defined as the number one priority, liberal experts and politicians had not viewed it to be the main focus of Russian foreign policy. However, even at this time, the Russian realists contributed much to Russia’s understanding of its role and strategy in the world, “pointing out that the global period of Russia’s foreign policy had ended and a new continental one had begun, and recommending that Russia focus on its

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<sup>147</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina and Aleksei D. Bogaturov, “The Russian Realist School of International Relations”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 37, 2004, p. 44

<sup>148</sup> Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: the Return of Great Power Politics*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012, p. 37

regional priorities and rethink its prestige and influence in pragmatic and economic terms.”<sup>149</sup>

Significant challenges to Kozyrev’s “pro-Western liberal Russian foreign policy not only came from outside, or NATO expansion, but also from internal changes that resulted in more fundamental changes to Russian foreign policy.”<sup>150</sup> His foreign policy faced strong resistance from patriotic nationalists which triggered externally by NATO expansion and internally by Russian society’s conservative response to the liberal reform measures. In this sense, Primakov was appointed as the new Foreign Minister in 1996 when developments were already pushing Russia in a more assertive direction. This event had facilitated the adoption of multipolar world concept as the basis of Russia’s new foreign policy. He “echoed the need for a Russian multipolar policy not exclusively focused on the West”<sup>151</sup> and sought to redefine and strengthen Russia’s national interest by shifting its foreign policy priority to the East. His foreign policy shift included strengthening the near abroad policy announcing Russia’s new commitment to building close relations with the CIS. Furthermore, he made progress in establishing an alliance between Russia and Belarus. He also continuously attempted to form a trilateral alliance with India and China. He pressed hard to build up a strategic partnership with most notably China. In 1997, two governments released a joint statement which “characterized the world as multipolar and expressed their opposition to any country seeking to practice power politics and to monopolize international affairs.”<sup>152</sup> Although it did not result in success, at times, he considered an idea of building a counterhegemonic bloc of countries like China, Iran, North Korea and Cuba. However, he also pursued active bilateral dialogue with the US and NATO. He carried much of the

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<sup>149</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina and Aleksei D. Bogaturov, “The Russian Realist School of International Relations”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 37, 2004, pp. 44-45

<sup>150</sup> Shin Beom-Shink, “Russia’s Perspectives on International Politics: A Comparison of Liberalist, Realist and Geopolitical Paradigms”, *Acta Slavica Japonica*, No. 26, 2009, p. 7

<sup>151</sup> Angela Stent, “Reluctant Europeans: Three Centuries of Russian of Russian Ambivalence Toward the West”, ed. Robert Legvold, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 419

<sup>152</sup> Coit D. Blacker, “Russia and the West”, *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, ed. Michael Mandelbaum, New York: the Council of Foreign Relations, 1998, p. 184

bilateral negotiations with his Western colleagues on NATO expansion and the conclusion of the NATO-Russia Founding Act in 1997. He had constantly underlined, as consistently acted as if he accepts, “the central importance of maintaining the best possible relations with Cold War adversaries to help safeguard regional and international stability and to assist Russia’s own economic and political transformation.”<sup>153</sup>

Contrary to rhetorical Primakov doctrine, Russia’s perspective on international politics under Putin was based on realism and pragmatism. If external conditions were favorable to Russia, it would pursue West-friendly foreign policy as it did after September 11. But if conditions changed, it would pursue another foreign policy as in Putin’s second term, “in a discourse that reemphasized a multipolar world order and an obvious countercheck against the US unilateralism.”<sup>154</sup> This is evident in Russia’s policy toward Eurasia since 2005 and toward the West since 2007.

Medvedev who came to power in 2008 followed in the track of the Russian realists. Although he sought to avoid any confrontation with the West, he “made it clear that he would not stand systemic attempts of the US and NATO to establish absolute dominance over Russia, to deprive Russia of having an independent policy, and that he would not make one-sided concessions.”<sup>155</sup> Russia strongly opposed further NATO expansion and NATO decided not to offer Georgia and Ukraine Membership Action Plans (MAP) in 2008, even though the alliance stated that both would eventually become NATO members.

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<sup>153</sup> Coit D. Blacker, “Russia and the West”, *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, ed. Michael Mandelbaum, New York: the Council of Foreign Relations, 1998, p. 184

<sup>154</sup> Shin Beom-Shink, “Russia’s Perspectives on International Politics: A Comparison of Liberalist, Realist and Geopolitical Paradigms”, *Acta Slavica Japonica*, No. 26, 2009, p. 9

<sup>155</sup> Tatyana A. Shakleyina, “Russia in the New Distribution of Power”, *Emerging Powers in a Comparative Perspective: The Political and Economic Rise of the BRIC Countries*, eds. Vidya Nadkarni and Norma C. Noonan, New York: An Imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013, p. 173

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined Russia-NATO relations from liberal and realist perspectives of IR theory. In relation to discussion in this chapter, it argues that realism is more consistent than liberalism in explaining the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO after the creation of the NRC in 2002. It examined liberalism and its main assumptions that have inspired the liberal analysis of Russia-NATO relations since the end of the Cold War. Then, it revealed that NATO's new mission was to construct a new security order in Europe on the basis of shared liberal democratic values and that it pursued this vision by developing a variety of political tools such as the NACC and the PfP. It has developed special arrangements with Russia like the Founding Act and the NRC. From the liberal perspective, since 1991, the alliance has taken the shape of an institutional regime whose policy shaped by liberal democratic principles and values. In the liberal logic, after September 11, liberals had anticipated a gradual converge of interests between Russia and NATO. They institutionalized their relationship by creating the NRC in 2002. The chapter showed that liberalism is consistent with NATO enlargement, while it has difficulty in explaining why enlargement excluded Russia. However, the creation of the NRC and cooperation under this institution are broadly consistent with neoliberal institutionalism.

This chapter examined realism and its main assumption to use them to understand Russia-NATO relations in the post-Cold War era. After analyzing some realists' opinion on NATO expansion, the chapter puts the issue into realist framework. It proved that because CEE states perceived Russia as a potential threat, the 'balance of threat theory' can explain their bid for membership. However, their bid for membership is a clear sign of 'bandwagoning' and contradicts the 'balance of power theory'. The chapter explored that NATO had little reason to perceive Russia as a threat and because neorealist explanation relies on threat, neorealism cannot explain why NATO would expand. However, for the realist perspective, preclusion is considered to be the only reason why alliance decided to enlarge. This chapter showed that because Russia is regarded as the



only conceivable enemy of NATO in Europe, Russia's exclusion from NATO enlargement is consistent with neorealism. The chapter revealed that realist narratives emphasize Russia's perception of NATO as a military enterprise and argue that the alliance's projection beyond its traditional area has undermined relations between Russia and the West. The institutional relationship in the NRC to promote cooperation on common threats is consistent with neorealism. Neorealism can explain its creation in terms of the threats such as nuclear proliferation, arms race and terrorism that could pose to the alliance and Russia. In the realist logic, 11 September 2001 marked no paradigm shift in Russia-NATO relations. The chapter demonstrated that Russian invasion of Georgia in 2008 and its aggression during the Ukraine are in line with the realist assumptions that "the states in anarchy are preoccupied with power and security and are prone to conflict and competition." The developments in the NRC are also consistent with realism's offer of "a pessimistic analysis of the prospects for international cooperation and of the capabilities of international institutions." It became clear in the chapter that the Russian foreign policy with respect to NATO has been reflecting the most of the assumptions of the classical realism.

This chapter explored that from their perspectives of international politics and thus their stress on the possibilities for achieving international cooperation and agreements Russian liberals argued for a cooperative solution to NATO enlargement. Russian liberals think Russia's foreign policy should be focused on cooperation with Western European organization 'to facilitate its own integration into world economy and the community of democratic states.' They think this aim can be achieved through creating mechanisms of extra-institutional cooperation with the alliance and they were/are satisfied with the PJC and the NRC cooperative formats. The chapter revealed that Russian realists have no faith in international institutions and they emphasize growing national power as the main interests of Russia in world politics. They opposed NATO enlargement viewing it as detrimental to the regional security and Russia's security. For them, in an age of multipolarity, the OSCE can guarantee a balance of power in Europe. Although they accept the alliance's positive role in European security, they favor the OSCE as the main collective security organization in Europe.

In the light of this discussion in this chapter, this study sheds light on the thesis's main argument by examining the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO in the framework of the NRC. It also discusses major issues and events that have greatly affected this complex relationship between 2002 and 2014. More significantly, the study discusses the most recent Ukraine crisis in 2014 and its impact on Russia-NATO relations. In this way, this thesis seeks to explain the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after the creation of the NRC in 2002.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RUSSIA-NATO RELATIONS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: 1991-2002**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the NATO-Russia relationship from 1991 to 2002. The chapter starts dealing with the process of NATO transformation in the post-Cold War era and its relationship with Russia-NATO relations. Then, it analyses the phases of Russia-NATO relations between 1991 and 2002 focusing on the main issues and the events such as NATO enlargement, Russia's proposal of security system in Europe, the PfP Program and NATO intervention in Bosnia. The chapter continues analyzing the institutional relationship between Russia and the alliance under the Founding Act signed in 1997 under which the PJC was established as the main forum for "consultation and cooperation between Russia and NATO." Here, it addresses the contents, objectives and the politico-legal characteristics of the act, and the central objective of the PJC and its structure. The next part of the chapter examines the Kosovo crisis (1999) and its impact on NATO-Russia relations in general and on institutional relationship in particular. Then, the chapter discusses Putin's foreign policy towards the West in terms of Russia's relations with the alliance. Lastly, it discusses how Russia views 11 September and its impact on Russia-NATO relations.

### 3.2 The Long Road to Rome: Historical Background

“After all, history suggests that alliances form against threats; when those threats disappear, so do the alliances.”<sup>156</sup> The Grand Alliance, formed among the US, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to defeat Nazi Germany, “did not long survive the end of the World War II.” Like the Grand Alliance, with the end of the Cold War, “there seemed little to expect NATO to remain in business.”<sup>157</sup> The core factors which contributed to NATO’s creation were gone and this posed a major challenge to NATO’s future.

However, the events in Europe and in other parts of the Continent have shown that NATO may still have various functions to perform in the post-Cold War. The same events and tendencies also have shown that the Alliance has to change in order to remain relevant in the new political and strategic environment. Thus, it has started the process of serious transformation. This process first has started with the “Alliance’s New Strategic Concept” issued at the Rome Summit in November 1991, by which opened the way for another new development in Alliance’s military planning, which is the envisaged expansion of NATO’s role from collective defense to collective security. “The profile of collective security has increased in the post-Cold War era, as a means of preserving stability in the face of declining order.”<sup>158</sup> In other words, the transformed NATO would be a collective security alliance to meet the emerging security challenges in the post-Cold War era.

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<sup>156</sup> James Goldgeier, “NATO’s Future: Facing Old Divisions and New Threats”, *Harvard International Review*, Spring 2009, p. 49

<sup>157</sup> James Goldgeier, “NATO’s Future: Facing Old Divisions and New Threats”, *Harvard International Review*, Spring 2009, p. 49

<sup>158</sup> Gülnur Aybet, *A European Security Architecture after the Cold War: Questions of Legitimacy*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000, p. 60

NATO's primary function of collective defense was defined by Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. However, apart from being a collective defense organization for defending the allies against the perceived Soviet threat, NATO was a field for institutionalization of the relationship between North America and Western Europe. For many scholars, the Alliance was regarded as a community of countries sharing common values instead of a common threat. In this sense, the Alliance "had declared in 1990 that it intended to become 'an agent of change.'"<sup>159</sup> According to the London declaration of the North Atlantic Alliance, "its new political mission was the construction of a new security order in Europe – an order grounded on the liberal democratic values embodied in the preamble to the 1949 Washington Treaty" – 'democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law'- and "encompassing territory outside NATO's traditional sphere of collective defense."<sup>160</sup> The declaration also asserted that changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe would allow NATO to "help build the structure of a more united continent, supporting security and stability with the strength of our shared faith in democracy, the rights of the individual and the peaceful resolution of disputes."<sup>161</sup>

Following the end of the Cold War, the allies "had effectively committed themselves to developing the means necessary to encourage the growth of their values outside of NATO territory" and "this constituted a principally political rather than military mission."<sup>162</sup> To pursue this vision, NATO had developed variety of essential political tools like Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (formerly NACC), the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, and special arrangements with Russia and Ukraine. Instead of "relying

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<sup>159</sup> Rebecca R. Moore, *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*, Westport:Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007, p.1

<sup>160</sup> Rebecca R. Moore, *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*, Westport:Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007, p.1

<sup>161</sup> London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance, London, 5-6 July 1990

<sup>162</sup> Rebecca R. Moore, *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*, Westport:Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007, p.1

on principally on military means simply to defend” its borders, “the alliance had committed itself to projecting stability beyond its borders.”<sup>163</sup>

Within this new mission framework, NATO and Russia have come into the new phase of relations. Formal relations began within the NACC framework in 1991 and later developed under the PFP program in 1994. The Founding Act signed between NATO and Russia in 1997 was very important document which established the PJC as the main forum for this relationship. Although the Act institutionalized regular contacts under the PJC, this mechanism failed to live up to the expectations. NATO and Russia agreed in May 2002 to create the NRC which replaced the PJC.

### **3.2.1 Fragile Honeymoon: 1991-1993**

In order to understand short ‘honeymoon period’ in Russia’s relations with NATO, it is better to go over some of the positions by both sides that underlined the post-Cold War optimism. During his speech to the members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in July 1990, NATO’s General Secretary Manfred Wornier declared that “the time of confrontation was over and the hostility and mistrust of the past must be buried.”<sup>164</sup> From Russia’s positive view, writing in the NATO Review in early 1993, Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev argued that his main foreign policy guideline is “to join the club of recognized democratic states...”<sup>165</sup> All these show us that the start of the relationship was characterized by optimism based on both sides’ willingness to leave the Cold War division behind.

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<sup>163</sup> Rebecca R. Moore, *NATO’s New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*, Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007, p.2

<sup>164</sup> Speech by Secretary General Manfred Wornier to the Members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, “A Common Europe-Partners in Stability”, 16 July 1990, [http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1990/s900716a\\_e.htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1990/s900716a_e.htm), accessed on 10 January 2012

<sup>165</sup> Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Andrei Kozyrev, “The New Russia and the Atlantic Alliance”, *NATO Review*, No. 1, 1 February 1993, <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/1993/9301-1.htm>, accessed on 10 January 2012

NATO and Russia established their first institutional relationship during the NACC meeting in 1991. Following this meeting, from 1992 to mid-1994, NATO “was able to steer Russian foreign policy in a way similar to the archetypical master-apprentice relationship.”<sup>166</sup> During this period, two issues show how Russia emulated the Alliance in a consistent way. Firstly, Russians were so supportive of NATO transformation from collective defense to collective security and they even showed interest in joining the organization. At the very first NACC meeting in late December 1991, Yeltsin wrote a letter declaring Russia’s readiness to examine the issue of membership in the long term. Although it caught international attention, especially in NATO countries, the general Western attitude to the Yeltsin letter was that the Russian government did not really intend to join NATO. However, the letter was seen as a strong and diplomatic signal that the new Russian state saw good relations with the Alliance and its members. Although NATO’s answer was negative, reportedly because of American reservations, this letter played an important role in creating the ‘honeymoon’ atmosphere in Russia’s relations with NATO.

Second, Russians “were supportive of NATO’s functional transformation”. To give an example, “the inclusive and cooperative spirit of the NACC was in line with CSCE’s cooperative security approach and seemed to suit Russian interests quite well”.<sup>167</sup> They initially reacted quite favorably when the Americans in 1993 came up with the idea of the PfP. Similarly, on the issue of enlargement, the first comments of Yeltsin regarding the possibility of Poland’s membership of NATO were positive. As noted in the Warsaw declaration (25 August 1993) signed by Yeltsin himself, the Polish accession to NATO in “the interests of overall European integration would not threaten Russia’s interests.”<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Vincent Pauliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 158

<sup>167</sup> Vincent Pauliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 159

<sup>168</sup> Cited in Martin A. Smith, “A Bumpy Road to An Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002”, *European Security*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2002, p. 60

The explicit support was offered by the Russian government to NATO's involvement in the Bosnian civil war. Until February 1994, Russia shared "the Western interpretation of events in Bosnia that Serb expansionism and aggressive ethnic nationalism was directed against the legitimate government of a sovereign and independent state."<sup>169</sup> The new Russian government pursued this alignment by voting in favor of Resolutions 727, 740 and 743, supporting the Vance-Oven Plan which is against the will of the Serbs and agreeing to Resolution 757 which imposed sanctions on Belgrade.

When enlargement became increasingly the dominant issue in NATO-Russia relations, foreign ministry official set out the ministry's basic line; first, the foreign ministry opposed rapid enlargement of NATO membership, "while recognizing that former Warsaw Pact states had the right to join if they choose to do so"; second, its preference was for "strengthening and improving such structures as CSCE and NACC" within which Russia had a seat; finally, "Russia, as a great power, should develop some kind of special relationship with the Alliance before any enlargement into Central Europe was considered."<sup>170</sup>

Yeltsin revised his position and retracted his earlier statement. On 15 September 1993, he wrote a letter to US President and to three other Western leaders setting out similar views on the future of European Security. His letter's core message was that "security must be indivisible and must rest on pan-European structures." Similarly, for most Russians, as opposed to Kozyrev, "NATO continued to be a Cold War institution that was founded against them, and if there was a proper role for NATO in the post-Cold War it should be subordinated to the CSCE."<sup>171</sup> In the letter, Yeltsin also tried to

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<sup>169</sup> Headley, 2003, p.211, cited in Vincent Pauliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 160

<sup>170</sup> Foreign Ministry Official Vyacheslav Yelagin, *Segodnya*, 14 September 1993: translated in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* (hereafter CDPSP) XLV/37, pp.16.17, cited in Martin A. Smith, "A Bumpy Road to An Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002", *European Security*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2002, p. 61

<sup>171</sup> Tuomas Forsberg, "Russia's Relationship with NATO: A Qualitative Change or Old Wine in New Bottles?", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.21, No.3, September 2005, p. 334



persuade him to abandon NATO enlargement. His main motive was the domestic situation in Russia. In the letter it was asserted that;

We do not see NATO as a block opposing us. But, it is important to take into account how our public opinion may react to such a step. Not only the opposition, but the moderates, too, would no doubt see this as a sort of neo-isolation of the country as opposed to its natural introduction into the Euro-Atlantic space.<sup>172</sup>

He also asserted that “we favor a situation where the relations between our country and NATO would be by several degrees warmer than those between the Alliance and Eastern Europe.” He also proposed the way how Russia and the Alliance can cooperate on the situation of Eastern European states: “for example, we would be prepared, together with NATO, to offer official security guarantees to the East European states with a focus on ensuring sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, and maintenance of peace in the region.”<sup>173</sup> Thus, Russia was seeking to use institutional means to prevent the enlargement and become a guarantor of states in the CEE region. However, this plan “would create a grey zone, or a security belt, separating Russia from NATO.”<sup>174</sup>

Yeltsin also argued that enlargement would be illegal “under the terms of the international deal that led to German unification in 1990.” It was also a common belief among Russians that the incorporation of a unified Germany into NATO precluded further enlargement. As analyst Sergei Karaganov set out:

In 1990 we were told quite clearly by the West that the unification of Germany would not lead to NATO expansion. We did not demand written guarantees because in the euphoric atmosphere of the time it would have seemed indecent –

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<sup>172</sup> Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin’s letter to US President Bill Clinton, 15 September 1993, reproduced in *SIPRI Yearbook 1994*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1994, pp. 249-250

<sup>173</sup> Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin’s letter to US President Bill Clinton, 15 September 1993, reproduced in *SIPRI Yearbook 1994*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1994, pp. 249-250

<sup>174</sup> Adam Daniel Rotfeld, “Does Europe Need a New Security Architecture”, p. 35

like two girlfriends giving written promises not to seduce each other's husbands.  
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Actually, in 1990, during intensive negotiations, "Moscow said to have accepted Germany's membership in NATO in exchange for the promise of not deploying troops or nuclear weapons eastwards."<sup>176</sup> Therefore, Russia viewed "NATO's possible expansion into Central Europe" as the alliance's broken promise. But it should be also noted that the focus of the negotiations between Western or Soviet leaders was purely on the German question and there is no concrete evidence NATO's eastern expansion was negotiated.<sup>177</sup> However, Russians continued to assert that the promotion of NATO enlargement since 1993 shows the breaking of promises made at the time of German unification.<sup>178</sup>

### **3.2.2 Russia's Proposal of Security System: OSCE and NACC**

In the Russian view, although Western leaders "seeking cooperative arrangements with Russia, they had de facto decided to reduce the power of any security institution in which Russia had equal status, while at the same time strengthening NATO and the EU in which Russia did not enjoy full equity and was unlikely to do so."<sup>179</sup> In 1994, as a reaction to NATO's enlargement plan, "Russia tried to put forward the idea of a European security model alternative to the one based on NATO, which allowed for a

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<sup>175</sup> Quoted in Anatol Lieven, "Russian Opposition to NATO Expansion", *World Today*, October 1995, p. 198, cited in Roland Dannreuther, "Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russia Relations", *Survival*, Winter 1999-2000, p. 151

<sup>176</sup> Jakub Kulhanek, "Putin's Foreign Policy and the Founding of the NATO-Russia Council", *CE JISS*, p. 138

<sup>177</sup> Roland Dannreuther, "Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russia Relations", *Survival*, Winter 1999-2000, p. 151

<sup>178</sup> Roland Dannreuther, "Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russia Relations", *Survival*, Winter 1999-2000, p. 151

<sup>179</sup> Lionel Ponsard, "The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO", *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 65

central role for the CSCE/OSCE and NACC.”<sup>180</sup> From a Russian point of view, the advantages of this model were “its membership with full rights and consensual decision-making mechanism in these bodies.”<sup>181</sup> It is obvious that the CSCE/OSCE has a key role to play in avoiding Russian isolation and integrating it as an equal partner in the European security framework.

Russia invested considerable political capital in trying to make the decision making structures of the CSCE more effective and to promote the organization as a more prominent actor in Europe. However, this proposal proved to be unrealistic in practice. Most of the CEE countries were reluctant to support this project. The European Security Charter did not become the legal basis of the new security system. Having no choice, Russian leadership enhanced “formal relations with NATO in order to both influence the Alliance’s transformation and to generate its support for a pan-European security system more appealing to Moscow.”<sup>182</sup> For the Western side, it was big challenge “to find a creative way to keep Russia facing the West, without granting too much authority to the CSCE/OSCE.”

### **3.1.3 Russia-NATO Relations in Deterioration**

The year 1994 was a turning point in Russia-NATO security relations; thereafter NATO and Russia entered into the uneasy part of symbolic power struggles that continues to now. The “honeymoon period” ended when the Alliance unveiled its PfP Program, “launched its geographical enlargement and implemented its new collective security

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<sup>180</sup> Marek Menkiszak, “Relations between Russia and NATO before and after the 11<sup>th</sup> of September”, *CES Studies*, p. 34

<sup>181</sup> Marek Menkiszak, “Relations between Russia and NATO before and after the 11<sup>th</sup> of September”, *CES Studies*, p. 34

<sup>182</sup> Lionel Ponsard, “The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO”, *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 66

functions in Bosnia.” These were the three main reasons why Russia’s official attitudes towards the Alliance grew more suspicious in 1994 and in the first half of 1995.

PfP, which built on NACC, was launched in January in 1994. “Based on the practical cooperation and commitment to democratic principles that underpin the Alliance itself, the purpose of the PfP is to increase stability, diminish threats to peace and build strengthened security relationships between individual Partner countries and NATO, as well as among Partner countries.”<sup>183</sup> It was also “designed to allow for practical cooperation between NATO and non-members on a bilateral and multilateral basis and to prepare aspirants for entry into the Alliance in near future.”<sup>184</sup> During his speech on 3 December 1993, US Secretary of Defense Les Aspin identified five big advantages of the PfP:

First, it does not redivide Europe... PfP gives all nations the same chance to take part, but makes the results dependent on the effort of each partner. Second, it sets up the right incentives. In the old Cold War world, NATO was an alliance created in response to an external threat. In the new, post-Cold War world NATO can be an alliance based on shared values of democracy and the free market. PfP rewards those who move in that direction. Third, PfP requires that partners make a real contribution. It does not just ask what NATO can do for its new partners; it asks what the new partners can do for NATO... Fourth, it keeps NATO at the center of European security concerns and thereby keeps American involvement at the center of Europe. Finally, it puts the question of NATO membership for the partners where it belongs, at the end of the process, rather than at the beginning.<sup>185</sup>

Russia had delayed the signing of the PfP agreement planned for April 1994. The signing of the document was delayed because Yeltsin’s need to get domestic political cooperation from the opposition. Moreover, the proponents of the Russia’s participation in PfP suggested that it is better for Russia to clarify some points and set some

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<sup>183</sup> “Security through Partnership”, *NATO Publications*, 2005, p.10, <http://www.nato.int/docu/sec-partnership/sec-partner-e.pdf>, accessed on 27 March 2012

<sup>184</sup> Jeffrey Simon, “Partnership for Peace: Charting a Course for a New Era”, *Strategic Forum*, No. 206, March 2004, p. p. 1

<sup>185</sup> Gerald B. Solomon, “The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997. The Blessing Liberty”, *The Washington Papers 174*, Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1998

conditions before joining the program. The most important one was Russia's special status within the program; they believed that a nuclear power like Russia "should be a special partner of the alliance in promoting security and stability in Europe."<sup>186</sup> Furthermore, participation by the countries of the CIS in the program was seen by Russian policymakers as a challenge to Moscow's interest in near abroad. Similarly, the PfP was viewed as an infringement on Moscow's sphere of influence. However, according to the proponents of PfP, "two key principles underpin PfP vis-à-vis third parties; first, PfP Program is not directed against the interests of any third party; second, it does not seek to substitute or duplicate other cooperative initiatives but rather to complement them, as NATO has always respected the specific interests and regional considerations of its partners."<sup>187</sup>

Russia's reluctance to sign agreement was also due to NATO's intention to expand the Alliance with the admission of the CEE states. Indeed, the program "was initially launched as a compensation for NATO membership, but partners in Central Europe felt that PfP was not sufficient to assure their security and ties to the West and Russia believed that PfP was a subterfuge to paper over the dividing line between East and West."<sup>188</sup> For some NATO partners, it was considered as a path to membership. According to the three American analysts at the Rand Corporation, "by 1993 several CEE states felt that only full NATO membership would resolve their perceived security dilemmas, promote stability to attract economic investment and membership in the EU, and provide reassurance for democratic and market-oriented political leaders."<sup>189</sup> For Russian side, there was a belief that Russia had been duped about the true nature and

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<sup>186</sup> Vyacheslav Gorskii, "Problems and Prospects of NATO-Russia Relationship: the Russia Debate", *Final Report, NATO Euro Atlantic Partnership Council Fellowships Programme 1999-2001*, p. 22, <http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/99-01/gorskii.pdf>, accessed on 16 February 2013

<sup>187</sup> Osman Yavuzalp, "On the Front Line", *NATO Review*, 2005, p. 10

<sup>188</sup> L. Cooper, *Russia and NATO*, London: Macmillan Press, 1999, p. 160, Lionel Ponsard, "The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO", *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 67

<sup>189</sup> Sean Kay, "NATO after the Cold War", *NATO and the Future of European Security*, Boston: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998, p. 68

aims of the PfP scheme. The major concerns of the opponents of PfP were provided in an article published in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*. He argued that;

The PfP's motive force was made primarily of the anti-Russia sentiments of our former friends. The PfP was a subterfuge designed to ensure a US military presence in Poland and Hungary. Given a focus within PfP on bringing former Soviet and Central European armed forces up to NATO standards, the program would work to the detriment of Russian arms manufactures who had traditionally dominated the market in these regions.<sup>190</sup>

After new negotiations, Russia finally signed the PfP document on 22 June 1994. The basis of these negotiations was a formula known as 'no vetoes, no surprises'. Under this, Russia was not given a status of full participants in NATO decision-making, while the Alliance members agreed that "they would not make major decision without consulting Russia first." When pressing on 'no surprises', Russian government aimed to ensure that it would have plenty of warning should NATO decide to proceed with enlargement.

However, the shift in NATO and US policy towards a much firmer commitment to enlargement was a shock to Russia. 1 December 1994, the North Atlantic Council (NAC) issued a communique to initiate "a process of examination inside the Alliance to determine how NATO will enlarge, the principles to guide this process and the implications of membership."<sup>191</sup> Kozyrev argued that this violated the principle of 'no surprises'. Therefore, claiming that Russia was not forewarned about it, he declined to sign an Individual Partnership Program (IPP) and froze all further progress in institutionalizing cooperation with NATO. In order to overcome this impasse, the US found out a formula in the early summer of 1995, which resulted in signing of the documents in May 1995. First it was stated that "at NATO, we are ready to give voice, but not a veto over Alliance decisions." Second, although no public announcements were made, Yeltsin was assured that NATO members "would not trumpet NATO enlargement before the Russian Duma and presidential elections in December 1995 and

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<sup>190</sup> *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 23 February, 1994: CDPSP XLVI/8, 1994, p. 11, cited in Martin A. Smith, "A Bumpy Road to An Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002", *European Security*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2002, p. 62

<sup>191</sup> Final Communique, Communique NATO M-NAC-2(94)116, 1 December 1994, [www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c941201a.htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c941201a.htm), accessed 29 March 2012

June 1996 respectively.”<sup>192</sup> Thereafter, although Russia signed IPP, its involvement in the programme remained half-hearted. Russia showed little interest in reforming its armed forces with the NATO model or developing interoperability with NATO forces. It did participate in PfP exercises; instead, Russian officials especially from armed forces criticized for participating in the program.

The situation which occurred after 1 December 1994 Final Communique was exacerbated when NATO published a ‘Study on Enlargement’ in September 1995. The study “considered the merits of admitting new members and how they should be brought in.”<sup>193</sup> For Moscow, it appeared to be deliberately provocative since it offered “almost no concessions to Russian interests. Moreover, publication of the Study coincided with NATO’s air strikes on Bosnia. After the publication, a kind of ‘dead season’ began in Russia-NATO relations.

Following the presidential elections in Russia, NATO continued its enlargement policy. New Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov arranged two conditions related to the NATO enlargement into Central Europe. The Russian demands were that “no nuclear weapons should be stationed on the territories of new members”, and “the eastern movement of NATO military infrastructure per se should be kept to a minimum or preferably not to happen at all.” “It was also reported that Russia sought agreement with the NATO members to rule out an enlargement considering the Baltic States and any other former Soviet countries.”<sup>194</sup> Considering these conditions, to clear away Russia’s concerns about extending membership to Central Europe, the US made an effort in the late summer of 1996 in upgrading NATO’s institutional relations with Russia, which resulted in the creation of the PJC in 1997. Similarly, at the December meeting of

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<sup>192</sup> Tuomas Forsberg, “Russia’s Relationship with NATO: A Qualitative Change or Old Wine in New Bottles?”, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.21, No.3, September 2005, p. 335

<sup>193</sup>“NATO Enlargement”, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_49212.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49212.htm), accessed 31 March 2012

<sup>194</sup> Martin A. Smith, *Unfulfilled Partnerships: Russia and NATO from Honeymoon to Kosovo*, *Russia and NATO since 1991: From Cold War Through Cold Peace to Partnership?*, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 68

NATO Foreign Ministers, when it was confirmed that next summit would be held in the summer of 1997 to invite one or more states to join, concessions, known as ‘three nos’ formula, were also offered to Russia. It stated that:

... Enlarging the Alliance will not require a change in NATO’s current nuclear posture and therefore, NATO countries have no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of new members, nor any need to change any aspect of NATO’s nuclear posture or nuclear policy – and do not foresee and future need to do so.<sup>195</sup>

### **3.1.4 Russia and NATO Intervention in Bosnia**

Moscow viewed NATO intervention in Bosnia with distrust and disappointment. When the bombing started, “government statements complaining that the West was not dealing fairly with Russia grew sharply.” After NATO airstrikes against Serbian positions in April 1994, Kozyrev stated that “trying to make such decisions without Russia is a big mistake and a big risk. I would like these words of mine to be heard and to be taken seriously.”<sup>196</sup> In his statement at the national TV news, “signaling his anger over not having been consulted before the bombings”, Yeltsin “called for an immediate summit of Russian, American and European leaders to coordinate on Bosnian policy.”<sup>197</sup>

In 1995, the alliance initiated its first large scale offensive, first out of area operation, in its history with the bombardment of Serbian installations in Bosnia. For Russian side, NATO’s failure to consult with the Russians over its actions in Bosnia represented as another example of Western betrayal and duplicity. Moreover, these attacks were considered as evidence that NATO had ceased to exist as a defensive organization

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<sup>195</sup> Stephanie Von Hlatky and Michel Fortman, “Nuclear Weapons in Today’s Europe: the Debate that Nobody Wants”, *European Security Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, eds. Frederic Merand, Martial Foucault and Bastien Irondele, University of Toronto Press Incorporated: Toronto, 2011, p. 96

<sup>196</sup> Segodnya, April 12, 1994, p.1, cited in *Russian Foreign Policy in the post-Soviet Era: Reality, Illusion and Mythmaking*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p.54

<sup>197</sup> Eric Shiraev and Deone Terrio, “Russian Decision-Making Regarding Bosnia: Indifferent Public and Feuding Elites”, *International Public Opinion and the Bosnia Crisis*, eds. Richard Sobel and Eric Shiraev, Marylan: A Member of the Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2003, p. 154



opposed to its proclaimed purely defensive functions. As *Duma* member Aleksei Arbatov noted:

The massive air attacks on the Bosnian Serbs from the summer of 1995 demonstrated that the force, not patient negotiations, remained the principal instrument of diplomacy and that Moscow's position was only taken into account so long as it did not contradict the line taken by the United States. In the eyes of the majority of Russians, the myth of the exclusively defensive nature NATO was exploded.<sup>198</sup>

Based on the UN SC Resolution 1031, after "NATO was given the mandate to implement the military aspects of the Peace Agreement (Dayton Accords), Implementation Force (IFOR) started its mission on 20 December 1995."<sup>199</sup> Surprisingly, Russian Defense Minister Grachev "accepted that Russian troops would serve in an American army division under effective NATO command; he sent some of best Russian troops to undertake these duties; and Russian cooperation with NATO troops has been virtually without untoward incident."<sup>200</sup> Although Dayton Accords and Russia's participation in the IFOR diminished Russian concerns, NATO's actions in Bosnia did serious damage to Russia's perception of NATO.

### **3.1.5 Road to Russia-NATO Special Relationship**

The United States' effort to upgrade NATO's institutional relations with Russia would come to be realized following the US State Secretary Warren Christopher's early September 1996 major speech on the future of European security. He announced a NATO summit for summer 1997 in Madrid, where invitations of the first Central

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<sup>198</sup> *Nezavisimaia Gazeta*, 14 March 1997, cited in Roland Dannreuther, "Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russia Relations", *Survival*, Winter 1999-2000, p. 152

<sup>199</sup> "History of the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR ) in Bosnia and Herzegovina", <http://www.nato.int/sfor/docu/d981116a.htm>, accessed on 30 March 2012

<sup>200</sup> Robert Hunter, "NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September", *South European and Black Sea Studies*, 3:3, 2003, p.33

European candidates issued to begin accession negotiations, and expressed his opinion about Russia's cooperation with NATO in the future. He declared that:

Russia's cooperation with NATO should be expressed in a formal charter. This charter should create standing arrangements for consultation and joint action between Russia and the Alliance. NATO and Russia need a charter because we share an interest in preventing armed conflict...The charter we seek should give us a permanent mechanism for crisis management so we can respond together as these challenges arise.<sup>201</sup>

Russians had long pressed to formalize its relationship with NATO. Although Russia would have preferred legally binding document, it would accept one that was viewed by both sides as being politically binding. From the Russian perspective, as a Great Power, it was important for Russia to be treated as NATO's equal. This sometimes seemed more important than obtaining genuine concessions from Brussels. For Russian government, the signing of the Founding Act was meant to get Russia' Great Power status publicly recognized.

### **3.3 NATO-Russia Founding Act (1997) and the Establishment of the Permanent Joint Council (PJC)**

After the four month of intensive negotiations, in Paris, on 27 May of 1997 NATO and Russia signed the 'Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security'. Under this document, the PJC was established as "the main channel of communication and cooperation between Moscow and Brussels."<sup>202</sup> The Founding Act represented an institutionalized framework on which to seek common approaches and solutions to common concerns. It signified "an enduring political commitment undertaken at the

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<sup>201</sup> US State Secretary Warren Christopher, Address at the State Theater, Stuttgart, Germany, September 6, 1996, "A New Atlantic Community for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century", *In the Stream of History: Shaping Foreign Policy for a New Era*, California: Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 462

<sup>202</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russia Federation Signed in Paris, France, e-Library, 27 May, 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm)

highest political level... to build together a lasting inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic area on the principles of democracy and cooperative security.”<sup>203</sup>

This institutional relationship was established to mitigate the controversy over the enlargement. Since these efforts to enhance NATO-Russia cooperation also coincided with the formal decision to enlarge the Alliance to Central Europe, this participation in NATO institutions and structures was primarily viewed by the Moscow as a way of minimizing the effects of NATO expansion. In this sense, “the Russian political elite was motivated by Russia’s wish to prevent the central security role in Europe played by a structure to which Russia would not have direct access.”<sup>204</sup>

On the Western side, one way of securing Russia’s non-opposition to enlargement was for NATO to reaffirm the pledge in the Founding Act which was given already by NATO ministers in December 1996. On the future deployment of NATO troops, the Act stated that

The member states of NATO reiterate that they have no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory on new members, nor any need to change any aspect of NATO’s nuclear posture or nuclear policy – and do not foresee any future need to do so.<sup>205</sup>

This can be interpreted as “the ultimate aim of the Founding Act was to reassure Russia that it could have a partnership with the Alliance regardless of the enlargement process.” However, according to the Founding Act, “Russia did not receive any legal guarantees that NATO would not reassess its policies, since the declaration was only politically

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<sup>203</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russia Federation Signed in Paris, France, e-Library, 27 May, 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm)

<sup>204</sup> Baranovski, “Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe”, *International Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 3, 2000, p. 452, cited in Lionel Ponsard, “The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO”, *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 70

<sup>205</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

binding.”<sup>206</sup> However, this was the result of the early Yeltsin’s willingness to compromise in early 1997 by accepting that a future Russia-NATO charter would be politically, rather than legally binding.

As the Act signed, NATO signed up to multiple pledges that the Russian side had been arguing for, giving Russians a great deal at least at the rhetorical level; NATO would “continue expand its political functions, and take on new missions of peacekeeping and crisis management in support of the UN and the OSCE.”<sup>207</sup> It also offered an additional element to its ‘three nos’ pledge given already by the NATO ministers in December 1996: In the Part Four of the Founding Act, ‘Political-Military Matters’, it was stated that “NATO has decided that it has no intention, no plan, and no reason to establish nuclear weapon storage sites on the territory of those members, whether through the construction of new nuclear storage facilities or the adaptation of old nuclear storage facilities.”<sup>208</sup> However, the Act did not reaffirm a ban on extending elements of NATO’s collective military structure to new members. The Russians were “disappointed that the Act would not be a legally binding document and that the verbal promises, can easily be broken if the West chooses to do so.”<sup>209</sup>

When it was decided to invite Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO ranks at the 1997 Madrid Summit, short after Russia was granted a ‘special partnership’ with the signing of the Founding Act, Russian decision makers grudgingly accepted this decision and warned NATO members and candidate countries that any further expansion of NATO, particularly into the Baltic states, would be taken as an intolerable affront to

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<sup>206</sup> Tuomas Forsberg, “Russia’s Relationship with NATO: A Qualitative Change or Old Wine in New Bottles?”, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.21, No.3, September 2005, p. 336

<sup>207</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>208</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>209</sup> Marianne Hanson, “Russia and NATO Expansion: The Uneasy Basis of the Founding Act”, *European Security*, Vol.7, No.2, 1998, p. 22

Moscow. It should be noted that in the Founding Act, no guarantees are given that in the future NATO enlargement will not cover the Baltic States or CIS countries. Yevgeny Primakov stated that “NATO is perfectly aware that the entire system of NATO-Russia relations would collapse if former Soviet republics were invited to join the alliance” and he also “conceded that Moscow could change its position if NATO were to transform itself into an organization free of any Cold War element.”<sup>210</sup> As a Russian scholar put it in his article, “admitting any former Soviet republic into NATO would be regarded by Russia as a provocative move, just as Washington regarded the 1962 deployment of Soviet missiles in Cuba.”<sup>211</sup>

It should be noted that despite the fact that NATO enlargement and Founding Act are in a way interlinked, their interdependence seems to be somewhat exaggerated since NATO enlargement could have probably proceeded without the Founding Act. However, it is obvious that lasting and stable peace in Europe cannot be guaranteed without the integration of Russia into European and transatlantic security structures. In this sense, “cooperation between NATO and Russia is therefore an objective necessity independent of the enlargement of NATO, and this cooperation needs a proper institutional and normative basis, which, to a degree was achieved by the signing of the Founding Act.”<sup>212</sup> As another critic claimed, the Act “was thus in part a concession by NATO to Russian internal politics and *amour propre*; but it also recognized that the effort to create a Europe ‘whole and free’ did require Russia to be brought within the ‘family’ and not to be left outside, in both symbol and substance.”<sup>213</sup> It is important to note that the Alliance did not lose its capacity to be effective both politically and

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<sup>210</sup> Luca Ratti, “Back to the Future: International Relations Theory and NATO Russia Relations Since the End of the Cold War”, *International Journal*, Spring 2009, p. 402

<sup>211</sup> Donatas Ziugzda, “Baltic States in the Perspective of Russian Policy”, *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review*, No.4, 1999, cited in Luca Ratti, “Back to the Future: International Relations Theory and NATO Russia Relations Since the End of the Cold War”, *International Journal*, Spring 2009, p. 402

<sup>212</sup> Rein Mullerson, “NATO Enlargement and the NATO-Russia Founding Act: The Interplay of Law and Politics”, *The International Law and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 1, January 1998, p. 196

<sup>213</sup> Robert Hunter, “NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September”, *South European and Black Sea Studies*, 3:3, 2003, p.34

militarily, rejecting the Russian suggestion that NATO transform itself into a largely political alliance, along the lines of the OSCE. Moreover, the interests of the central European states should be protected by participating in Euro-Atlantic institutions and fully covered by Western, the US, security guarantees.

### **3.3.1 ‘The Founding Act’: Politico-Legal Characteristics of the Founding Act**

In the beginning of the negotiations, it was made clear that the Alliance would not accept a treaty but only a legally non-binding Act as basis of the relationship between itself and Russia. Actually, the Founding Act was binding politically, but not juridically, as Russia wanted. In this sense, it did not totally live up to Russian expectations. The PJC was also established separately from the NAC, meaning Moscow would not have a say in NATO’s internal affairs. It gave Russia a voice, but not a veto. In other words, although the Act guaranteed that Moscow could consult on all security issues affecting its interests, it did not give authority Russia to veto NATO decisions. As in the Kosovo crisis, Russia would not even have a say on the operations where its own interests were engaged. The Part Two of the Founding Act articulated that,

Provisions of this Act do not provide NATO or Russia, in any way, with a right of veto over the actions of other nor do they infringe upon or restrict the rights of NATO or Russia to independent decision making and action. They cannot be used as a means to disadvantage the interest of other states.<sup>214</sup>

‘The Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation’ starts with the words;

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its member States, on the one hand, and the Russian Federation, on the other hand, hereinafter referred to as NATO and Russia, based on an enduring political commitment undertaken at the highest

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<sup>214</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

level, will build together a lasting and inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic area on the principles of democracy and cooperative security.<sup>215</sup>

While analyzing the differences between political commitments and legally binding documents, one of the analysts concentrated on three important points; first, “it would probably be generally agreed that a nonbinding agreement does not engage their legal responsibility; second, they do not create rights and obligations applicable in international courts and arbitrations; third, political commitments are not treaties which are applied by domestic courts.”<sup>216</sup> Similarly, the Act used the word ‘will’ instead of ‘shall’ and contained some expresses reference to the political character of the commitments. ‘Three nos’ pledge in the Act can be given as an example for ‘will’ and ‘shall’ problem. In the Act, “NATO reiterates that in the current and foreseeable security environment, the Alliance will carry out its collective defence and other missions by ensuring the necessary interoperability, integration, and capability for reinforcement rather than by additional permanent stationing of substantial combat forces.”<sup>217</sup> The references like ‘current and foreseeable security environment’ seem to indicate that the NATO members “do not exclude the possibility that in the future they may see a need for actions which they do not contemplate now.”<sup>218</sup>

### **3.3.2 The PJC and its Structure**

NATO and Russia created PJC “to carry out the activities and aims provided for by the Founding Act and to develop common approaches to European security and political

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<sup>215</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>216</sup> Rein Mullerson, “NATO Enlargement and the NATO-Russia Founding Act: The Interplay of Law and Politics”, *The International Law and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 1, January 1998, p. 198

<sup>217</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>218</sup> Rein Mullerson, “NATO Enlargement and the NATO-Russia Founding Act: The Interplay of Law and Politics”, *The International Law and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 1, January 1998, p. 200

problems”. The main objective of the PJC would be “to build increasing levels of trust, unity of purpose and habits of consultation and cooperation between NATO and Russia, in order to enhance each other’s security and that of all nations in the Euro-Atlantic area and diminish the security of none.”<sup>219</sup> The PJC was created to function as a ‘council of 17’ meaning inclusive than the existing 16+1 consultative arrangements which presupposed that Russia was an institutional outsider. It would meet twice annually at the level of Foreign and Defense Ministers and monthly at the level of ambassadors/permanent representatives to the NAC. In this sense, Russia’s representation would almost be as equal as the members of the alliance. In summary, Russia’s “level of representation and rights of consultation were greater than those accorded to any non-member state” and Russian “representatives would sit on the PJC on equal terms, at least formally, with their NATO counterparts.”<sup>220</sup>

The Act does not explicitly define the composition of the PJC. According to the Act, the PJC consists of the Secretary-General of NATO, representatives of one of the Alliance member states and a representative of Russia. This structure seems to give Russia an equal standing with NATO member states. However, it is hardly so, since the Alliance members states have other bodies where they can coordinate their policies and take decisions on them without Russia.

According to the Act, NATO and Russia, at the PJC meetings, would focus on areas of mutual interest. These were detailed in the Part Three of the Act. This list was broad and the PJC was assigned three distinctive activities to work on this list; “NATO and Russia consult on topics and issues, develop joint initiatives on which they would agree to speak and act, and if consultations led to consensus they make joint decisions and take

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<sup>219</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>220</sup> Martin A. Smith, “Unfulfilled Partnerships: Russia and NATO from Honeymoon to Kosovo”, *Russia and NATO since 1991: From Cold War Through Cold Peace to Partnership?*, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 72



joint actions.<sup>221</sup> NATO and Russia would cooperate on about 19 separate areas, primarily in the military field, but also general political issues and other areas which could be added by mutual agreement. However, NATO allies could hold any item at bay, especially sensitive or controversial issues, when they were unwilling to discuss with Russian representatives. In this sense, a critic claimed that “the scope of the PJC and the range of possible areas for NATO-Russia cooperation only served to obscure the major issues that still remained.”<sup>222</sup> It became clear that neither party was ready to implement in major measure what they had agreed at Paris; thus, it was a wish list, which might someday become possible, but not now. It should be also noted for some quarters in Russia, the signing of the Act was interpreted as a defeat. In *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, Andranik Migranyan argued that;

... a content analysis of the Russia-NATO act indicates that the document establishes a new post-cold war arrangement of forces in the world, an arrangement in which Russia has been defeated and shown its place, and ... Russia has in effect consented to this. NATO countries’ fundamental victory is their refusal, on key questions, to make any commitments that might tie the organization’s hands.<sup>223</sup>

Later, both Yeltsin and Primakov travelled to NATO’s summit in Madrid (1997) where the historical decision about NATO’s enlargement was made. Although Russia signed the Founding Act, with all its commitments to partnership and transparency, it was unwilling to engage with the Alliance. Russian representatives worked at the Russian Embassy at the other end of Brussels and NATO’s office in Moscow was not opened. “Unofficial daily contacts were at a minimum level and no culture of trust on the

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<sup>221</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>222</sup> Robert Hunter, “NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September”, *South European and Black Sea Studies*, 3:3, 2003, p.36

<sup>223</sup> *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 27 May 1997, CDPSP, 1997, vol. XLIX, No.22, pp. 10-11, cited in Martin A. Smith, “Unfulfilled Partnerships: Russia and NATO from Honeymoon to Kosovo”, *Russia and NATO since 1991: From Cold War Through Cold Peace to Partnership?*, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 72

personnel level was able to develop.”<sup>224</sup> Not surprisingly, the meeting at the level of ambassadors and ministers which held in September 1997 at the United Nations in New York, tended to be more about protocol, exchange of pleasantries and discussion of rudimentary issues than about serious bargaining over serious matters. As the critics argued, indeed, for Russia, both the PJC and PfP “served mainly instrumental value that it could demonstrate its dissatisfaction with the Alliance by leaving these forms of cooperation.”<sup>225</sup>

### **3.4 ‘The Kosovo Crisis’ and Russia-NATO Relations**

Despite these efforts to formalize NATO-Russia relationship, the Founding Act proved to be an empty basket. The Act was a good basis as long as it was strategically and politically beneficial for NATO and Russia, and thus relations remained friendly. However, “the vulnerability of these political arrangements were seen when the Alliance decided to bomb Serbia despite Russia’s strong opposition and – in the Russian view at least – without any attempt to accommodate Russia’s legitimate concern.”<sup>226</sup> The PJC’s role “was short-circuited when NATO decided to intervene in the Kosovo crisis, knowing that it was unlikely for Russia to agree to such action.”<sup>227</sup> Right after the airstrikes began in March 1999, Russia responded by suspending “its participation in the Founding Act and PfP, withdrew its military mission from Brussels, terminated the talks on the establishment of NATO’s military mission in Moscow, and ordered NATO

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<sup>224</sup> Tuomas Forsberg, “Russia’s Relationship with NATO: A Qualitative Change or Old Wine in New Bottles?”, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.21, No.3, September 2005, p. 336

<sup>225</sup> Tuomas Forsberg and Graeme Herd, “Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunities to Closed Doors”, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 46

<sup>226</sup> Lionel Ponsard, “The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO”, *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 72

<sup>227</sup> Kara Bosworth, “The effect of 11 September on Russia-NATO relations”, *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 3:3, 2002, p. 371

information representative in Russia to leave the country.”<sup>228</sup> After the crisis, relations got better when talks started on the issue of NATO-led peacekeeping force in Kosovo (KFOR), and in the summer of 2001 the possibility of Russia joining NATO began to resurface.

From the beginning, Russia did not support NATO members’ view on the possible use of military to end the conflict and when NATO decided to intervene in Kosovo, Russian decision makers threatened to use Moscow’s veto power if NATO demanded a resolution from the UN SC authorizing the use of force against Yugoslavia. When the talks had failed and all diplomatic efforts to end the conflict did not work, the Alliance decided that there was no alternative to the use of force, putting an end to Russia’s great expectations and terminating the very idea of cooperation with the West.

Unanimously condemning NATO air strikes, the Russia government “requested their suspension and asked for a political solution.” Although NATO justified its airstrikes from a humanitarian point of view, its air strikes were perceived as an act of aggression and a violation of the UN Charter, Helsinki Final Act and NATO-Russia Founding Act. As Dmitri Trenin commented in his article,

The use of force without the express sanction of a UN SC resolution dramatically devalued not only the Russian veto but also the former superpowers actual international weight. Moscow was shown to be impotent to prevent a major international military operation in an area, which it traditionally regards as crucial to its entire position in Europe.<sup>229</sup>

NATO’s actions in Kosovo were also perceived as conforming to a general pattern whereby NATO’s promises and agreements of cooperation with Russia have been subsequently reneged upon. From the Russian perspective, it is this historical legacy of a series of unfulfilled promises from 1990 onwards, which has nourished such a strong distrust of the Alliance among the Russian political elite. Moreover, following the

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<sup>228</sup> Oksana Antonenko, “Russia, NATO and European Security after Kosovo”, *Survival*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 1999- 2000, p. 131

<sup>229</sup> Dmitri Trenin, “Russia-NATO Relations: Time to Pich up the Pieces”, *NATO Review*, Vol. 48, No.1, Spring-Summer 2000, accessed 6 June 2012

NATO's airstrikes in the Balkans, Russia opposed to some elements of NATO's revised Strategic Concept adopted at the April 1999 NATO summit in Washington, especially which enabled the Alliance to intervene in out-of-area situations. This decision heightened Moscow's concern that "this new strategic focus would establish the basis for possible intervention in Russia's near abroad or even in Russian territory."<sup>230</sup> Similarly, before the Kosovo crisis, Russia viewed the US "to be supporting Turkish ambitions, in particularly by utilizing the PfP program to wean the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia away from their close relations with Russia and their commitments to the CIS."<sup>231</sup>

Operation Allied Force, launched by NATO as a response to the humanitarian crisis in Kosovo, "was not to defeat an enemy state or alliance of states, nor was it to (re)establish a particular balance of power."<sup>232</sup> Rather, it "was conceived as a limited application of force", "an instance of coercive diplomacy designed to bring President Milosevic back to the negotiating table." For Alexandra Gheciu, "the allies were united by a shared understanding that NATO was acting in conformity with its liberal democratic values" and its "failure to act forcefully would have been inconsistent with the identity of the liberal democratic alliance."<sup>233</sup>

Following the agreement on Russian participation in KFOR, the relations between Russia and NATO restored on a limited basis. According to the agreement signed in Helsinki 18 June 1999, some agreed points about Russian participation in KFOR as follows: Russian peacekeepers were deployed in the US, French and German sectors; and Russia, together with NATO forces, also shared the responsibilities for Pristina

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<sup>230</sup> Lionel Ponsard, "The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO", *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 73

<sup>231</sup> Roland Dannreuther, "Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russia Relations", *Survival*, Winter 1999-2000, p. 154

<sup>232</sup> Alwxandra Gheciu, *NATO in the New Europe: The Politics of International Socialization after the Cold War*, California: Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 239

<sup>233</sup> Alwxandra Gheciu, *NATO in the New Europe: The Politics of International Socialization after the Cold War*, California: Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 239

airport.<sup>234</sup> By mid-2000, the Russian representatives returned to NATO headquarters and in February 2001 NATO reopened its representation in Moscow. After the agreement in Helsinki, the Russian Foreign Ministry statements concerning PJC consultations took on an increasingly positive tone. In December 2001, NATO Information Office was opened under the Belgian Embassy taking responsibility on liaising with Russian media, organizing visits by Russian delegations to NATO HQ and SHAPE and facilitating the political link between NATO and the Russian Foreign Ministry.

### **3.5 Putin's Foreign Policy and Russia-NATO Relations**

Following the NATO's airstrikes in Kosovo in 1999, the relations between Russia and NATO reached the lowest point first time in the post-Cold War period. However, after Vladimir Putin came to power, in general, he pursued pro-Western policy especially towards NATO. Over time, he pursued pragmatic and even constructive relationship with the Alliance. The most important stimulus for Russia-NATO rapprochement was provided by terrorist attacks to the US on 11 September 2001 and Putin's support to the US-led war against terrorism. He also clued in new Russian attitude towards NATO enlargement.<sup>235</sup> However, when explaining this rapprochement, it should also be noted that Putin's strategic reassessment was already taking place before September 11.

The main objective of his comprehensive policy was to strive "first and foremost to secure favorable conditions for Russia's internal development, concentrating on reducing tensions and improving relations with the outside world."<sup>236</sup> In this sense, he

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<sup>234</sup> "Agreed Points on Russian Participation in KFOR", *Basic Documents*, Helsinki 18 June 1999, <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/a990618a.htm>, accessed 6 June 2012

<sup>235</sup> *NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: the Transatlantic Bargain Challenged*, ed. Stanley R. Loan, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2005, p. 171

<sup>236</sup> Jakub Kulhanek, "Putin's Foreign Policy and the Founding of the NATO-Russia Council", *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2009, p.142

tried improve relations with the West to strengthen his country. Gradually, this policy was pursued in Russia's relations with the alliance.

There were at least two major reasons that contributed to the improvement of Russia-NATO relations after 1999: Putin's strategic realignment with the West and the terrorist attacks of 11 September. Putin's readjustment of his country's strategic interests after he became the President of Russia in 2000 provided impetus for the improvement of Russia-NATO relations. He was quick to re-launch the relationship which resulted in the Secretary-General Robertson's visit to Russia in February 2000 and establishment of the NATO information office in Moscow in the following year. In addition, according to his re-evaluation of his foreign policy, NATO enlargement was no longer considered a strategic threat. In the past, it always continued to irritate Russia. For the Foreign Ministry of Russia, NATO enlargement "will not build trust and stability in international relations, but on the contrary could lead to the emergence of new dividing lines."<sup>237</sup> Similarly, Russia's *National Security Concept (2000)* complained about the "the attempts to create a structure of international relations based on the domination of developed Western countries, led by the USA, in the international community and providing for unilateral solutions of the key problems of global politics, above all with the use of military force, in violation of the fundamental norms of international law."<sup>238</sup> Nevertheless, Putin was willing to improve relations with the alliance and he did not view it as a sound policy and later in 2001 noted that he would not like to start a hysterical campaign against it. In addition, despite the Kosovo crisis in 1999, restoring cooperation with the Atlantic Alliance was supported by the majority of the foreign policy elite in Russia.

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<sup>237</sup> ITAR-TASS, 0911 GMT, 12 March 1999; BBC Summary of World Broadcasts/lexis-nexis)

<sup>238</sup> "National Security Concept of the Russian Federation (2000)", January 18, 2000, <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/gazeta012400.htm>, accessed 23 June 2012

### 3.6 The September 11 and its Impact on Russia-NATO Relations

Putin's concern with international ties to terrorists in Chechnya led him to place priority on forging a concerted campaign with US and European leaders against international terrorism from the outset of his presidency.<sup>239</sup> Before the September 11, he had attempted "to focus international public attention on terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and the penetration of radical violent Islamist groups in Eurasia and the Balkans."<sup>240</sup> More importantly, there had been no single assault in Russia resulting in loss of thousands of lives and the nation had suffered series of terrorist acts over the past several years. These terrorist acts culminated with the school siege in Beslan in September 2004. Still there is a risk that the Chechen situation is likely to continue to present challenges for Russia.

Russia's *National Security Concept* (2000) identifies terrorism as a "serious threat to national security" and states that "international terrorism is waging an open campaign to destabilize Russia."<sup>241</sup> Hence, Russia's response to this threat places a priority on foreign cooperation as stated in the *National Security Concept*;

...to fight it requires unification of efforts by the entire international community... there must be effective collaboration with foreign states and their law enforcement agencies, and also with the international organizations tasked with fighting terrorism. Broad use must be made of international experience of dealing with this phenomenon and there must be a well-coordinated mechanism for countering international terrorism...<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Sharyl Cross, "Russia's Relationship with the United States/NATO in the US-led Global War on Terrorism", *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 19:2, 2006, p.175

<sup>240</sup> Sharyl Cross, "US/NATO-Russia and Countering Ideological Support for Terrorism: toward Building a Comprehensive Strategy", *The Quarterly Journal*, 2006, p.p. 2-3

<sup>241</sup> "Russia's National Security Concept (2000)", *Arms Control Association*, [https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000\\_01-02/docjf00](https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000_01-02/docjf00), accessed on 23 June 2012

<sup>242</sup> "Russia's National Security Concept (2000)", *Arms Control Association*, [https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000\\_01-02/docjf00](https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000_01-02/docjf00), accessed on 23 June 2012

After the terrorist attacks in New York, Putin expressed Russian solidarity with the United States and underlined that there is a need for closer anti-terrorist cooperation between the West and Russia. Moscow also “allowed US forces to use Russian air spaces for operations in Afghanistan and did not oppose the creation of US bases in some of the former Soviet Central Asian republics.”<sup>243</sup> This helped him gain trust and support from the Western countries.

Russia’s *National Security Concept (2000)* “links the internal threat of terrorism and separatism to external threats: it argues that international terrorism involves efforts to undermine the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Russia, with the possibility of direct military aggression.”<sup>244</sup> In this sense, the terrorist attacks to the United States provided an opportunity for Putin to cast the Chechen war as part of the common terrorist threat that brought attacks to US soil. For him, the war in Chechnya and the attacks to the United States was a “threat to the entire civilized world” emanating from a “common source.”<sup>245</sup> He also argued that these events confirmed Russia’s previous assessment of the conflicts in Bosnia, Kosovo and Chechnya as being orchestrated by the same worldwide radical Islamic networks. For Sheryl Cross, statements issued by Moscow side suggested that the tragedy in the US might lead to greater understanding in the US with respect to the challenges confronting Russian society from violent extremists in Chechnya.

Russia played important role was for the preparation of US-led war in Afghanistan. During his TV interview, Putin “unveiled how Russia intended to aid anti-terrorist operations in Afghanistan, including intelligence sharing and accepting the deployment

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<sup>243</sup> Luca Ratti, “Back to the Future? International Relations Theory and NATO-Russia Relations since the End of the Cold War”, *International Journal*, Spring 2009, p. 404

<sup>244</sup> Wallander, Celeste A. “Russian National Security Policy in 2000”, *PONARS Policy Memo 102*, Harvard University, January 2002, p. 5

<sup>245</sup> Sheryl Cross, “Russia’s Relationship with the United States/NATO in the US-led Global War on Terrorism”, *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 19:2, 2006, p.178



of foreign troops in Central Asia.”<sup>246</sup> In exchange, the West “accepted Moscow’s contention that its military campaign in Chechnya war a part of the global war against terrorism, while turning a blind eye to some of the excesses committed by the Russian army.”<sup>247</sup> In this sense, Putin “brought a pragmatic approach to Russia’s foreign policy recognizing the importance of security and economic ties with Western nations for Russia’s future security and economic quality of life.”<sup>248</sup> Hence, despite Russia’s strong objection to NATO enlargement in the 1990s, he wanted to cooperate with NATO in the fight against terrorism. The NRC, a mechanism created at the NATO-Russia Rome Summit in 2002, played important role in cooperation in this area.

### 3.7 Conclusion

The chapter divided the Russia-NATO relations in the first decade into five phases. ‘Short honeymoon’ period between the end of 1991 and the late summer of 1993 was characterized by optimism on both sides’ willingness to leave Cold War division behind. Russia and NATO established their first institutional relationship under the NACC in 1991. Russia was supportive of NATO transformation and did not harden when NATO decided to take up new functions of partnerships and peacekeeping. Its initial reaction to the PfP Program was favorable, its first view on the issue of enlargement was positive and even supported NATO’s involvement in the Bosnian civil war. The relations between Russia and NATO entered into the period of noticeable deterioration between 1994 and 1995. After NATO launched PfP Program and enlargement policy, and implemented its functional expansion in Bosnia, Moscow’s attitude towards NATO became more suspicious. NATO and Russia’s efforts to build a new ‘special

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<sup>246</sup> TV address by Russian President Putin, quoted in Jakub Kulhanek, “Putin’s Foreign Policy and the Founding of the NATO-Russia Council”, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2009, p.146

<sup>247</sup> Jakub Kulhanek, “Putin’s Foreign Policy and the Founding of the NATO-Russia Council”, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2009, p.147

<sup>248</sup> Sharyl Cross, “Russia’s Relationship with the United States/NATO in the US-led Global War on Terrorism”, *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 19:2, 2006, p.187

relationship' ended with the signing of the Founding which also established the PJC in 1997. Although the Act did not live up to all Russian expectations, it was a good basis for Russia-NATO cooperation as long as it was strategically and politically beneficial for both parties and relations remained friendly. Eventually, these contacts were interrupted during the Kosovo crisis of 1998-99. Russia's relations with NATO reached the lowest point after NATO's airstrikes in Kosovo. Russia responded by suspending its cooperation with the alliance. Putin's strategic realignment with the West and the terrorist attacks of 11 September were the two main factors that contributed to the improvement of Russia-NATO relations after the Kosovo crisis. All these points illustrate the complexities of the Russia-NATO relationship and help us to understand the underlying themes that have marked relations during their first decade.

In relation to the discussion in this chapter, the next chapters of the thesis seek to analyze the developments in Russia-NATO relations after the creation of the NRC in 2002. The study starts with the discussion of the founding of the NRC and its achievements focusing on the identified areas of cooperation. Then, the study examines Russia-NATO relations after the creation of the NRC, dividing into two periods: between 2002 and 2008, and between 2008 and 2014. Lastly, it discusses the most recent crisis in Ukraine and its impact on Russia-NATO relations.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE CREATION OF THE NATO-RUSSIA COUNCIL (NRC)**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter is devoted to analysis of the founding of the NRC in 2002. It begins with the discussion of Russia's interest in boosting relations with NATO and NATO's response to it. Here, after touching upon the Russia-NATO rapprochement after 11 September 2001, the chapter addresses Blair's proposal to create a new mechanism of cooperation and intense negotiations between Russian and NATO towards the NATO-Russia Summit in Rome where the NRC was created. Then, the chapter analyses the nature and the role of the NRC focusing on the Rome declaration. This part explores Russia's upgraded status in the NRC, the objective behind the creation and Russia's gains in its creation. Next, the chapter examines the functioning and structure of the new mechanism and explores its differences and similarities with that of the PJC. Lastly, the chapter discusses some politicians, scholars and experts' view on the creation of the NRC.

#### **4.2 Towards the NATO-Russia Summit in Rome (2002): The Declaration on 'NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality'**

A number of disagreements which arose between Russia and NATO regarding NATO enlargement and PfP Program, the Bosnian conflict and the Kosovo crisis in the 1990s cooled the relations between Moscow and the Alliance but did not rupture them completely. After the terrorist attacks to the US, Russia closely cooperated with NATO in the area of fight against terrorism. However, as mentioned in the last part of the first

chapter, when explaining the Russia-NATO rapprochement, it should be kept in mind that Putin's strategic reassessment was already taking place before the September 11. The events of September 11 served to ease tensions with Russia. Since he came to the power in 1999, he has pursued "Westernist" strategy and this strategy had envisioned "genuine cooperation with Western Europe and the United States in order to restore Russia's political and economic might and to face more effectively long-term threats to the south and the east."<sup>249</sup> In this sense, the September 11 did not cause a radical change in his strategy.

Following the positive cooperation right after the September 11, Moscow rekindled its interest that Russia was willing to improve relations with the Alliance while the West was ready to reciprocate. As a demonstration, early in October 2001, Putin visited Brussels and met NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson. He also signaled his country's softened approach to NATO enlargement. During their discussions, he "reiterated his country's desire to help the United States combat the scourge of terrorism and be part of the global response to the 11 September attacks."<sup>250</sup> At a joint press conference with Lord Robertson, Putin stated that "NATO is prepared to change the quality of its relationship with Russia and Russia is ready for this."<sup>251</sup> However, Russia continuously promoted the idea of a new consultative body between Russia and NATO to address common challenges. At that time, some NATO members such as the United Kingdom, Germany and France were more than ready to listen.

Among NATO leaders, the British Prime Minister Tony Blair was the first leader to suggest establishing a new mechanism of cooperation. In November 2001, in his letter to Putin, Secretary General Robertson and NATO leaders, Blair proposed to advance between NATO and Russia. In the letter, he proposed to create a 'Russia/NATO Atlantic

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<sup>249</sup> Paul Fritch, "Transforming the Alliance", *NATO Review*, Summer 2002

<sup>250</sup> President Putin Meets Lord Robertson in Brussels, *NATO Update*, 3 October 2001, <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2001/1001/e1003a.htm>, accessed on 15 January 2013

<sup>251</sup> President Putin Meets Lord Robertson in Brussels, *NATO Update*, 3 October 2001, <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2001/1001/e1003a.htm>, accessed on 15 January 2013

Council' which would take decisions by consensus on the issues of common interest. During his visit to Moscow in November, Secretary General Lord Robertson put the idea forward stating that

Above all, they (terrorist attacks) oblige us think afresh about the relationship between NATO and Russia. Because one thing should be clear: if we want to come up with any meaningful response to the terrorist menace, to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and other new and emerging threats, we need a solid NATO-Russia relationship. ...the current state of NATO-Russia relations is not sufficient to deal seriously with the new security challenges that confront us today and tomorrow. We need something more. And we need it fast.<sup>252</sup>

However, the positive cooperation between Russia and the Alliance in the aftermath of the September 11, which would lead to the creation of the NRC, was perceived positively and negatively by different sides. For Russian conservatives, "Putin was about to give away the farm, while other Russian analysts speculated that the move would give Russia associate membership in the alliance."<sup>253</sup> For American conservatives, with this move, NATO might stop to exist as a useful alliance. Polish observers were anxious that "this might be the first step toward Russian membership in NATO whereas French observers "wondered if the events were moving too fast for rational consideration of their consequences."<sup>254</sup> Totally different criticism came from Jeremy D. Rosner and Ronald D. Asmus, two former officials responsible for Clinton administration's NATO enlargement. According to them,

The great irony here is that there is no need for these changes or this debate if we want to revive NATO-Russia cooperation. Mr. Putin has complained that the existing NATO-Russia relationship is moribund. He is right. But the reason why

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<sup>252</sup> Speech by NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson at the Diplomatic Academy, A New Quality in the NATO-Russia Relationship, *NATO Speeches*, 22 November 2001, <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2001/s011122a.htm>, accessed on 23 February 2013

<sup>253</sup> Stanley R. Sloan, "NATO and Russia: Partnership or New Cold War?", *Permanent Alliance?: NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc, 2010, p. 132

<sup>254</sup> Stanley R. Sloan, "NATO and Russia: Partnership or New Cold War?", *Permanent Alliance?: NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc, 2010, p. 132

it is moribund is that Russia walked away from the table in protest over NATO's campaign in Kosovo and has since pursued an obstructionist policy. That fact alone should give us pause. There is nothing wrong with the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council that a dose of good will and hard work could not fix.<sup>255</sup>

After much intense work between Russia and the Alliance, the draft for the operation of the new forum was prepared in time to be discussed and signed in Reykjavik on 14-15 May 2002. In Reykjavik, PJC Foreign Ministers approved the draft declaration, including a work program and the rules of procedure for a new mechanism. It was named as the "NATO-Russia Council (NRC)", and was formally established at a special NATO summit in Rome on 28 May 2002, five years and one day after the signing of the Founding Act and launch of the PJC.<sup>256</sup> The Rome declaration was entitled as 'NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality'.

#### **4.3 The Creation of the NRC: A New Mechanism for Cooperation**

After the Blair's proposal, Russian security and defense elites' publicly expressed goodwill and productive suggestions had led to the creation of the NRC. On 20 November 2001 a day before George Robertson's visit to Moscow, Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said that

This cooperation should not be based on the 19+1 formula. We would like to have a mechanism for solving all problems on the basis of equality and finding common answers... Russia and NATO can and must build new relations of partnership, which will make it possible to pool efforts in the fight against challenges.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Jeremy D. Rosner and Ronald D. Asmus, "Don't give Russia a Veto at NATO", *Washington Times*, 5 December 2001, <http://www.cfr.org/nato/dont-give-russia-veto-nato/p4222>, accessed on 23 February 2013

<sup>256</sup> Kara Bosworth, "The effect of 11 September on Russia-NATO relations", *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 3:3, 2002, p. 380

<sup>257</sup> "Russian Minister Outlines Russia's Vision of Upgraded Partnership with NATO", *ITAR -TASS*, 20 November 2001, <http://russialist.com/5559-4.php>, accessed on 16 January 2013

It was clear that Russia wanted input into NATO decision making. A day later Sergei Ivanov expanded this further, commenting, ‘the essence of our proposals is to create a completely new mechanism, to act together as equals. This would “enable Russia to have, if you like, voting rights, the right to take decisions.’<sup>258</sup> Putin has indicated Russia’s readiness “to drop its opposition to NATO’s possible expansion into the Baltic States, if Russia-NATO relations could be put on a new footing in this way.”<sup>259</sup>

When he visited to Russia on 21 November 2001 to formally propose the council of twenty to the Russian government, Lord Robertson said the new mechanism

would involve Russia having equality with the NATO countries in terms of the subject matter and would be part of the same compromising trade-offs, give and take, that is involved in day-to-day NATO business. That is how we do business at 19. The great United States of America, the mighty France and Germany, the United Kingdom have an equal voice to tiny Luxemburg and even tinier Iceland. But we get compromises. We build consensus. To the idea would be that Russia would enter that. That would give Russia a right of equality but also a responsibility and an obligation that would come from being part of the consensus-building organization. That is why I say a new attitude is going to be required on both sides if this is going to work. But if it works, it obviously is a huge change, a seen change in the way in which we do business.<sup>260</sup>

In this sense, the NRC was to be designed to foster “a qualitatively new relationship between NATO and the Russian Federation.” According to the Rome Declaration, in the framework of the NRC:

NATO member states and Russia will work as equal partners in areas of common interest. The NATO-Russia Council will provide a mechanism for consultation, consensus building, cooperation, joint decision, and joint action for the member states of NATO and Russia on a wide spectrum of security issues in the Euro-Atlantic region... It will operate on the principle of consensus. It will work on the basis of a continuous political dialogue on security issues among its members with a view to early identification of emerging problems, determination of

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<sup>258</sup> “NATO and Russia Draw Closer”, *BBC News*, 22 November 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1670139.stm>, accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>259</sup> Stephen Mulvey, “Analysis: NATO and Russia Draw Closer”, *BBC News*, 22 November 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1670139.stm>, accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>260</sup> “Press Conference with NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson” *NATO Online Library*, 22 November 2001, <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2001/s011122b.htm>, accessed on 16 January 2013

optimal common approaches and the conduct of joint actions, as appropriate. The members of the NATO-Russia Council, acting in their national capacities and in a manner consistent with their respective collective commitments and obligations, will take joint decisions and will bear equal responsibility, individually and jointly, for their implementation. Each member may raise issues in the NATO-Russia Council related to the implementation of joint decisions.<sup>261</sup>

The NRC was created to upgrade Russia's status. The NRC gives Moscow an equal voice on decisions on common interest. Decisions are taken by the NRC by 'NATO at 20', thus ending the '19 + 1' of the PJC, and are based on consensus. This means, as noted earlier, Russia's own expressed desire for a more cooperative relationship with NATO ultimately led to establishment of the NRC, which then permitted NATO and Russia to discuss identified areas of common interest in a 'NATO at 20' format vs. than the '19 + 1' format that characterized the previous NATO PJC. The alliance' offer was balanced approach; the agenda for meetings of the NRC would be agreed in common which would also mean any member of the NRC has the right to veto the consideration of the issue.<sup>262</sup> I the new council would consult a wide range of issues which could lead to common decision and even, on a case by case basis, common action.

In the NRC, Russia is considered as an equal partner in key areas for cooperation. In the declaration, it is formulated as;

The NATO-Russia Council, replacing the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, will focus on all areas of mutual interest identified in Section III of the Founding Act, including the provision to add other areas by mutual agreement. The work programmes for 2002 agreed in December 2001 for the PJC and its subordinate bodies will continue to be implemented under the auspices and rules of the NATO-Russia Council. NATO member states and Russia will continue to intensify their cooperation in areas including the struggle against terrorism, crisis management, non-proliferation, arms control and confidence-building measures, theatre missile defence, search and rescue at sea, military-to-military

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<sup>261</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>262</sup> Robert E. Hunter, "NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September", *Strategic Developments in Eurasia after 11 September*, ed. Shireen Hunter, Routledge: New York, 2004, p. 43



cooperation, and civil emergencies. This cooperation may complement cooperation in other fora.<sup>263</sup>

The objective behind the creation of the NRC was quite clear: to provide a fresh start to NATO-Russia relations, drawing on the positive cooperation in the fight against terrorism after the 11 September.<sup>264</sup> The opening statement of the Rome declaration expresses the logic of the new relationship between the NATO allies and Russia. In the declaration, it was stated that “At the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century we live in a new, closely interrelated world, in which unprecedented new threats and challenges demand increasingly united responses.”<sup>265</sup> In this sense, the leaders who approved declaration “gathered not as rivals or adversaries, but as equal partners in a new NATO-Russia Council, united in common cause against the security threats of our age.”<sup>266</sup> As indicated in the declaration, it would give Russia formal co-decision-making responsibilities with NATO member states in nine areas.

Nevertheless, a stronger voice has been accorded to Russia in relation to areas of mutual interest. However, any NATO member could pull an issue off the NRC agenda ensuring that it can be brought to the NAC and exclude consultations with Russia.<sup>267</sup> Russia would have the same right pulling any issue off the agenda importance; however; Moscow could not then prevent the NAC from considering the same issue on its own. If NATO member states and Russia cannot reach consensus in the new forum on the specific issues, then NATO member states “reserve the right to withdraw the contentious topic from discussion.” Certain safeguarding principles prevents Russia from having a

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<sup>263</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>264</sup> Lionel Ponsard, “The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO”, *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 82

<sup>265</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>266</sup> Paul Fritch, “Transforming the Alliance”, *NATO Review*, Summer 2002

<sup>267</sup> Robert E. Hunter, “NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September”, *Strategic Developments in Eurasia after 11 September*, ed. Shireen Hunter, Routledge: New York, 2004, p. 43

veto right on NATO's decisions: that is, "possibility for an NAC independent action, for precoordination at 19 after an ally's request and the right for each ally to take back an issue discussed at 20 within the framework at 19."<sup>268</sup> It should be noted that NAC's regular agenda would not be brought to the NRC; the NAC would decide whether the issues submitted to new council or kept within the alliance's decision-making channels. What is more important, however, unlike the PJC, the allies would not bring "pre-cooked" NATO positions to the table with Russia.

For one of the proponents of the NRC, if "there are important areas on which we continue to disagree, the new forum can serve to promote mutual understanding through sustained contact and dialogue, in a way that can only serve to promote shared Allied values within Russia as well as in her foreign policy decisions."<sup>269</sup> In this manner, Lord Robertson argued that the real differences between the PJC and the NRC were a matter of "chemistry rather than arithmetic, as even the best format and seating arrangement can be no substitute for genuine political will and open mind on both sides."<sup>270</sup> Russia gained three things that they had not already had in the PJC: "a name that connoted equality – 'NATO-Russia Council'; a formal discussion and decision making process that was to be represented as 'at 20'; and the presumption, with political rather than juridical weight, that issues affecting NATO that were also interest to the Russian Federation would be considered by the NRC and not just be reserved to the NAC."<sup>271</sup> Of course, NAC was not prevented from considering the same issue in parallel.

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<sup>268</sup> Sophia Clement-Noguer, "Russia, the European Union and NATO After September 11: Challenges and Limits of a New Entanglement", *Russia's Engagement With the West: Transformation and Integration in the Twenty-First Century*, eds., Alexander J. Motyl, Blair A. Ruble and Lilia Shevtsova, M. E. Sharpe: New York, London, 2005, p. 245

<sup>269</sup> Paul Fritch, "Transforming the Alliance", *NATO Review*, Summer 2002

<sup>270</sup> Stanley R. Sloan, "NATO and Russia: Partnership or New Cold War?", *Permanent Alliance?: NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc, 2010, p. 133

<sup>271</sup> Robert Hunter, "NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September", *South European and Black Sea Studies*, 3:3, 2003, p.43

After Blair's proposal, there raised concerns about how much influence Russia might gain in NATO. US Secretary State Colin Powell said "the Alliance will retain the right to act on any issue whether or not it has been discussed with Russia."<sup>272</sup> Although a stronger voice has been accorded to Russia on issues like WMD non-proliferation, missile defense, counter-terrorism and crisis management, the new mechanism does not give Russia veto power or a vote in the issue of NATO enlargement and any NATO member can terminate a discussion if it chooses. When the NRC was to be signed, Russia, though it opposed NATO expansion, was resigned to it. But, during the NRC's first meeting in Rome, Putin said,

It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the meeting. Even quite recently, this kind of meeting between leaders of Russia and the NATO member nations, given the format and quality it has today, would have been simply unthinkable. It has now become a reality – one which is possible thanks to intensive work and the willingness to engage in lively and open dialogue... As realists, we recall that the history of relations between Russia and the North Atlantic Alliance has not been easy. We have come a long way – from opposition to dialogue, from confrontation to cooperation. And we fully understand that the signing of the Rome Declaration is only the beginning of building fundamentally different relations.<sup>273</sup>

The same could be said of a fact that since 1999 Russian general serves as a Special Deputy to the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR), responsible for Russian soldiers assigned to allied forces in Kosovo and Bosnia, and Russian *Spetznaz* troops operate with US Special Forces in Bosnia and Afghanistan. This shows that the transatlantic allies and Russia entered into a joint enterprise to meet common threats to an extent unparalleled since the end of the Second World War.<sup>274</sup> In sum, the events of 11 September 2001 appeared to act as an unexpected catalyst, bringing two Cold War

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<sup>272</sup> Colin McMahon, "NATO, Russia Maneuver as Baltics Watch", *Chicago Tribune News*, 03 January 2002, [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2002-01-03/news/0201030278\\_1\\_nato-decisions-western-military-alliance-nato-allies](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2002-01-03/news/0201030278_1_nato-decisions-western-military-alliance-nato-allies), accessed on 24 January 2003

<sup>273</sup> Address by Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation at the NATO-Russia Council Rome Summit Meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government, Rome, 28 May 2002, p. 17, <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0205-rome/rome-eng.pdf>, accessed on 28 January 2013

<sup>274</sup> Wayne C. Thompson, "Transatlantic Responses to Global Challenges", *Redefining Transatlantic Security Relations: The Challenge of a Change*, eds., Dieter Mahncke, Wyn Rees and Wayne C. Thompson, Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2004, p. 107

adversaries closer together. Following September 11, the world experienced an acceleration of history similar to that in the first few years of the 1990s. Referring to positive cooperation and diplomatic realignment since September 11, Colin Powell stated as “Not only is the Cold War over, the post-Cold War period is over.”<sup>275</sup>

#### **4.4 The NRC and its Structure**

Secretary General of NATO chairs the NRC. Meetings are held at various levels; at the level of Foreign and Defense Ministers twice annually; at the level of Ambassadors at least once a month. At the request of any NATO member state or the NATO Secretary General, frequent meetings, including extraordinary meetings will take place. The new mechanism was “evolving into a productive mechanism for consultation, consensus building, cooperation and joint action.” For instance, in the first 18 months of its existence, political consultations had been held on the “situations in Afghanistan, Serbia and Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.” The practical cooperation on the NRC level was generating concrete benefits in many areas. A number of meetings had been held at the level of Foreign and Ministers, as well as sessions of both Foreign and Defense Department Representatives. Meetings led “to an unprecedented intensity of contacts and informal consultation in many different fields, conducted in a friendly and workmanlike atmosphere.”<sup>276</sup> Its website was launched in 2007 which helps to raise public awareness of the activities with its documents/glossaries, gallery and videos as well as useful links.<sup>277</sup> Detailed information on Russia-NATO relations and the NRC activities are also available in NATO’s official website.<sup>278</sup>

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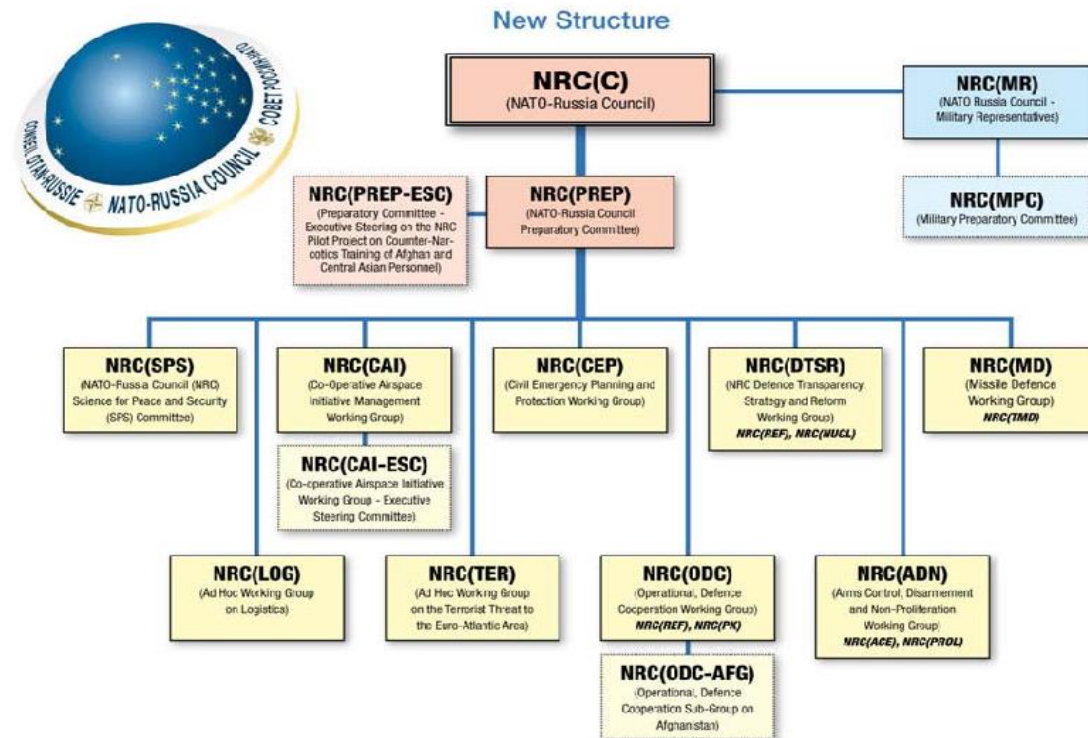
<sup>275</sup> Robert S. Litwak, “The Imperial Republic After 9/11”, *Wilson Quarterly*, p. 76

<sup>276</sup> “About NRC”, <http://www.nato.int/nrc-website/EN/about/index.html>, accessed on 27 January 2013

<sup>277</sup> <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/about/>

<sup>278</sup> <http://www.nato.int>

Figure 1 NRC's Structure<sup>279</sup>



#### 4.3.1 NRC Preparatory Committee (PC), Committees and Working Groups, and NRC Military Representatives

Preparatory Committee supports and prepares the Council meetings at the level of the NATO Political Committee, with Russian representation at the appropriate level. It meets twice in a month, or more if needed. Through the PC, Russian representative take part in setting of the crucial agenda and preparation stages for the consultative process. Coordinated work of the PC and NRC ambassadors can also be given as an example. With the support of the PC, ambassadors monitored the implementation of the Action Plan on Terrorism, which was approved in 2004 to coordinate practical cooperation under the NRC. Then, the PC would “report back to NRC ambassadors by 1 June 2005, or another appropriate date to be determined, on progress made in implementing the

<sup>279</sup> [http://www.nato.int/nato\\_static/assets/pdf/pdf\\_topics/20111018\\_nrc-structure.pdf](http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_topics/20111018_nrc-structure.pdf), accessed on 28 January 2013

Plan, and would provide recommendations to ambassadors for consolidating and focusing the NRC's terrorism work plan for the remainder of the year on projects that are resulting in concrete and practical cooperation among NRC member states."<sup>280</sup>

The NRC may also create "committees or working groups for individual subjects or areas of cooperation on an ad hoc or permanent basis, as appropriate", and they "will draw upon the resources of existing NATO committees." Since the NRC creation, "more than 25 working groups and committees had been created to develop cooperation" on the identified areas of common interest.<sup>281</sup> In addition to these areas, experts have been tasked to take work forward on individual projects in other key areas.

Meetings at the military representatives and Chiefs Staff level are organized under the auspices of the NRC. Meetings at the military representative level are organized at least once a month and more often if needed while meetings at the level of Chiefs of Staff level are organized at least twice annually. Moreover, meetings of military experts maybe convened as appropriate.

#### **4.5 Comparison of the NRC and the PJC**

Some questioned if there is a difference this time? Or some asked whether it was an attempt of mollifying Russia for NATO's second round of enlargement? In fact, it can be observed several differences when we analyze Rome declaration and the NRC structure. However, the NRC does resemble the PJC in many ways.

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<sup>280</sup> "NATO-Action Plan on Terrorism", *e-Library*, 9 December 2004, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_21003.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_21003.htm) mber 2004, accessed on 13 April 2013

<sup>281</sup> "About NRC", <http://www.nato.int/nrc-website/EN/about/index.html>, accessed on 27 January 2013

#### 4.4.1 Differences

The first difference between the NRC and PJC is that the NRC is “chaired by the Secretary General of NATO.” In contrast to the NRC, the PJC “was chaired jointly by the Secretary General of NATO, a representative of one of the NATO member states on a rotation basis, and a representative of Russia.”<sup>282</sup> This scheme “reflected a difficult compromise, but for many Russians it suggested that NATO would have a 2:1 majority on procedural matters.”<sup>283</sup> It was expected that new format of the NRC’s chairmanship would eliminate this biased perception.

Second, one of the PJC’s limitations was its lack of significant institutionalization. It did not have PC to prepare the ground for its formal meetings and created only two subordinate working groups. Instead, in the framework of the PJC, a safeguard mechanism enabled the alliance members formulate their position before they discuss with Moscow. And, if then both sides agreed on a common position, then they would act jointly. In contrast to the PJC, the NRC has a PC which brings both Russian and NATO representatives. In practice, its structural safeguard mechanism prevents NATO member states from bring their ‘precooked’ positions to the NRC table as faits accomplis.<sup>284</sup>

The NRC was created to lay the foundation for a new kind of cooperation, and according to the Rome declaration, the participants in council meetings would act in their national capacity. This means that discussions on the issues the NRC is to address would start from scratch, without NATO member states first working out a common position.<sup>285</sup> All

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<sup>282</sup> Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, Paris, 27 May 1997, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_25468.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25468.htm), accessed 30 March, 2012

<sup>283</sup> Peter Trenin-Straussov, “The NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council in 1997-1990: Anatomy of a Failure”, *Berlin Information-Center for Transatlantic Security (BITS)*, July 1999, p. 4

<sup>284</sup> Mark Webber, James Sperling and Martin A. Smtih, “NATO-Russia Relations”, *NATO’s Post-Cold War Trajectory: Decline or Regeneration*, ed. Stuart Croft, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 135

<sup>285</sup> Akexander Goltz, “Russia’s NATO Romance Seems Long Ever”, *The Russia Journal*, June 14-20, 2002, p. 11

the members of NATO and Russia can separately propose any issue to be considered at the NRC meetings. However, it should also be noted that all NATO members then meet in the Political Committee to decide whether it is an issue that they want to discuss in the NRC.

Under the NRC, preliminary discussions are held within a PC that has the same status as NATO's important political panel.<sup>286</sup> Consequently, committees and working groups is formed to prepare joint decisions. By 2008, the NRC had already created 27 subordinate committees and working groups, indicating "the breadth and depth of its consultative agenda in comparison with the PJC."<sup>287</sup> This suggests that the new forum could provide Russia an opportunity to become part of the crucial decision-making process. As stated in the Rome declaration, the NRC would give Russia formal co-decision-making responsibilities with NATO member states in specified issue areas, and this considered to be the key difference between the NRC and the PJC. For the officials, this ensured that the new mechanism becomes a genuine center for making joint decisions on key security issues but not just another talking shop as the PJC.

Similarly, there is another significant difference in the structure of the NRC and the PJC. According to the Rome declaration, the NRC will

bring together NATO member states and Russia to identify and pursue opportunities for joint action at twenty... In the framework of the NATO-Russia Council, NATO member states and Russia will work as equal partners in areas of common interest... The members of the NATO-Russia Council, acting in their national capacities and in a manner consistent with their respective collective commitments and obligations, will take joint decisions and will bear equal responsibility, individually and jointly, for their implementation.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Alexander Goltz, "Russia's NATO Romance seems long ever", *The Russia Journal*, June 14-20, 2002, p. 11

<sup>287</sup> Mark Webber, James Sperling and Martin A. Smitih, "NATO-Russia Relations", *NATO's Post-Cold War Trajectory: Decline or Regeneration*, ed. Stuart Croft, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 135

<sup>288</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013



In the Russian perspective, Russian views were taken seriously at the PJC meetings.<sup>289</sup> However, the NRC represents a real step forward from the PJC, which was established to institutionalize meetings between NATO members and Russia on a '16 + 1' basis (later 19 + 1) but which became little more than a forum for public declarations.<sup>290</sup> NATO members took part in meetings having already formulated their position in advance, which was characterized by Moscow as '19 versus 1'.<sup>291</sup> Now, all 20 sit as equals at one table to discuss the issues of common interest.<sup>292</sup> The NRC at 20 eliminated the view that the PJC forum was the debate of '19 against 1'. The new forum gives Moscow an equal voice on decisions on areas of common interest with respect to the Alliance.

#### 4.4.2 Similarities

In fact, the NRC is similar to the PJC in many aspects. Institutionally, except for the principle of consensual decision making, its chairmanship and the PC, the functioning of the NRC's functioning is quite identical with that of the PJC. The schedule of the new mechanism's meetings at various levels also resembles the PJC.

According to the Rome declaration, the NRC, replacing the PJC, would "provide a mechanism for consultation, consensus-building, cooperation, joint action, and joint action... serve as the principal structure and venue for advancing the relationship

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<sup>289</sup> Lionel Ponsard, "The Evolution of the Russian Attitude to NATO", *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*, ed. Lionel Ponsard, London ; New York : Routledge, 2007, p. 83

<sup>290</sup> Mark Galeotti, "The View from the Kremlin".....

<sup>291</sup> Mark Galeotti, "The View from the Kremlin".....

<sup>292</sup> Robert E. Hunter and Sergey M. Rogov, "NATO, Russia Can Get Far With Small Steps", *Los Angeles Times*, 22 May 2002

between NATO and Russia.”<sup>293</sup> However, the Rome declaration was not designed to replace the Founding Act; instead it was built on the Act. The declaration states that “as participants of the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security, we reaffirm the goals, principles and commitments set forth therein... We are convinced that a qualitatively new relationship between NATO and Russian Federation will constitute an essential contribution in achieving this goal.”<sup>294</sup>

According to the Rome declaration, the NRC would also cooperate on all the areas listed under Section III of the Founding Act. Similarly, the work programmes for 2002 for the PJC agreed in December 2001 continued to be implemented the new body. This means the NRC also continued to discuss and implement similar topics that were contained in the previous 2002 work programme for the PJC. At the PJC Meeting in Reykjavik at the level of Foreign Ministers on May 14 2002, ministers took stock of progress achieved in the framework of the PJC for last months and expressed their satisfaction issues addressed in the PJC, and they have also approved rules of procedure and a work programme for the NRC for 2002. According to the Defense ministers’ statement after the NRC meeting in June 2002, they were “strongly committed to the implementation of the NRC Work Programme for 2002 approved in Reykjavik and brought into effect in Rome, and have given directions to our Ambassadors to take this work forward.”<sup>295</sup> They have tasked the NRC on specific issues on broad headings: “struggle against terrorism, crisis management, non-proliferation, theatre missile defense, arms control and confidence building measures, defense reform, search and rescue at sea.”

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<sup>293</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>294</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>295</sup> Statement by the Defense Ministers of the NATO-Russia Council, June 6 2002, <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2002/p020606e.htm>, accessed on 19 February 2013

#### 4.6 Comments on and Criticism of (the Rome Declaration and) the NRC

When the negotiations began, Jeremy D. Rosner and Ronald D. Asmus, two former officials responsible for NATO enlargement in the Clinton administration, thought British proposal was a bad proposal and gave the reasons why they think so. According to them,

The new British proposal suggests that we abandon this safeguard and instead invite Russia to sit around the NATO table from the outset of consultations like any other member – only on some issues, to be sure, but probably on crucial ones, such as terrorism. Doing so will only make achieving consensus harder and could give Russia the kind of back-door veto over NATO decisions that American administrations of both political parties have long fought to preclude. Indeed, some Russian commentators are already claiming victory. As Pavel Felgenhauer wrote last week in the *Moscow Times*, this would make Russia a NATO member in all but name and give it an effective veto on some issues. That is precisely why it is a bad proposal.<sup>296</sup>

In the same article, they thought since Russia did not yet meet NATO standards; upgrading Russia's relationship to the joint NATO-Russia decision-making would not be realized. According to them,

NATO works as a military alliance because its members share common values and interests. That is the basis for NATO's ability to take sound political and military actions in difficult circumstances. For that reason, both the United States and NATO have repeatedly declared in recent years that new members must have a proven track as democracies and as de facto allies prior to joining the alliance. Russia does not yet meet those standards. While Mr. Putin's efforts to cooperate with the West are laudable, we do not know the depth or durability of that commitment. He has not yet brought his security institutions or public along with him in his westward turn, and his own track record as a democrat is mixed. Russia's brutal treatment of Chechnya and its recent assault on the free media do not reflect the kind of values that deserve a permanent seat in NATO decision-making. Moreover, even if Pr. Putin were to be a responsible voice within NATO, he will not rule forever, and we can hardly be assured about who might

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<sup>296</sup> Jeremy D. Rosner and Ronald D. Asmus, "Don't give Russia a Veto at NATO", *Washington Times*, 5 December 2001, <http://www.cfr.org/nato/dont-give-russia-veto-nato/p4222>, accessed on 23 February 2013

follow. No Central European country with this mixed record would be a credible candidate for NATO. We shouldn't lower the bar for Russia.<sup>297</sup>

Robert E. Hunter and Sergey M. Rogov, just a week before the signing of the Rome declaration, harshly criticized NATO and Russia's desire of upgrading their relationship. For them,

If NATO and Russia focus just on the machinery of cooperation and possible common action, they are like to be caught up again in political game-playing. The trick is for both sides to focus more on what they do than how they do it. This means not reaching for the moon at first: not trying to define joint approaches to countering terrorism and not trying to coalesce on a policy against Iraq, where the same fault lines exist among 20 countries. It also means not looking toward Russian membership in NATO any time soon. Neither side wants that; what both should want is for Russia to have a workable alliance with the alliance. And it means starting small, one careful step at a time. Possibilities include cooperating in civil emergency planning... The importance of this type of effort is not its modesty but its practicality, its potential for building the mutual trust to turn common interests into common action...<sup>298</sup>

Jakup Kulhanek expressed similar view claiming that the period 1999-2002 -particularly following the September 11 terrorist attacks – serves an example of unwarranted optimism in the face of deeply rooted trends in NATO-Russia relations. For him,

Despite the glowing praise from politicians on both sides, the NATO-Russia Council was by no means a significant improvement in the developing partnership between NATO and Russia, nor was it a major success of Putin's foreign policy. Quite the contrary; the NRC ended the brief honey-moon period in NATO-Russia relations. Unless NATO and Russia commit themselves to profoundly reconsider their long-term strategic assumptions regarding each other's international ambitions, they cannot hope to forge an enduring partnership.<sup>299</sup>

After the momentous event in Rome, different views came out concerning the contents of the Rome declaration and the newly created NRC. As the new body was being

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<sup>297</sup> Jeremy D. Rosner and Ronald D. Asmus, "Don't give Russia a Veto at NATO", *Washington Times*, 5 December 2001, <http://www.cfr.org/nato/dont-give-russia-veto-nato/p4222>, accessed on 23 February 2013

<sup>298</sup> Robert E. Hunter and Sergey M. Rogov, "NATO, Russia Can Get Far With Small Steps", *Los Angeles Times*, 22 May 2002

<sup>299</sup> Jakub Kulhanek, "Putin's Foreign Policy and the Founding of the NATO-Russia Council", *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2009, p.153

established, the Russian analyst Alexander Goltz set out what would prove to be a prescient yardstick for measuring its success;

The problem is that we can come to mutual understanding and mutual decisions even without this body... What Russia needs is the opportunity to participate in a decision-making process when [there is] some problem, some controversial issues, something like in Yugoslavia. [It is] not a problem to reach an agreement when you have the same points of view. The problem is to reach an agreement and to come to a consensus when you have different views on the same problem. That is the task.<sup>300</sup>

A president of the Politika Foundation Vyacheslav Nikonov expressed his pessimistic view about the future of the NRC. He said,

In my opinion, the [NATO-Russia Council, or the so-called] '20 Formula' is a good deal, but so far it is a just peace of paper. I have to admit that I am a NATO skeptic, and I don't believe something good will result from the NRC. This [council] means that Russia will be given the possibility to make decisions concerning antiterrorist operations and issues on nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But it is evident that antiterrorism and nonproliferation are not the main problems for European security. Important problems will be discussed at another table without the participation of Russia.<sup>301</sup>

However, there came out positive views on the prospect of the NRC. In August 2002, Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister stated that "the NRC has all the prerequisites to become an efficient tool of cooperation in concrete spheres of the antiterrorist fight, including the prevention of terrorist acts committed with the use of mass destruction weaponry components and the liquidation of their aftermath."<sup>302</sup> Paul Fritch was also optimistic about the prospects and future of the new mechanism. For him,

In the period since the Summit, further NATO-Russia meetings have been held at all levels – defense ministers, ambassadors, political advisors, and experts. Four

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<sup>300</sup> Quoted by Martin A. Smith, "NATO: Alliance Mulls Details of Larger Role for Russia", cited in 'NATO Russia Relations: Will the Future Resemble the Past', *NATO in Search of a Vision*, eds. Gülnur Aybet and Rebecca Moore, Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2010, p.110

<sup>301</sup> Francesca Mereu, "Russia: Analysts Pessimistic About NATO Enlargement, NATO-Russia Council", *Archive, Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, July 11, 2002, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1100237.html>, accessed on 16 February 2013

<sup>302</sup> "Russia Sees Closer Ties with NATO, EU as a Key to Defeating Terrorism", *ITAR-TASS*, FBIS transcribed text in English, 23 August 2002

new working groups have been created and range of expert meetings convened to transform the political message of Rome into practical cooperation in key areas. These include, among others, the struggle against terrorism, efforts to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, crisis management and civil-emergency planning. And while we all continue to grapple with the rules and procedures of this entirely new structure, the political will that has too often in the past been missing from the NATO-Russia dialogue is evident at all levels. We are still in the very early stages of this ambitious undertaking, but the prospects for a genuinely new quality in NATO-Russia relations are bright.<sup>303</sup>

NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson gave a speech at the conference and touched upon Russia's constructive engagement which would contribute "to greater stability and security in the wider Euro-Atlantic region." He said that

Together with Russia we are able to bring enormous resources to solve crises. And by working together, both at the conceptual level and in joint operations, we minimize the risk of divergence in the international response to a crisis. This may be difficult at times, even now that we have a new NRC in place. We must not shy away from this challenge, because Russia's constructive engagement will contribute to a coherent, Europe-wide approach to peacekeeping and crisis management, and thereby greater stability and security in the wider Euro-Atlantic region.<sup>304</sup>

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

This chapter found out that the Russia-NATO rapprochement was already taking place before the September 11 as a result of Putin's 'Westernist' strategy which "envisioned genuine cooperation with the West." However, right after the September 11, Putin rekindled Russia's interest in boosting relations with NATO by visiting to Brussels, signaling more flexible approach to enlargement and reiterating his country's readiness to help the US to combat terrorism. Moscow continuously promoted the idea of new cooperation mechanism both to address common challenges to demand greater say in

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<sup>303</sup> Paul Fritch, "Transforming the Alliance", *NATO Review*, Summer 2002

<sup>304</sup> Keynote Address by NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson, "Meeting Today's Security Challenges: Working Together, Learning Lessons, Being Good", *At the Conference on 'The UN, the EU, NATO and other Regional Actors: Partners in Peace?*, Paris, 11 October 2002

NATO decisions. After intense negotiations the NRC, NATO and Russia created the NRC which provides them “a mechanism for consultation, consensus building, cooperation, joint decision and joint action in the areas of common interest.” This means Russia’s own expressed desire for a more cooperative relationship with NATO came into reality with creation of the NRC which gives Moscow an equal voice on decisions on common interest. The chapter explored that the objective behind the creation of NRC was to provide a fresh start to Russia-NATO relations, drawing on the positive cooperation in the fight against terrorism after the 11 September and to stay “united in common cause against the security threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century”. It can also be concluded that the Russia is pleased with the functioning and structure of the NRC since the new mechanism has a PC which allows the Russian representative take part in setting of the crucial agenda and preparation stages for the consultative process. This format, unlike the PJC, has a structural safeguard mechanism against NATO’s ‘pre-cooked’ positions simply brought to the NRC meetings. In the chapter, although it became clear that there are differences between the NRC and the PJC, these mechanisms are similar in many ways. Lastly, the chapter examined positive and negative views on the creation of the NRC and its future; however, who is right or who is wrong is the subject of the next chapters.

Rome declaration outlined the main areas of cooperation within the NRC. Since 2002, it has developed the new agenda for cooperation and a number of practical cooperation projects in the areas of common interest. In this regard, the next chapter deals with the analysis of the NRC’s achievements between 2002 and 2014. This task helps us to evaluate the level of cooperation between Russia and NATO and assess their potential to foster partnership in the future.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE NATURE OF NRC COOPERATION AND ITS ROLE IN RUSSIA-NATO RELATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

At the Rome Summit, NATO and Russia agreed to enhance their ability to cooperate in areas of mutual interest. Since then, a number of practical cooperation projects had been developed under the NRC; these were developed in the following areas: “struggle against terrorism, crisis management, non-proliferation, arms control and confidence – building measures, theatre missile defense, search and rescue at sea, military-to-military cooperation, civil emergencies, and scientific cooperation on new threats and challenges.” This chapter analyses achievements in these areas to evaluate the level of cooperation between Russia and NATO within the NRC framework. To highlight the results of the NRC-based cooperation, to clarify its evolving status, and to evaluate its role in Russia-NATO relations, all the areas must be analyzed in greater details.

#### **5.2 Struggle against Terrorism**

Struggle against terrorism is regarded as a key area of cooperation and according to the declaration, struggle against terrorism is aimed at strengthening “cooperation through a multifaceted approach, including joint assessments of the terrorist threat to the Euro-Atlantic area, focused on specific threats, for example, to Russian and NATO forces, to



civilian aircraft, or to critical infrastructure; an initial step will be a joint assessment of the threat to NATO, Russia and Partner peacekeeping forces in the Balkans.”<sup>305</sup>

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the cooperation in these areas gained momentum after the 11 September. In addition to calling the US President George W. Bush, Putin also sent a ‘Dear George’ telegram stating that “barbarous terrorist acts aimed against wholly innocent people cause us anger and indignation. I ask you to pass on our deepest sympathies to the relatives of the victims of this tragedy and the entire suffering American people.”<sup>306</sup> Right after the tragic events, at the Russian state TV, Putin expressed solidarity with the American people. Moreover, he showed Russian solidarity with his decision to commemorate the victims of the terrorist attacks with a minute of silence in Russia on 13 September 2001.

Soon after the tragic events, Putin pledged Russian support to the US campaign against terrorism. He assured the US of Russia’s full support in the military operation against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Significantly, in the US-led ‘war on terror’, Moscow allowed US forces to use Russian airspaces for operations in Afghanistan and did not oppose the creation of US bases in two of the former republics of Soviet Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. “Putin’s consent to the deployment of Western forces in Central Asia and to the use of Central Asian airfields during the US-led operations in Afghanistan represented a dramatic turn in Russia’s Central Asian policy.”<sup>307</sup> It should be also noted that on 12 September 2001, the Russian envoy voted for the UN SC unanimous resolution (1368), expressing “its readiness to take all necessary steps to respond to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, and to combat all forms of terrorism, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter of the United

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<sup>305</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002

<sup>306</sup> “11 Years Ago Russia Offered Sympathy and Support: Angered Putin Calls for Coordinated Response”, *The Moscow Times*, 12 September 2001

<sup>307</sup> Lena Jonson, “Introduction”, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia: The Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy*, ed. Lean Jonson, New York, London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2004, p. 1

Nations.”<sup>308</sup> In this sense, Russia also suggested that a separate UN session should focus on terrorism and the Russian leaders welcomed a UN resolution against terrorism adopted in September 2001, which provided a legal basis for the struggle against terrorism, and placed the UN in a leading position with regard to combating terror.<sup>309</sup> Significantly, at the PJC meeting, Russia joined as NATO condemned terrorism agreed with NATO members to intensify their cooperation under the Founding Act to defeat this scourge.

Moscow contributed to the international coalition’s campaign in Afghanistan by allowing its airspace and sharing intelligence on terrorism. It should be also noted that, one of the item in the list – “the use of airbases in Central Asia by the United States – attracted considerable attention as Russia allowed US forces to operate in what it clearly considered its sphere of influence.”<sup>310</sup> This contribution decisively anchored both Russia and the alliance on the same side of the war on terrorism.

In this area, cooperation “has taken the form of joint threat assessments, regular exchanges of information, in-depth consultation, civil emergency planning for terrorist attacks, high level dialogue on the role of military, lessons learned from recent terrorist attacks and, scientific and technical cooperation.” Ad-Hoc Working group was created an in the first years of its existence, developed and agreed a number of joint papers.<sup>311</sup> This effort showed that, “NATO and Russia share many common views on both the

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<sup>308</sup> Unanimous Resolution 1368 Adopted by the Security Council at its 4370<sup>th</sup> Meeting on 12 December 2001

<sup>309</sup> Wagnsson, Charlotte. “Russia’s Choice: Preserve the Status Quo”, *The Iraq War: European Perspectives on Politics, Strategy and Operations*, eds., Jan Hallenberg and Hakan Karlsson, New York: Routledge, 2005, , p. 65

<sup>310</sup> Julianne Smith, “The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà vu?”, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 2008, p. 6

<sup>311</sup> They included assessments of the threats and challenges posed by Al-Qaeda; of terrorist threats to the security of peacekeeping forces in the Balkans; of terrorist threats to civil aircraft; of threats to NRC members posed by Islamist extremism and radicalism in Central Asia; and of current and future terrorist threat to cargo and passenger transport. Andrei Kelin, “NATO-Russia Cooperation to Counter Terrorism”, *NATO Review*, Autumn 2005

nature of the terrorist threat and approaches to addressing it”; and “given the challenge, NATO-Russia work in this field has had to be both diverse and multi-dimensional.”<sup>312</sup>

High-level conferences had been held both in NATO countries and Russia.<sup>313</sup> In Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2005, representatives of the NRC countries came together “to share their practical experience of preventing terrorist activity, consequence management and dealing with hostage-taking.”<sup>314</sup> Moreover, under the NRC, specific aspects of combating terrorism were a key focus of activities in other areas of cooperation. For instance, anti-terrorism issues were also studied within the Cooperative Airspace Initiative (CAI)<sup>315</sup> and respective ad-hoc working groups on several other areas. After discussions were held at the expert level, some of these studies and assessments were tested through joint exercises. For instance, the main of the ‘Kaliningrad 2004’ was “to examine existing national, regional and multinational arrangements for consequence management and response to a mass casualty and environmental disaster situation caused by a terrorist attack.”<sup>316</sup> Russian military exercise ‘Avaria 2004’ and a joint initiative between Hungary and Russia on civil emergency planning and response capabilities are other

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<sup>312</sup> Andrei Kelin, “NATO-Russia Cooperation to Counter Terrorism”, *NATO Review*, Autumn 2005

<sup>313</sup> The conferences organized in Rome and Moscow in 2002 and in Norfolk in 2004 had explored the role of military in combating terrorism, generating recommendations for ways to develop practical military cooperation in this area.

<sup>314</sup> Andrei Kelin, “NATO-Russia Cooperation to Counter Terrorism”, *NATO Review*, Autumn 2005

<sup>315</sup> CAI was launched in 2003 by the NRC which aims at developing information exchange system and fostering cooperation on airspace security issues aimed, in particular, at strengthening the capabilities against terrorist threats. “NATO-Russia Council Action Plan on Terrorism”, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_72737.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_72737.htm), accessed on 4 March 2013 ‘STANDEX is a multinational programme run by a consortium of laboratories and research institutes that each contribute to the project. Participants include the French Alternative Energies and Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), Germany’s Fraunhofer Institute, the Netherland’s Organization for Applied Scientific Research (TNO), the Khlopin Radium Institute and the Applied Science and Technology Organization (APSTEC) in Russia, ATC Semiconductor in Russia and the Italian National Agency for New Technologies, Energy and Sustainable Economic Development (ENEA).The intent of the project is to bring together and integrate various techniques and technologies to allow for detection, localization and tracking would be suicide bombers.’ “STANDEX Counter Terrorism Project: 10 Years 10 Stories Anniversary Feature”, *News*, 23 November 2012, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/20121123-nrc-10-years-standex/>, accessed on 8 April 2013

<sup>316</sup> “NATO-Russia Disaster Response Exercise and Seminar Held in Kaliningrad”, *NATO Update*, 3 August 2006, <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2004/06-june/e0622b.htm>, accessed on 4 March 2013

examples in this regard. In the area of struggle against terrorism, there are other initiatives such as Countering Improvised Explosive Devices (C-IED) and Operation Active Endeavour, Operation Active Endeavour (OAE) and within the NRC Science Committee

### **5.2.1 NATO-Russia Action Plan against Terrorism**

The NRC proved to be important mechanism after the Beslan school hostage crisis of September 2004. It “began when armed terrorists took hundreds of school children and adults hostage on September 1, 2004” and ended with a tragedy after three day of the standoff. During the tragic events, “344 civilians were killed, 186 of them children, and hundreds more wounded and for many Russians”, this event considered to be their 9/11.<sup>317</sup> On 7 September, the NRC adopted a statement “condemning what had taken place as both a crime and a direct threat to our common security, shared democratic values and basic human rights and freedoms.”<sup>318</sup> The NRC leaders immediately approved an action plan on terrorism which would serve coordination of practical cooperation under the NRC. In the plan, they outlined measures “to enhance their capabilities to act, individually and jointly, in three critical areas: preventing terrorism; combating terrorist activities; and managing the consequences of terrorist acts.”<sup>319</sup> In this way, NATO and Russia, instead of just issuing statements, they proceeded to

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<sup>317</sup>Cindy C. Combs and Martin Slann, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, eds., Cindy C. Combs and Martin Slann, New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007, p. 40

<sup>318</sup> The NATO-Russia Council categorically rejects terrorism in all its manifestations. It reconfirms that terrorist acts pose a direct challenge to common security, to shared democratic values and to basic human rights and freedoms. NRC nations agree that there is no cause that can justify such acts, and call for unity of action in the international community in addressing this insidious threat. They will do everything in their power to fight all forms of terrorism, acting in conformity with the UN Charter, international human rights and humanitarian law, as well as other existing commitments. They stand united in support of the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, as well as the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. “NATO-Russia Council Action Plan on Terrorism”, *e-Library*, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_72737.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_72737.htm), accessed on 29 March 2013

<sup>319</sup> NATO-Russia Council Action Plan on Terrorism, 9 December 2004, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_21003.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_21003.htm)?, accessed on 29 March 2013

explore the possibilities for joint practical actions, for instance by using military means to counter the terrorist threat. Russia's offer to support Operation Active Endeavour (OAE) at the Istanbul Summit (2004) can be given as an example.<sup>320</sup>

The NRC cooperation in this area seeks to complement and enhance UN and other structures' efforts to provide added value and avoid duplication efforts. The activities of the NRC Action Plan on Terrorism complements other structures' initiatives in combating terrorism and it is believed that this would be much more effective way of working in this area. Russia believes that there could be developed practical cooperation between the Alliance and the CSTO, and for the CSTO Secretary General Nikolai Bordyuzha, "the CSTO and NATO have common interests in controlling the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the fight against international terrorism, drug trafficking and illegal migration."<sup>321</sup> For one of the NATO-Russia cooperation proponents, "Since CSTO and NATO have much in common, combining the two organizations' capabilities and experience could help improve effective responses to terrorism and extremism challenges."<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> "Formally, OAE, NATO's maritime counter-terrorist operation in the Mediterranean Sea, began 26 October 2001, and since then there had been talk about Russian participation in the operation. Since December 2004, joint pre-deployment training has been underway to prepare Russian ships to support OAE, and in September 2006, NATO authorized the Russian frigate *Pitliviy* to participate in OAE. Ships were deployed in 2006, 2007 and 2008 and in 2010 at Lisbon, Russia confirmed its interest in the resumption of its support to this operation. In April 2011, foreign ministers approved an updated NRC Action Plan on Terrorism, aiming to draw on NRC joint review of 21<sup>st</sup> century common security challenges endorsed by NRC heads of state and government in Lisbon, and expand the scope of cooperation in the fight against terrorism."

<sup>321</sup> "Cooperation with NATO Difficult", *RIA NOVOSTI*, 8 November 2005, <http://en.rian.ru/world/20051108/42025258.html>, accessed on 10 April 2013

<sup>322</sup> Andrei Kelin, "NATO-Russia Cooperation to Counter Terrorism", *NATO Review*, Autumn 2005

### **5.2.2 Support for International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and the Afghan Armed Forces**

Russia supported the ISAF in Afghanistan from the beginning in accordance with UNSCR 1386, adopted unanimously on 20 December 2001 authorizing the establishment of an ISAF “to assist the Afghan Interim Authority in the maintenance of security in Kabul and its surrounding areas, so that the Afghan Interim Authority as well as the personnel of the United Nations can operate in a secure environment.”<sup>323</sup> ISAF command was originally rotated among different nations on a 6- month basis, first led first by the United Kingdom and “allies and other partner countries have deployed nearly 4000 troops to Afghanistan and also provide 95% of the ISAF.”<sup>324</sup> Despite the fact that ISAF was established by UN, it was not an UN force; it was deployed by the ‘coalition of the willing’.

NATO took over ISAF’s command in 2003 taking charge of its first ‘out of area’ operation in the alliance history. After NATO’s take over, ISAF gradually expanded its operations through Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) to other provinces of Afghanistan and currently “about 32000 U.S and Allied forces are engaged in security assistance and counterinsurgency under NATO command, while another 8000 coalition troops are involved in counterterrorist operations.”<sup>325</sup>

Because Russia shares common interest with NATO in stabilizing Afghanistan and the broader region, it is the most important area of cooperation for the NRC. In 2008, ISAF mission needed Russian support and NATO asked Russia “to allow the land transit of

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<sup>323</sup> Resolution 1386 (2001) on the Situation in Afghanistan Adopted by the Security Council at its 4443<sup>rd</sup> Meeting, on 20 December 2001

<sup>324</sup> ‘NATO: Coalition Contributions to the War on Terrorism’, *Archive, U.S. Department of State, Fact Sheet, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs*, 31 October 2002, <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/fs/14627.htm>, accessed on 17 April 2013

<sup>325</sup> Barnett Rubin, ‘Saving Afghanistan’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 1, January/February 2007

non-military equipment for ISAF contributors across Russian territory to Afghanistan in support of the NATO-led ISAF.”<sup>326</sup> They concluded agreement and it proved to be critical for the supply of non-lethal goods to Afghanistan through rail transportation between Russia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. At that time, NATO led about 47,000 strong ISAF which was responsible for spreading the influence of Hamid Karzai’s government across Afghanistan.

The agreement was concluded at the NATO 2008 Summit in Bucharest, where the future of Ukraine and Georgia’s membership in NATO was expected to be in the agenda. As in the past, Russia harshly opposed NATO’s eastward expansion and “warned of the political and military consequences of moving forward with such plans.” Familiar with these statements before, NATO did not find Russia’s threats serious until Russian ambassador to NATO Rogozin “suggested that Russia might point warheads at Ukraine if it were to join the alliance.”<sup>327</sup> NATO declined Georgia and Ukraine’s applications to Membership Action Plans (MAP) in Bucharest. However, although Germany and France had opposed offering the MAP to both countries, under pressure from Washington, one of the strongest advocates of enlargement in the alliance, the alliance did say they would eventually become NATO members. A week later, as a response, Russian General Yuri Baluevski “vowed to take military action if NATO expands east to include its former Soviet neighbors, Ukraine and Georgia.”<sup>328</sup> Despite these events, in Bucharest, NATO and Russia agreed on important initiative; Russia agreed with the alliance, allowing “non-military equipment for ISAF contributors through Russian territory to Afghanistan.” However, it should be noted that Russia was obliged to assist ISAF under UNSCR calling UN member states to provide ISAF with necessary assistance.

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<sup>326</sup> “Questions and Answers on ISAF Transit and Russia”, 18 July 2012, <http://www.nato.int/nrc-website/EN/articles/2012-07-18-nrc-transit-agreement-qa/index.html>, accessed on 17 April 2013

<sup>327</sup> Julianne Smith, ‘The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà vu?’, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 2008, p. 6

<sup>328</sup> “Russia Talks Tough in Response to NATO’s Eastward Expansion”, *DW-World.de*, 11 April 2008, <http://www.dw.de/russia-talks-tough-in-response-to-natos-eastward-expansion/a-3261078>

At the Lisbon Summit in 2010, NRC leaders agreed on amend the transit agreement which allowed “land transit of non-lethal cargo through Russian territory both to and from Afghanistan.”<sup>329</sup> In 2012, adopting a decree of № 637, Russia extended the transit scheme to multimodal transportation.<sup>330</sup> According to the new arrangements, Russia allowed the ISAF cargo to be transported through multinational transportation by using Russian rail, road and air depending on economic parameters and other specific conditions. Due to its convenience for transportation, Ulyanovsk International Airport had been provided as a hub for transits to and from Afghanistan.

### **5.2.3 NATO-Russia Cooperation on Counter-Narcotic Training and Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund**

NRC cooperation on Afghanistan also includes the provision of counter-narcotic training of personnel from Afghanistan, Central Asia and Pakistan. NRC Foreign Ministers launched a Project for Counter-Narcotic training in 2005 to address the threats posed by the trafficking of Afghan narcotics. The project, in cooperation with the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC), “seeks to build local capabilities and to promote regional networking and cooperation by sharing the combined expertise of NRC nations with mid-level officers” from initially Afghanistan and from Central Asian countries.<sup>331</sup> Pakistan joined the project in 2010. In addition to these seven countries, 21 NRC nations and two non-NRC contributor Finland and Ukraine are involved in the project, demonstrating that “the project is unique since it brings together source and transit countries for trafficking with the nations that are ultimately targeted as markets for

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<sup>329</sup> Only non-lethal cargo will be transported using multi-modal commercial transit. ‘Non-lethal’ means goods valid for international transport, with exceptions as defined in the Annex to Decision No 219 by the government of the Russian Federation on the 28 March 2008 (explosives, ammunition and all weapons), “Questions and Answers on ISAF Transit and Russia”, 18 July 2012, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/18-july-2012-transit-agreement-qa/>, accessed on 17 April 2013

<sup>330</sup> “Questions and Answers on ISAF Transit and Russia”, 18 July 2012, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/18-july-2012-transit-agreement-qa/>, accessed on 17 April 2013

<sup>331</sup> “NATO-Russia Council Practical Cooperation Fact Sheet”, November 2012, p. 4



drugs.”<sup>332</sup> Russia and Turkey or the United States and region itself were the places that fixed trainings took place. Since the project was launched, it had trained over 2500 counter-narcotics personnel from across the region.<sup>333</sup>

In 2010, Russian counter narcotics officers joined with their Afghan and American counterparts to destroy four narcotics laboratories in Nangarhar province in eastern Afghanistan, “where about 70 troops involved and seized about 1 ton of heroin as well as other opiates, various precursor chemicals and drug-making equipment.”<sup>334</sup> The goal of the operation, along with the informational and organizational support of the ISAF, was “to identify, disrupt and deny material support to terrorism, and very specifically to the Taliban elements that are surrounding this drug trade.”<sup>335</sup> In Lisbon, it was agreed to expand the scope of the project and in 2013 it would further include other areas.<sup>336</sup>

In Lisbon, agreement was reached on the establishment of an NRC Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund “to contribute to the ability of the AAF to operate its fleet of Mi-17 and Mi-35 helicopters more efficiently, providing training for the Afghan maintenance technicians and required helicopter spare parts.” During the first phase, Russia and other ten donor nations contributed to the Fund and training in 2012 started at the main center Novosibirsk Aircraft Repair Plant in Russia. After the trainings, in September 2012, 19 trainees reintegrated back to the Afghan National Army Air

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<sup>332</sup> “Counter-Narcotics Training Project Looks to the Future”, *News*, 20 August 2012, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/counter-narcotics-tashkent/>, accessed on 3 May 2013

<sup>333</sup> “NATO to Expand Counter-Drugs Training Project”, *RIA Novosti*, 10 April 2013, <http://en.rian.ru/world/20130410/180563702.html>, accessed on 3 May 2013

<sup>334</sup> Richard Weitz, “Russia-NATO Cooperation a Bright Sign in a Gloomy War”, *World Politics Review*, 2010

<sup>335</sup> Richard Weitz, “Russia-NATO Cooperation a Bright Sign in a Gloomy War”, *World Politics Review*, 2010

<sup>336</sup> The project would further continue to introduce new areas, including training counter officers in the use of sniffer dogs; and two additional fixed training sites will also be added; a Canine Training School in Rostov on Don, and the Siberian Federal District Law Institute in Krasnoyarsk. “NATO-Russia Council Project Took Stock of Training in 2012”, *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)*, <http://www.unodc.org/centralasia/en/news/nato-russia-council-project-took-stock-of-training-in-2012.html>, accessed on 3 May 2013

Corps.<sup>337</sup> Moreover, 30 Afghan personnel which constituted 20 per cent of AAF technicians completed their trainings in April 2013. More advanced training would be offered for the second phase, promoting the self-sufficiency of the AAF, which would be responsible after Afghanistan's security transferred to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) and the NATO-led ISAF withdrawn at the end of 2014.

#### **5.2.4 NRC and Afghanistan's Security after 2014**

Transition of responsibility to the Afghans had started in 2011 and planned to be completed at the end of the 2014. After 2014, the Alliance would be responsible for the new mission to train, advice and assist the ANSF during the transformation process (2015-2023) continuing to support the development and sustainment of the Afghan security forces and institutions. The Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen stressed that "the new mission will not be ISAF by another name. It will be different, and be significantly smaller. Its aim will be to train, advise and assist the Afghan forces, not substitute for them."<sup>338</sup> It would be based in five regions of Afghanistan and the focus would be on the national institutions.

The question was whether Russia would continue to cooperate with NATO on the NRC level as ISAF is withdrawn by the end of 2014? It seems Russia-NATO cooperation on Afghanistan is coming to an end. For objective reasons, when the Alliance finishes withdrawing most of its troops from Afghanistan, it won't need Russia's help as much. It was most probable that they would continue to cooperate on the previous projects or other new projects when they agree on the NRC level. After his visit to Moscow in April 2013, NATO Deputy Secretary General Ambassador Alexander Vershbow said that he and Russians shared common view that their counter-narcotics training efforts had been

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<sup>337</sup> "NATO-Russia Council Practical Cooperation Fact Sheet", November 2012, [http://www.nato.int/nato\\_static\\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\\_2012\\_11/20121204\\_121128-NRC-factsheet.pdf](http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2012_11/20121204_121128-NRC-factsheet.pdf), accessed on August 2013, p. 5

<sup>338</sup> "NATO Defense Ministers Endorse Concept for New post-2014 mission in Afghanistan", 5 June 2013, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news\\_101248.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_101248.htm), accessed on 12 August 2013

successful and agreed that their cooperation in this area could be expanded. Speaking about post-2014 NATO-Russia cooperation, he supposed that

As we look to the post-2014 period Afghanistan is going to have many different needs that the international community will have to address. Some of them will be in the security field, but there may be additional areas relating to securing the borders, fighting corruption, or dealing with other transnational crime, where NATO-Russia cooperation can be among the catalysts for greater regional cooperation. The focus may shift away from the security field, but NRC countries could provide a real impetus that could bring the Central Asian countries, Pakistan, India and China into new initiatives to support Afghan sovereignty and economic development. The counter-narcotics training project has provided a model for future cooperative projects. It has already gone beyond just training Afghans, to providing capacity building in Central Asia and Pakistan. There is an opportunity to be even more inclusive, given that the Central Asian neighbors of Afghanistan as well as Pakistan have an even more direct stake in avoiding any backsliding after 2014.<sup>339</sup>

As ISAF was expected to leave, Russians were concerned about the subsequent consequences for region's stability. Indeed, many observers think that the situation in Afghanistan was far from secure and its future after troops' withdrawal remains quite uncertain. For Moscow, when ISAF mission ends, "two important threats that were expected to rise: terrorism and Afghan narcotics, and their potential spread to the neighboring states."<sup>340</sup> Russia's main worry is that "NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan might lead to a Taliban victory, and return to the turbulent conditions of the 1990s, when Islamist militants infiltrated the neighboring post-Soviet republics of Central Asia and threatened stability of Russia's southern flank."<sup>341</sup> Similarly, the inflow of the Afghan heroin to Russia was considered to be the largest challenge to Russian society posing a vital threat to its human security. While 25 % of Afghan heroin exports

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<sup>339</sup> "NATO Deputy Secretary General Talks about Moscow Visit", 3 April 2013, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/20130403-nrc-ambassador-vershbow-interview/>, accessed on 12 August 2013

<sup>340</sup> Nastia Suquet, "Russia Prepares for NATO Withdrawal from Afghanistan", *Global Risks Insights*, 23 June 2013, [globalriskinsights.com/2013/06/russia-prepares-for-nato-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/](http://globalriskinsights.com/2013/06/russia-prepares-for-nato-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/), accessed on 22 September 2013

<sup>341</sup> Fred Weir, "Russia Urges NATO to Stay in Afghanistan beyond 2014", 19 April 2012, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2012/0419/Russia-urges-NATO-to-stay-in-Afghanistan-beyond-2014>, accessed on 22 September 2013

and 15 % of opium exports were transferred through Central Asia, 90 % heroin that goes through the region ends up in Russia.<sup>342</sup> In this sense, Russian official urged the alliance to keep its forces in Afghanistan. This shows preservation of stability in Afghanistan is in Moscow's fundamental interest, as in the Alliance's.

What is more important, Russia is not linking Afghanistan to their disagreements on other major issues like NATO expansion and the development of missile defense system. This means it is clearly in Russia's interest to cooperate on Afghan issue. As noted earlier, Russia knew that instability in Afghanistan would result in negative repercussions in Russia as well. This is why it has embarked on cooperation with NATO and willing to cooperate on the mission beyond 2014.

Although Russia expresses further cooperation is possible, it claimed "NATO must have UN mandate for post-2014 Afghan mission." Russian Ambassador to NATO, Alexander Grushko said that "further cooperation is possible but will depend on the nature of the NATO mission in Afghanistan beyond 2014 and must have a reliable legal basis and be approved by the UN Security Council. There should also be a clear understanding of the strategic tasks the international community intends to work on in Afghanistan."<sup>343</sup> Earlier, Russia's Acting Ambassador to NATO Nikolai Korchunov went further saying that Russia would not cooperate with NATO over Afghanistan unless the Alliance is authorized by the UN SC for new mission in Afghanistan. For him, it was "a precondition both for carrying on the operation and for our cooperation with NATO on that post-2014 issue".<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Ekaterina Stepanova, "Afghanistan after 2014: The Way Forward for Russia", *Ifri Russia/NIS Center*, 2013, p. 12, cited in *World Drug Report 2011*, New York, UNODC, 2011, p. 71

<sup>343</sup> Nigel Chamberlain, "Prospects for a Productive NRC Meeting in April", *Briefing Paper: NATO Watch*, No. 31, 8 March 2013

<sup>344</sup> Adrian Croft, "NATO Must Have UN Mandate for post-2014 Afghan Mission", *Reuters*, 10 October 2012

Russia wanted to get well informed about NATO's post-2014 mission before taking decision on its cooperation with the alliance. Russia's special representative for Afghanistan, Zamir Kabulov told that

At the end of the day NATO is a military bloc. If a military-political group appears in the neighborhood of Russia territory, without our consent and with tasks unknown to us, this is problematic. Our current cooperation with NATO is based on the current NATO mandate from the UN Security Council. And we only cooperate with such mission as we have a mandate for which we have also voted.<sup>345</sup>

When he met with Afghan journalists, NATO Secretary General Rasmussen provided an answer on a new mandate. He commented that

At Chicago we agreed on very clear status for the post-2014 mission. We agreed that we would seek a sound legal basis, such as a UN Security Council Resolution. This is our preferred option. But let me also stress that an international legal point of view it would be sufficient to have an invitation from the Afghan government. So an invitation would be sufficient. But, if this is complemented with a UN Security Council Resolution that would be even better.<sup>346</sup>

In 2013, Russia and the US reached an agreement on the Syrian chemical weapons. Although Russia previously vetoed three Western-backed resolutions pressing President Bashar Assad's regime to end the violence in Syria, this time it supported UN SC resolution which authorized "to secure and destroy Syria's chemical weapons stockpile". In this sense, I thought the recent successful negotiations between Russia and the West on the Syrian issue would mean green light for major security issues like the post – 2014 Afghan negotiations.

To conclude, it must be said that there was a disagreement between NATO and Russia over the post-2014 mission in Afghanistan. However, the objective situation in Afghanistan and in the region pushed NATO and Russia towards cooperation. In this

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<sup>345</sup> Gabriela Baczynska, "Russia Wants Answers on NATO post-2014 Afghan Mission", *Reuters*, 25 October 2012

<sup>346</sup> "Rasmussen Brief Afghan Journalists on NATO Mission in Afghanistan", *Khaama Press*, 4 January 2013, <http://www.khaama.com/rasmussen-brief-afghan-journalists-on-nato-mission-in-afghanistan-26404>, accessed on 22 September 2013

sense, they should have found a common ground to cooperate on the NRC level. However, this could be realized only if the cooperation prevailed over the rivalry between the Alliance and Russia.

### **5.3 Crisis Management**

In this area, NATO and Russia aim to “strengthen cooperation, including through: regular exchanges of views and information on peacekeeping operations, including continuing cooperation and consultations on the situation in the Balkans; promoting interoperability between national peacekeeping contingents, including through joint or coordinated training initiatives; and further development of a generic concept for joint NATO-Russia peacekeeping operations.”<sup>347</sup>

Russia and NATO cooperated in this area even before the creation of the NRC. Russia supported NATO-led peacekeeping operations by providing troops and close cooperation in the Balkans had improved relations and built trust between militaries of these former adversaries. The Alliance and Russian forces showed that they have the capability to work efficiently during the right circumstances and will to succeed. According to the General Totskiy, a Russian Ambassador to NATO, “Russian soldiers and commanders, who worked shoulder to shoulder with their NATO colleagues, have fond memories of the spirit of camaraderie and cooperation, which frequently provided a source of support during the difficult days of the Balkan operations.”<sup>348</sup> However, for Moscow, the UN should play the leading role before Russia decides whether to join NATO in crisis management. From the Russian perspective, “when joint forces have

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<sup>347</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002

<sup>348</sup> “Interview with General Totskiy: Russia Ambassador to NATO”, *NATO Review*,

clear tasking and are working under a UN Security Council mandate, they are perfectly capable of operating effectively together in the most difficult conditions.”<sup>349</sup>

Building on past experience, in September 2002, the NRC had approved ‘Political Aspects for a Generic Concept for Joint NATO-Russia Peacekeeping Operations’ to prepare for possible cooperation. Within this framework, Russia and NATO allies conducted several procedural exercises between May 2003 and September 2004. Despite all these efforts, there are some analysts who think peacekeeping is entirely different from crisis management and cooperation like in the Balkans is unlikely to happen. In Bosnia, when NATO conducted airstrikes against Bosnia-Serbs in the fall of 1995, although “Russian policymakers responded with a series of diatribes”, “Russia endorsed the Dayton peace accords and in 1996 sent troops to participate in the Implementation Force (IFOR).”<sup>350</sup> Similarly, in Kosovo, Russia deployed peacekeeping missions to support NATO’s KFOR in the summer of 1999. However, it is believed that the positive experience in the Balkans is unlikely soon to be repeated: “the 1990s under Yeltsin period were a period of Russian disorientation and weakness: the current period under Putin, in contrast, is characterized by genuine or staged self-confidence of the ‘energy superpower’ that objects to ‘integration’ and refuses to surrender its ‘freedom of action’ and ‘sovereign’ decision-making.”<sup>351</sup> In this sense, these arrangements are against “current Russian quest for great power status and more international prestige.” Supporting evidence can be found in the event that in September 2006 “when Moscow rejected the inclusion of Russian forces in the UN peacekeeping mission in Lebanon and

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<sup>349</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Gordon B. Hendrickson, “The Future of NATO-Russian Relations: Or, How to Dance with a Bear and Not Get Mauled”, *The Atlantic Council of the United States, Occasional Paper*, 2005, p. 34

<sup>350</sup> Julianne Smith, “The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà vu?”, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 2008, p. 3

<sup>351</sup> Hannes Adomeit, “Inside or Outside? Russia’s Policies Towards NATO”, *Working Paper, Research Unit Russia/CIS, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, January 2007, p. 17

instead dispatched a battalion of sappers of the Russian 13<sup>th</sup> peacekeeping brigade in Samara under its own flag and only for a short time.”<sup>352</sup>

In this perspective, the ‘frozen conflicts’ in Georgia where the NRC was not able to solve and avoid the crisis in 2008 can be given as another example. In that case, Russia’s intervention resulted in the halting of NRC’s operation and the suspension for some time of the dialogue with the Alliance. As a comparison, similarly, “the PJC had not been able to prevent the crisis in the Balkans in the late 1990s, in Georgia the NRC was not able to function as an early warning mechanism, nor as a forum for negotiation.”<sup>353</sup> It seems solution of the conflicts under NATO-Russia auspices did not exist exist. However, this was mostly related with the fact that the post-Soviet geopolitical space is primarily an area of Russian-NATO (and Russian-EU) competition rather than cooperation – a fact that deserves to be analyzed in some more detail.<sup>354</sup>

#### **5.4 Non-Proliferation 5.5 Arms Control and Confidence – Building Measures**

The objective in this area of non-proliferation is “to broaden and strengthen cooperation against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and the means of their delivery, and contribute to strengthening of existing non-proliferation arrangements through: a structured exchange of views, leading to a joint assessment of global trends in proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical agents; and exchange of experience

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<sup>352</sup> Hannes Adomeit and Frank Kupferschmidt, “Russia-NATO Relations: Stagnation or Revitalization”, *SWP Research Paper, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, May 2008, p. 25

<sup>353</sup> Anthony Spota and Simon A. Miles, “NATO and Russia: Prospect and Challenges for Relations”, *Atlantic Voices*, Vol. 2, Issues 1, January 2012, p. 4

<sup>354</sup> Hannes Adomeit, “Inside or Outside? Russia’s Policies Towards NATO”, *Working Paper, Research Unit Russia/CIS, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, January 2007, p. 21



with the goal of exploring opportunities for intensified practical cooperation on protection from nuclear, biological and chemical agents.”<sup>355</sup>

Under the NRC, dialogue had been developed and discussions and seminars had been held in this area. In 2002, the Inaugural Conference on International Approaches to Nuclear and Radiological Security (IANRS) was organized in London and co-hosted by Russia.<sup>356</sup> NRC nations designed another workshop to reinforce cooperation on counter-trafficking. Moreover, both Working Group and participants of the workshop made a number of recommendations.<sup>357</sup> Experts in the nuclear field gathered and emergency response exercises were held in several NRC countries, including Russia.<sup>358</sup> Moreover, there had been made “concrete recommendations to strengthen existing non-proliferation arrangements.”<sup>359</sup>

Under the NRC, frank discussions had also taken on the CFE, the Open Skies Treaty and confidence and security building measures. Ratification of the Adapted Treaty on CFE is NRC’s key priority. According to the Rome declaration, NRC nations, “recalling the

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<sup>355</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002

<sup>356</sup> In 2002, IANRS that took place in London and co-hosted by the Russian Federation’s Ministry of Atomic Energy and the Russian Research Center, the Kurchatov Institute, created seven working groups to accelerate and expand international programs to secure nuclear and radiological materials and prevent nuclear terrorism.

<sup>357</sup> See recommendations on “Findings of the Working Group on Trends in Illicit Trafficking”, [http://www.iapscience.com/findings\\_en.php](http://www.iapscience.com/findings_en.php), “Strengthening Cooperation against Illicit Trafficking”, <http://www.nato.int/science/news/2004/n040910a.htm>, accessed 4 June 2013

<sup>358</sup> Similarly, in the nuclear field, experts have gathered to develop a glossary of terms and definitions and organized exchanges on nuclear doctrines and strategy. Four nuclear weapon accident response field exercises in Russia (2004), the United Kingdom (2005), the United States (2006), and France (2007) were held to improve the capacity of the countries in question to deal effectively with nuclear accidents. In June 2011, Russia and NATO member countries also participated in a table top exercise dealing with emergency response to a nuclear weapon incident.

<sup>359</sup> The NRC work is underway to assess global trends in WMD proliferation and their means of delivery and to review areas in which NRC nations could work together politically to promote effective multilateral arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation efforts. In principle, in cooperation over Iran, Moscow and Brussels agree that the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery should be stopped and that Iran should not be allowed to become a nuclear power. It is also supposed that despite their different views on issues such as missile defense and Georgian membership in NATO, Russia and NATO should not inhibit cooperation on further nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation steps.

contributions of arms control and confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs) to stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and reaffirming adherence to the Treaty on CFE as cornerstone of European security, work cooperatively toward ratification by all the States Parties and entry into force of the Agreement on Adaptation of the CFE Treaty, which would permit accession by non-CFE states; continue consultations on the CFE and Open Skies Treaties; and continue the NATO-Russia nuclear expert consultations.”<sup>360</sup> However, on 12 December 2007, Russia officially suspended its implementation of the 1990 Treaty on CFE which “limits the number of heavy weapons deployed between the Atlantic Ocean and the Urals Mountains.”<sup>361</sup> It explained its decision as being motivated by the treaty’s ‘divorce from reality’.<sup>362</sup> The US plans to deploy its missile defense system in Central Europe angered Moscow and stating that the treaty has become meaningless, Russia suspended the CFE Treaty. Moscow’s suspension means that Russia would not fulfill treaty requirements. Expressing their deep disappointment and concern about the development of the issue, the NATO member states stated their firm commitment to ratifying the Adapted Treaty, and “called on Russia to reverse course and declared their intention to continue implementing the treaty without prejudice to any future action they might take.”<sup>363</sup> Later, in Lisbon, NRC leaders emphasized “their readiness to continue dialogue on arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation” and created the Working Group responsible for these issues.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>360</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002

<sup>361</sup> See '1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe' and '1999 Agreement on Adaptation of Treaty', “Russia Suspends Arms Control Pact”, *BBC News*, 14 July 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6898690.stm>, accessed on 9 June 2013

<sup>362</sup> Zdzislaw Lachowski, “The CFE Treaty One Year After its Suspension: A Forlorn Treaty?”, *SIPRI Policy Brief*, January 2009, p. 1

<sup>363</sup> “The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and the Adapted CFE Treaty at a Glance”, *Arms Control Association*, August 2012, <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheet/cfe>, accessed on 9 June 2013

<sup>364</sup> In Lisbon, NRC leaders emphasized their strong support for the revitalization and modernization of the conventional arms control regime in Europe and their readiness to continue dialogue on arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation issues. The NRC Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (ADN) Working Group, chaired by the NATO Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and

## 5.6 Theatre Missile Defense (TMD)

NRC TMD cooperation began in 2002. The cooperation in this area is aimed “to enhance consultations on the TMD, in particular on TMD concepts, terminology, systems and system capabilities, to analyze and evaluate possible levels of interoperability among respective TMD systems, and explore opportunities for intensified practical cooperation, including joint training and exercises.”<sup>365</sup> Indeed, in February 2001, Putin presented with a proposal that NATO and Russia build a joint defense system against third-country missile attacks, reportedly listing as possible threats Iran, Libya, and North Korea, when Secretary General Lord Robertson responded as “Putin is moving along precisely the same tracks that we are.”<sup>366</sup> The conceptual problems connected with the TMD were discussed on the basis of Putin’s proposal to Robertson which envisaged building a European-wide, mobile, non-strategic missile defense.

Under the NRC, the first study in the area of the TMD was launched in 2003 and the exercises were held in several NATO member countries and in Russia.<sup>367</sup> In 2009, NRC Missile Defense group was established to discuss possible cooperation on ballistic

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Security Policy, was designated to discuss issues related to conventional arms control and try to cooperate on nonproliferation topics. It contributes to confidence-building, future cooperation and bilateral NATO-Russia dialogue touching upon topics like WMD nonproliferation regimes and mechanisms, small arms and light weapons proliferation, WMD terrorism, smuggling and others. Its plenary meeting took place at NATO HQ 14 January 2013, with department directors and higher level representatives from Capitals. In a meeting where nonproliferation developments in 2012 as well as their policy priorities in this field for 2013, distinguished officials exchanged their views on objectives, priorities and working methods of the WG providing the group with a strategic guidance for its works in 2013.

<sup>365</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>366</sup> Constantine Menges, “U.S-Russia Relations Since 1992”, *China: The Gathering Threat*, Tennessee: Nelson Current, ed. Constantine Menges, 2005, p. 281

<sup>367</sup> Under the NRC, the first study was launched in 2003 to assess the possible levels of interoperability among the TMD systems of NATO allies and Russia. In accordance with the Rome declaration, work to assess the interoperability of relevant TMD systems of the parties was begun and three command post exercises have been held – in the United States in March 2004, in the Netherlands in March 2005 and in Russia in October 2006. Computer-assisted exercises have been held in Germany in January 2008 and, after suspension in TMD cooperation in August 2008 for a while, in March 2012.

missile defense.<sup>368</sup> In Lisbon, NRC leaders resumed TMD cooperation suspended in August 2008 and developed a Comprehensive Joint Analysis of the future framework for cooperation in this area. In Lisbon, NATO allies also decided to develop a ballistic missile defense (BMD) and they invited Russia to cooperate.<sup>369</sup>

Russia and NATO differ in their approaches towards the objectives of a building a ballistic missile defense. This was evident in Putin's move in the first day of his third term presidency when he directed Foreign Ministry to push guarantees that US missile interceptors planned for fielding in Europe would not be aimed against Russia's nuclear facilities. Similarly, a few days earlier at the international conference in Moscow, General E. Makarov went further by stating that "Russia does not exclude preemptive use of weapons against [NATO] missile defense systems in Europe but only as a last resort."<sup>370</sup> He said that, "the deployment of new strike weapons in Russia's south and northwest – including of Iskander systems in Kaliningrad – is one of our possible options for destroying the system's European infrastructure. A decision to use destructive force preemptively will be taken if the situation worsens."<sup>371</sup> The US and the allies agreed to develop the system in Lisbon, "but the talks between Russian and the Alliance have been floundered over NATO's refusal to grant Russia legal guarantees

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<sup>368</sup> An NRC Missile Defense Working group was established in December 2009, a new Working Group which inherited part of the competencies of the NRC Theatre Missile Defense. The objective of the creation of this WG was to build on the lessons learned from the previous TMD cooperation and to exchange views on possible mutually beneficial cooperation on ballistic missile defense. It is a group where issues related to collective and national missile defense could be discussed, and cooperation on the organization of joint missile defense training and exercises could be decided. See "New NRC Committee Structure", *News*, 10 January 2011, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/nrc-statement-09/>, accessed on 12 June 2013

<sup>369</sup> The Alliance is conducting three BMD related activities: 1) Active layered Theatre BMD System capability 2) BMD for the protection of NATO European territory, populations and forces 3) NATO Missile Defense Cooperation with Russia 'Missile Defense', *NATO Review*

<sup>370</sup> "Russia Does not Rule out Preemptive Missile Defense Strike", *RIA Novosti*, 16 May 2012, <http://www.defencetalk.com/russia-does-not-rule-out-preemptive-missile-defense-strike-2-42582/>, accessed on 12 June 2013

<sup>371</sup> Bruno Waterfield, "Russia Threatens NATO with Military Strikes Over Missile Defense System", *The Telegraph*, 3 May 2013

that the system would not be aimed against Russia's strategic nuclear deterrent."<sup>372</sup> At the Chicago Summit in 2012, NATO allies stated that the planned system "is not directed against Russia and will not undermine Russia's strategic deterrent."<sup>373</sup> However, "traditional Russian military thinking concentrates on capabilities rather than intentions."<sup>374</sup> In spite of everything, under the NRC, the Alliance was ready to cooperate on independent NATO and Russian missile defense systems.<sup>375</sup>

## 5.7 Search and Rescue at Sea

The objective of this cooperation is "to monitor the implementation of the NATO-Russia Council Framework Document on Submarine Crew Rescue, and continue to promote cooperation, transparency and confidence between NATO and Russia in the area of search and rescue at sea."<sup>376</sup> The framework agreement in this area was signed in February 2003.

In this area, for the first time, Russian submarine, fully integrated into a NATO-led exercise, took active part in 'Bold Monarch 2011'. Russian submarine "Alrosa" and three other Russian ships, participated in exercises in Spain. The Russian General other high-level guests visited 'Alrosa' and General Giampaolo Di Paola evaluated this as

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<sup>372</sup> "Russia Does Not Rule Out Preemptive Missile Defense Strike", *RIA Novosti*, 3 May 2012, <http://en.ria.ru/world/20120503/173188049.html>, accessed on 16 June 2013

<sup>373</sup> The allies regret Russia's recurrent statement and measures directed against NATO's missile defense system and also welcome its willingness to continue dialogue on finding a way to develop future cooperation on missile defense. "Two Anniversaries Mark Milestone in NATO-Russia Relations", 27 May 2012, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news\\_88158.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_88158.htm), accessed on 16 June 2013

<sup>374</sup> Michael Paul, "Missile Defense: Problems and Opportunities in NATO-Russia Relations", *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International Affairs and Security Affairs*, July 2012, p. 4

<sup>375</sup> However, the Alliance cannot accept Moscow's proposal for a single combined European missile defense system, as it would involve placing some Alliance member states' missile security in the hands of Russia. Michael Paul, "Missile Defense: Problems and Opportunities in NATO-Russia Relations", *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International Affairs and Security Affairs*, July 2012, p. 5

<sup>376</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002

“this demonstrates that at the military level, notwithstanding some political diversities and political challenges..., you can understand each other, you can work together, you can start help building that level of trust and confidence that eventually will also percolate up to the political level.”<sup>377</sup>

Indeed, one of the factors that have brought NATO and Russia closer following the ‘Kosovo crisis’ was the sinking of the Russian nuclear submarine Kursk in the Arctic Ocean in August 2000. This tragic event confirmed ‘saying’ that, ‘accidents sometimes can help remove psychological barriers’, and this was the case with the Kursk disaster.

Initially, representatives of the Russian armed forces first spread a theory that a foreign (NATO) vessel had collided with the Kursk and caused the accident. These allegations turned out be hollow and were used as a pretext to cover the real reason which led to disaster.<sup>378</sup> The Kursk suffered during a live-fire exercise, sank to the bottom of the Barents Sea and took the lives of all its crewmen. Having seen the Russians’ inability to lift the submarine or save the crewmen that were locked inside the vessel, the Allies offered its assistance. Russia accepted NATO allies’ assistance, namely Norwegian and British assistance, and used NATO’s facilities for consultations with other allies. Although the importance of this cooperation may have been gone unnoticed by many analysts, it has been emphasized by Lord Robertson among others. He said in his speech that

Instead of rekindling old NATO-Russia suspicious, the tragic story of the submarine Kursk actually showed the positive development in NATO-Russia relations over the past several months. In the end, as we discovered, nothing could be done to save the crew of the Kursk. But NATO, the allied nations, and Russia acted together in a spirit of cooperation that no one would have foreseen

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<sup>377</sup> “Russian Submarine takes part in Bold Monarch Exercise 2011”, 30 May 2011-10 June 2011, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/nrc-statement-04/>, accessed on 14 March 2013

<sup>378</sup> Tuomas Forsberg, “Russia’s Relationship with NATO: A Qualitative Change or Old Wine in New Bottles?”, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.21, No.3, September 2005, p. 339

at this time last year. We have to take advantage of the opportunity that NATO-Russia cooperation offers. Now is the time to do so.<sup>379</sup>

Thus, these NATO allies' assistances in the rescue efforts gave new impetus to the search for more formal cooperation between Russia and NATO. After the tragedy, in which 118 Russian submariners died, NATO and Russia attempted to cooperate in submarine rescue and escape operations.<sup>380</sup> A framework agreement on submarine crew escape and rescue was signed in February 2003. Following the signing of an agreement, Russia took part in NATO-led exercise 'Sorbet Royal' in June 2005, in 'Bold Monarch 2008' and in 'Bold Monarch 2011'.<sup>381</sup>

## 5.8 Military-to-Military Cooperation

It is one of the most important and multifaceted areas of cooperation between NATO and Russia. According to the Rome declaration, this area involves “pursuing enhanced military-to-military cooperation and interoperability through enhanced joint training and exercises and the conduct of joint demonstrations and tests; explore the possibility of establishing an integrated NATO-Russia military training center for missions to address

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<sup>379</sup> Remarks by the Rt. Hon. Lord Robertson of Port Ellen Secretary General of NATO, “NATO’s New Agenda: More Progress than Meets the Eye”, *The Saclant Symposium, Reykjavik, Iceland*, 6 September 2000

<sup>380</sup> Igor Tarasenko, “Long-Term Possibilities for NATO-Russia Naval Security Cooperation”, *Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institute (PfPC)*, Athena Papers Series No. 3, August 2005, p. 64

<sup>381</sup> In “Bold Monarch 2011”, about 2000 participants from over 20 nations participated in the exercise which was designed to maximize international cooperation and interoperability in an area of maritime safety. “Russian Submarine takes part in Bold Monarch Exercise 2011”, 30 May 2011-10 June 2011, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/nrc-statement-04/>, accessed on 14 March 2013. During the exercise, submarines from Portugal, Russia, Spain and Turkey were bottomed in a carefully chosen and surveyed areas while rescue forces from Italy, Russia, Sweden and the United States and the jointly system of France, Norway and the UK worked to rescue the submarines. The exercises for 2013 and 2014 on this area are also under preparation.

the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; enhance cooperation on defense reform and its economic aspects, including conversion.”<sup>382</sup>

According to the 2007 Fact Sheet on NATO-Russia Military Cooperation, over the past 18 months the NRC at Military Representatives level has met monthly to progress military-to-military cooperation, including three sessions involving the NATO chiefs of defense. In the same NATO reports, 70 of 82 planned activities in the 2006 work plan were achieved.<sup>383</sup> After it was resumed after the Georgia crisis, cooperation focused on six following areas; “logistics, combating terrorism, search and rescue at sea, countering piracy, theatre missile defense and military academic exchanges – and related military activities.”

In order to improve interoperability, in June 2005, NRC defense ministers approved a ‘Political-Military Guidance towards Enhanced Interoperability between Forces of Russia and NATO Nations’. Russia signed and finally ratified PFP Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) in 2007 “to facilitate military-to-military and other practical cooperation, in particular the deployment of forces participating in joint operations and exercises.” Defense Minister Sergey Ivanov stated in his speech that “we believe that such an agreement will lend an additional impetus to further cooperation in joint training and exercising, to command-staff and troop’s field exercises to be held at training centers located upon national territories.”<sup>384</sup> The SOFA<sup>385</sup> concerns the legal status of

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<sup>382</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

<sup>383</sup> “Fact Sheet on NATO-Russia Military Cooperation”, 24 May 2007, <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2007/0705-chod/fact-sheet-nato-russia.pdf>, accessed on 1 June 2013

<sup>384</sup> “International Security in the Context of the Russia-NATO Relationship”, *Speech by Sergei Ivanov at the 40<sup>th</sup> Munich Conference on Security Policy*, 9 February 2004

<sup>385</sup> The SOFA regulates legal status related to documentation, juridical questions, taxation, customs, etc. It is based on NATO’s 1951 Status of Forces agreement, with the appropriate amendments due to the fact that Russia is not a member of NATO. It is not a “basing agreement”, nor does it automatically allow every kind of transport – the sovereignty of parties to the SOFA will not be affected. All of its provisions are applied reciprocally – whatever status of NATO troops enjoy while in Russia, Russian troops enjoy while on NATO territory. “Russia to Join Partnership Status of Forces Agreement”, 21 April 2005, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-683559C0-05795673/natolive/news\\_21690.htm?selectedLocale=en](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-683559C0-05795673/natolive/news_21690.htm?selectedLocale=en), accessed on 2 June 2013



the armed forces, financial and fiscal matters and, as the case maybe, immunity from prosecution.

If joint operations were to be conducted, structures and communication systems capable of multinational cooperation as well as complementary military capabilities would be necessary. These requirements could be better met by military reforms in Russia and thus its successful implementation in the interest of the alliance.<sup>386</sup> In 2007, defense and military experts gathered in Vilnius to share views on deepening cooperation in this area. At the meeting organized under the NRC Working Group on Defense Reform and Cooperation, “the discussion touched on topics including developing defense cooperation, transparent approaches to future planning and defense budgets, and developing standards to enable militaries to operate together.”<sup>387</sup> Practically, NATO’s support included the development of the armed forces, the management of personnel and budgetary resources and reform of the arms industry and assists Russia in coping with the negative consequences which inevitably arise from military reforms. Programs covered the retraining of former officers and men and problems of conversion of defense industry.

In his speeches, Putin had repeatedly pressed for military reform and had been harshly critical of the Russia’s military/forces’ performances in adapting and responding to the terrorist threat and other security needs. Although Putin faced resistances from old thinkers, within Russia’s military leadership still holding lingering suspicions from the Cold War period, he is open to involvement of NATO in Russia’ military

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<sup>386</sup> Hannes Adomeit and Frank Kupferschmidt, “Russia-NATO Relations: Stagnation or Revitalization”, *SWP Research Paper, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, May 2008, p. 12

<sup>387</sup> “NATO-Russia News”, January 2007, p. 10, [http://www.nato.int/docu/nato-russia\\_news/ru\\_news\\_en\\_0107.pdf](http://www.nato.int/docu/nato-russia_news/ru_news_en_0107.pdf), accessed on 2 June 2013

transformation/modernization.<sup>388</sup> In five years since NRC establishment, Russia's defense cooperation with the NRC nations had been a productive and constructive.<sup>389</sup>

## 5.9 Civil emergencies

After the creation of the NRC in 2002, the Civil Emergency Planning and Protection Working Group was created.<sup>390</sup> Since its creation, the working group conducted several exercises to practice responding together to disasters. The objective of the cooperation in this area is “to pursue enhanced mechanism for future NATO-Russia cooperation in responding to civil emergencies; initial steps would include the exchange of information on recent disasters and the exchange of WMD consequence management information.”<sup>391</sup>

In this area, NRC nations' key focus had been to develop capabilities to manage the consequences of terrorist attacks and indeed disaster-response exercises held in Russia and in Italy provided concrete recommendations for consequence management. Similarly, Norway hosted table-top exercise in 2010. During the exercises, NRC

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<sup>388</sup> Sharyl Cross, “Russia's Relationship with the United States/NATO in the US-led Global War on Terrorism”, *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 19:2, 2006, p.189

<sup>389</sup> Defense cooperation had been productive and constructive with NRC nations sharing experiences on the modernization and management of their armed forces, supporting programmes to assist in the resettlement of military personnel, developing education programmes for military officers in Moscow and at the NATO Rome Defense College in Rome, and developing political guidance for the interoperability of the forces of NRC nations. NATO-Russia News”, January 2007, p. 10, [http://www.nato.int/docu/nato-russia\\_news/ru\\_news\\_en\\_0107.pdf](http://www.nato.int/docu/nato-russia_news/ru_news_en_0107.pdf), accessed on 2 June 2013

<sup>390</sup> Cooperation on Civil Emergency Planning between NATO and Russia began in the early 1990s. The cooperation was formalized in 1996, when a Memorandum of Understanding on Civil Emergency Planning and Disaster Preparedness signed between Russia's Ministry of Emergency Situations and NATO. The aim of this cooperation is to develop a capacity for joint action in response to civil emergencies, such as earthquakes and floods, and to coordinate detection and prevention of disasters before they occur. This practical cooperation resulted in the creation in 1998, with Russian proposal, of the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), which continues to serve as a key focal point for coordinating disaster relief among participating nations.

<sup>391</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002

nations' emergency response teams were trained and exercised so that they can work together under the most challenging scenarios. The exercises “were also combined with workshops or seminars, focusing on other important areas of practical cooperation such as providing information to the public and crisis communication during emergency situations, the legal aspects of international emergency response, border crossing arrangements, and medical and psychological aspects of emergency response.”<sup>392</sup>

### **5.10 Scientific Cooperation on New Threats and Challenges**

The cooperation in this area is aimed, “in addition to the areas enumerated above, to explore possibilities for confronting new challenges and threats to the Euro-Atlantic area in the framework of the activities of the NATO Committee on Challenges to Modern Society (CCMS); initiate cooperation in the field of civil and military airspace controls; and pursue enhanced scientific cooperation.”<sup>393</sup>

The NRC Science for Peace and Security (SPS) Committee worked on confronting new threats and challenges through scientific cooperation. Key areas for NRC (SPS) cooperation were “explosive detection protection from chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear agents, cyber security, psychological consequences of terrorism, transport security, defense-related environmental issues, environmental security and ecological terrorism, and the forecast and prevention of catastrophes.”<sup>394</sup> According to the Action Plan for 2010-2012 prepared by the NRC SPS, Russia and NATO allies would cooperate in the following three areas: a) Defense against terrorist threats b) Countering other

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<sup>392</sup> “NRC Civil Emergency Planning: 10 years 10 Stories Anniversary Feature”, *News*, 18 October 2012, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/20121018-nrc-10-years-cep/>, accessed on 9 May 2013

<sup>393</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002

<sup>394</sup> “NATO’s Relations with Russia”, [http://www.nato.int/nato\\_static/assets/pdf/pdf\\_2012\\_nio/20120705\\_0919-12-Fiche-Info-NATO-Russia\\_rus-RU.pdf](http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2012_nio/20120705_0919-12-Fiche-Info-NATO-Russia_rus-RU.pdf), accessed on 12 May 2013

threats to security c) countering other threats to security – only nationally – funded projects.<sup>395</sup>

## 5.11 Conclusion

This chapter examined the cooperation between Russia and NATO under the NRC since its creation in 2002. Cooperation in the area of struggle against terrorism had been carried out through Ad-Hoc Working group, high-level conferences, joint exercises, CAI and STANDEX. NATO-Russia Action Plan on Terrorism approved at the NRC meeting in Istanbul played important role in developing cooperation against terrorism. More significantly, the chapter explored, within the NRC, NATO and Russia they actively cooperated in through transit agreement concluded in 2008, the NRC Project for Counter-Narcotic Training launched in 2005, and through the NRC Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund established in 2010. In the area of crisis management, the NRC had approved a framework to prepare for possible cooperation and Russia and NATO allies conducted several procedural exercises. However, for some analysts, peacekeeping is entirely different from crisis management and cooperation like in the Balkans is unlikely soon to be repeated. The chapter found out that under the NRC active cooperation in the area of non-proliferation of WMD had been carried out. Despite frank discussions on arms control and confidence-building measures, Russia officially suspended its participation in the CFE showing that Russia can act alone when it cannot agree on certain issues. This chapter demonstrated that under the NRC, it seems Russia and NATO carried out active cooperation both in the area of the TMD and in the area of search and rescue at sea. The chapter explored that military-to-military cooperation is another area NATO and Russia were engaging in active cooperation. They also worked

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<sup>395</sup> They include following areas; a) 1.Explosives detection 2.Information technology-based threats 3. Study on human factors in defense against terrorism b) 1.Defense-related environmental security 2.Eco-terrorism 3.Disaster forecast and prevention of catastrophes c) 1.Modelling sustainable consumption 2.Food security in times of natural disaster or other non-CBRN events 3.Security-related regional studies 4.Biotechnology/bioscience, “The NATO-Russia Scientific Cooperation, the NRC Committee on Science for Peace and Security; Scientific Cooperation between NATO and Russia”, [http://www.nato.int/science/about\\_sps/nato\\_russia.htm](http://www.nato.int/science/about_sps/nato_russia.htm), accessed on 9 May 2013

cooperatively in the areas of civil emergencies. Lastly, promising work was carried out in the area of scientific cooperation.

In the light of the discussion in this chapter, the next chapter discusses the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after 2002, which is the main objective of this study. In this context, this chapter discusses the Russian attitude towards developments occurred between 2002 and 2004 and seeks to answer whether they affected the institutional relationship between Russia and NATO under the NRC. It also examines Putin's policy towards NATO after he was reelected in 2004 for his second term focusing on the impasse over the CFE Treaty and the US missile defense plans in Central Europe.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **RUSSIA-NATO RELATIONS BETWEEN 2002-2008**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The creation of the NRC at the Rome Summit in May 2002 opened a new chapter in NATO-Russia relations. In this respect, this chapter examines Russia-NATO relations between 2002 and 2008. It starts with the analysis of the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after Putin came to power in 2000. Then, the chapter deals with the NRC's first tests of NATO enlargement set in motion at the NATO Prague Summit in 2002 and Iraq crisis of 2003 and 2003. Here, it also explores Russian reaction to both of the issues. The chapter continues with the discussion of the NRC's achievements between 2002 and 2004. Next, the chapter examines Putin's policy towards NATO during his second presidential term between 2004 and 2008. To do this, the chapter focuses on the major issues which increased the gap between Russia and the alliance. These were the impasse over the Treaty of Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) and the US missile defense plans. Lastly, the chapter makes a review of the NRC's achievements between 2004 and 2008.

**Table 2 Are the interests of Russia and NATO so apart?** <sup>396</sup>

	<b>NATO</b>	<b>Russia</b>
<b>Perceived Outside Threats</b>	Iran, Nuclear proliferation, Terrorism, Cyber terrorism, Environmental issues	Terrorism, Nuclear proliferation
<b>Perception of the Other</b>	Non-zero sum factor, -declining power	Military bloc, defence structure, Cold War mentality, zero sum game (over continental influence)
<b>Strategy for Action</b>	Deterrence– conventional and nuclear capabilities, Partnership with countries and international organizations, NATO-Russia cooperation	Military force, Realpolitik, bilateral cooperation – Shanghai Cooperation Organization)
<b>Zone/Issues of Action</b>	Use of force to maintain sphere of influence, realpolitik/aggressive narratives, cybersecurity, energy security	NATO enlargement/NATO’s open door policy, globalization of NATO, R2P, missile shield
<b>Areas of Action</b>	Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, -Horn of Africa, Balkans, Mediterranean	Chechnya, Georgia
<b>Possible Areas of Cooperation</b>	Stabilization of Afghanistan, prevention of proliferation, fighting terrorism, Middle East, Iran?	Drug trafficking through cooperation between SCO and NATO, combating terrorism, fighting piracy, Afghanistan?
<b>Strategy to Increase Cooperation</b>	Rejuvenation of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), seeking transparency on the overall strategy, soft power	Bilateral negotiation with key NATO members outside of NRC

<sup>396</sup> Roger E. Kanet and Maxime Henri Andre Larive, “NATO and Russia: Perpetual New Beginning”, *Perceptions*, Spring, Volume XVII, No 1, 2012 , p. 84

## 6.2 Changes in Russia's Policy towards (West) NATO: Revolutionary Change or Pragmatism?

When Putin came to the power, as it is mentioned in the first chapter, his foreign policy purpose was “to secure favorable conditions for Russia’s internal development, concentrating on reducing tensions and improving relations with the outside world.”<sup>397</sup> To this end, his priority of his foreign policy in the first years of his presidency was the West. He seemed, “like Yeltsin, to hope for partnership and perhaps even greater integration with the West as a means of securing Russia’s modernization.”<sup>398</sup> In the years 2000-2002, Putin pursued pro-Western oriented policy which was evidenced by his active cooperation with NATO and his partnership with Washington in the fight against terrorism. In this sense, his first significant foreign policy action was to resume Russia’s security dialogue with the alliance within the framework of the 1997 Founding Act. This was one of his significant decisions since he assumed power, and considered as a sign that he wants to reach out to the West. Here the question is, are the changes in Russia’s policy towards NATO, or in general towards the West, revolutionary change or pragmatic? The answer to this question is very important since it gives us the idea on the course of the relations between Russia and the alliance afterwards.

Since the very first months in office, Putin’s “primary ambition had been to restore Russia’s greatness and its leading role in the world affairs.”<sup>399</sup> However, he knew that Russia’s economic status and the well-being of the Russian population was more than its ‘greatness syndrome’. In this sense, his first priority had been to rebuild the Russian economy but he could not do this without help from the West. Russia was “bound to have partnership with the West in order to procure investments, management skills and

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<sup>397</sup> Jakub Kulhanek, “Putin’s Foreign Policy and the Founding of the NATO-Russia Council”, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2009, p. 142

<sup>398</sup> Lilia Shevtsova, *Lonely Power: Why Russia Has Failed to Become the West and the West is Weary of Russia*, Washington: United Book Press, 2010, p. 47

<sup>399</sup> Janine Sleivyte, “NATO/US-Russia Relations after 11 September and their Implications for Baltic Security”, *Baltic Defense Review*, No. 7, Vol. 7, 2002, p. 56



exchange of high technologies and this understanding made Russia's drifting towards the US and Europe inevitable, to a certain extent."<sup>400</sup> He "focused on establishment of strong alliance-type relations with the US and on further integration with the European Union as a part of what was called Russia's 'European choice.'"<sup>401</sup> However, there were number of significant constraints that may impede such rapprochement and the Iraq crisis had demonstrated once again how fragile Russia's 'normalization' and how far Moscow is from gaining its self-identity in the transforming system of international relations.<sup>402</sup>

As the new president of Russian Federation, Putin signaled new interest in its relations with the West. This resulted in Russia's adoption of "a vision of national interest that was principally different from those of Kozyrev and Primakov."<sup>403</sup> The strategy to achieve this goal was different than that of Primakov considerably. "Instead of continuing the policy of balancing against the West, he explicitly sided with Europe and the US and insisted that Russia was a country of European and Western identity."<sup>404</sup> The main tactic was to "avoid any mention, or even suggestion of political-strategic competition with the West."<sup>405</sup> Moscow had pursued this or that priority not because it wished to frustrate Western policy intentions as in the past, but because it was in its best interests to do so. For instance, with regard to the CIS, Russia was prosecuting "a number of political, security and economic objectives with a consistency and

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<sup>400</sup> Dmitry Polikanov and Graham Timmins, "Russian Foreign Policy under Putin", *Russian Politics under Putin*, ed. Cameron Ross, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 228

<sup>401</sup> Trenin, Dmitri. "Vladimir Putin's Fourth Vector: Changes in Russian Foreign Policy", *Russia in Global Affairs*, No. 2, April-June 2013, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Vladimir-Putins-Fourth-Vector--16048>, accessed on 4 December 2013

<sup>402</sup> Dmitry Polikanov and Graham Timmins, "Russian Foreign Policy under Putin", *Russian Politics under Putin*, ed. Cameron Ross, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 228

<sup>403</sup> Andrei P. Tsygankov, "Two Faces of Putin's Great Power Pragmatism", *Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1, Winter 2008, p.

<sup>404</sup> Andrei P. Tsygankov, "Two Faces of Putin's Great Power Pragmatism", *Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1, Winter 2008, p.

<sup>405</sup> Bobo Lo, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003, p. 75

determination absent during the Yeltsin years, when the Kremlin's approach was almost purely reactive – to developments on the ground and to Western involvement in the region.”<sup>406</sup>

It can be regarded that the very first sign of Russia's rapprochement with the West began with David Frost's interview with Putin in March 2000 when he was still prime minister. During the interview, Frost asked him about Russia joining NATO. Clearly put on the spot, Putin replied, “Why not? I do not rule out such a possibility. I repeat, on the condition that Russia's interests are going to be taken into account, if Russia becomes a full-fledged partner.”<sup>407</sup> Actually, he was saying that Russia was prepared to talk about this. After all, he believed that his country was part of the West.

It can be argued that although the terrorist attacks to the US and Russia's support to the US campaign against terrorism had “certainly given the NATO-Russia relationship added impetus and injected a sense of urgency into discussions, the roots of a better relationship pre-date 11 September.”<sup>408</sup> Putin's win in the presidential election in 2000 led to a new and more constructive relationship with the alliance and the PJC resumed its work in the same year, which was suspended after NATO's air campaign in Yugoslavia. The PJC gradually expanded its agenda and in February 2001 NATO opened its information office in Moscow.

Significantly, according to Russia's Foreign Policy Concept, as well as Putin's most of 2000 and 2001 speeches, it was stated that “the most serious security challenges for Russia lie not along its western borders, but along its southern periphery.”<sup>409</sup> Perhaps it was the first time after the end of the Cold War, Russia started “to refuse its adamant

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<sup>406</sup> Bobo Lo, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003, p. 75

<sup>407</sup> Quoted in Hannes Adomeit, “Inside or Outside? Russia's Policies Towards NATO”, *Working Paper, Research Unit Russia/CIS, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, January 2007, p. 2

<sup>408</sup> Willem Matser, “Towards a New Strategic Partnership”, *NATO Review*, Vol. 39, Winter 2002, p. 20

<sup>409</sup> Janine Sleivyte, “NATO/US-Russia Relations after 11 September and their Implications for Baltic Security”, *Baltic Defense Review*, No. 7, Vol. 7, 2002, p. 55

opposition towards NATO enlargement and appears to have chosen a non-confrontational policy with the West.”<sup>410</sup>

In the fall of 2000, in Berlin, he gave a well-received speech to the ‘Bundestag’ calling on Germany to open a new page in relations between Russia and Europe. Here, he seemed ready for a rapprochement with the West. He called Lord Robertson, Secretary General of NATO, and proposed reviving Russia’s relationship with the alliance. Similarly, his numerous meetings with Western European leaders in 2001 confirmed Russia’s desire to be part of Europe.

The warm relations between the US and Russia started with Bush-Putin summit in Ljubljana in June 2001. They have met for the first time and appeared to have hit it off. Here in Ljubljana Bush said his famous words “I looked the man in the eye. I found him to be very straight forward and trustworthy and we had a very good dialogue. I was able to get a sense of his soul.”<sup>411</sup> These words were the reflections of Washington’s desire to resolve its problems with Moscow by means of a personal relationship with Putin. The summit proved to be Russia’s first test in its course of relations towards the West. Despite Bush’s missile defense plans and endorsement of NATO expansion, Putin managed to maintain constructive stance. Although they still differed over these issues, they exchanged warm words. However, the summit was a success bringing the US-Russia relationship onto the right track.

The terrorist attacks to the US in September 2001 inaugurated a new stage in the US-Russia relations. Russia cooperated with the US campaign against terrorism, becoming one of the US’s most important allies in the fight against terrorism by providing “political support and technical assistance for US military operations in Afghanistan and paved the way for the American military presence in the former Soviet republics.”<sup>412</sup>

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<sup>410</sup> Janine Sleivyte, “NATO/US-Russia Relations after 11 September and their Implications for Baltic Security”, *Baltic Defense Review*, No. 7, Vol. 7, 2002, p. 55

<sup>411</sup> Cited in Angus Roxburgh, *The Strongest Man: Vladimir Putin and the Struggle for Russia*, London, New York: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2012, p. 35

<sup>412</sup> Robin Wight, “Ties that Terrorism Transformed”, *Los Angeles Times*, 13 March 2002, <http://articles.latimes.com/2002/mar/13/news/mn-32572>, accessed on 15 July 2013

This period was over, by the middle of the 2000s, when Russia left the West to position itself in opposition to the US key global policy issues. The short-lived friendship posed a question: How did it happen and why did it end so quickly? As one scholar argued Putin wanted to prove that Chechen war had also been provoked by international terrorism.<sup>413</sup> The reason to his action might be, besides understanding for his actions in Chechnya, Putin wanted reciprocity – full-fledged partnership for Russia and the US.

Putin's meetings with NATO Secretary General in Brussels and then in Moscow, and several meetings with Bush in October and November 2001, improved NATO-Russia relations and put this into a new stage. This shows us how Russia, like any other state, calculates how to pursue its interests in such a rapidly changing environment. In December 2001, when the US notified Russia it was scrapping the ABM Treaty<sup>414</sup>, Putin took the line that the treaty was not that important anyway and was ready to sacrifice it to avoid unnecessary friction with the US in order to pursue his NATO agenda. This led one of the analysts to argue that he is "hoping that his flexibility will allow him to get other important things, like a closer relationship with NATO."

In 2002, Russia and the US "agreed to a new framework for strategic relations, including steep reductions in their nuclear stockpiles." Most of the tensions such as Moscow's concerns about NATO expansion and its worries over the US missile defense plan had subsided. For John L. Helgerson, Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, "the most far-reaching geostrategic effect of September 11 is likely to be the change in US-Russian relations. Russia's realignment is comparable to the historic post-World War II

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<sup>413</sup> Lilia Shevtsova, *Lonely Power: Why Russia Has Failed to Become the West and the West is Weary of Russia*, Washington: United Book Press, 2010, p. 48

<sup>414</sup> The Treaty was concluded between the Soviet Union and the US in 1972 to prohibit the deployment of missile defense systems, thereby reinforcing the concept of mutual assured destruction. George W. Bush saw no merit in trying to preserve a treaty describing it as a 'relic', on 13 December 2001, submitted to the Russian Federation formal notification of intent to abrogate the Treaty. The Russian side did no more than describing this action as 'mistaken'. On 13 June 2002, the US unilaterally withdrew from the ABM Treaty.

change, when Germany became solidly anchored into the European and North Atlantic communities.”<sup>415</sup>

The terrorist attacks to the United States had created a new context in the relationship between Russia and NATO. In this sense, it brought NATO and Russia into a more trusting partnership. The harsh distrust was being replaced with cooperation and major changes were to arise in the policy on both sides. After the tragic events, they realized that they could only gain in security terms from cooperating with each other. Thus, they entered into a process which resulted in the creation of the NRC, which works on the basis of consensus and includes all NATO members and Russia as equal partners. In the first one and half year of its existence, the NRC had proved to be extremely positive with its achievements in the areas of mutual interest identified in the Rome declaration.

Addressing at the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 2002, Putin stressed that Russia’s major goal of foreign policy is to ensure strategic stability in the world. Putin stated that to do this, “we are participating in the creation of a new system of security; we maintain constant dialogue with the United States, and work on changing the quality of our relations with NATO.”<sup>416</sup> He also said that Russia will continue actively work with the EU to form a single economic space. However, Putin’s foreign policy had limits: “the aim was not to become the member of or to merge Russia with the Euro-Atlantic Community, but simply to align his country with the most powerful group of states in international affairs.”<sup>417</sup>

Political analysts described the events developed after the terrorist attacks to the US as a new era in Russia’s path to the West. Even, Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, evaluated this change as historic. For him, “No

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<sup>415</sup> Quoted in Robin Wight, ‘Ties that Terrorism Transformed’, *Los Angeles Times*, 13 March 2002

<sup>416</sup> Russian President Vladimir Putin’s Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 18 April 2002, The Kremlin, Moscow, [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2002/04/18/0000\\_type70029type82912\\_70662.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2002/04/18/0000_type70029type82912_70662.shtml), accessed on 2 December 2013

<sup>417</sup> Dov Lynch, “Russia Faces Europe”, *Chaillot Papers*, No. 60, 2003, p. 14

Russian leader since Peter the Great has cast his lot as much with the West as Putin has.”<sup>418</sup> This was “a shift in Russian foreign policy away from a previous pursuit of multipolarity that assumed that Russia was one of the world’s poles towards one that seeks Russia’s alignment with the Euro-Atlantic pole.”<sup>419</sup> However, the answer to the question whether changes were revolutionary or pragmatic lies in this part. The more cooperative agenda had been carried out well before the tragic events of 11 September 2001, which improved the relations between Russia and the US. In this sense, it can be argued that the new spirit appeared after 11 September contributed to the changes that were already in motion. It seems that the origins of Russian shifts had not been taken into account.

As one analyst argued, Russia’s relation with the West is a great deal of pragmatism and radicalization of the cooperative strategy rather than a revolutionary phase.<sup>420</sup> We should not look at 11 September as a point of radical turn, but just the logical continuation of what was already in motion. In this sense, I would argue that 11 September was a chance for Putin, who already making efforts to deepen ties with the West in order to further achieve his goal. The positive atmosphere following the 11 September provided a good opportunity to complete foreign policy orientation towards the West much quicker than it was planned.

Putin’s decision to support the US campaign against terrorism was not quite the complete turnaround in Russia’s foreign policy like it had been portrayed in the Western Media.<sup>421</sup> He had already been developing ties with the West for some time, based on largely on Russia’s economic and business interests in Europe. It seemed he embraced the alliance because of his realization of Russia’s limited economic and military

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<sup>418</sup> Quoted in Robin Wight, “Ties that Terrorism Transformed”, *Los Angeles Times*, 13 March 2002

<sup>419</sup> Dov Lynch, “Russia Faces Europe”, *Chaillot Papers*, No. 60, 2003, p. 9

<sup>420</sup> Alex Pravda, Presentation at the Wilson Park Conference, *Putin’s Russia: Two Years on, 11-15 March 2002*, cited in Janine Sleivyte, “NATO/US-Russia Relations after 11 September and their Implications for Baltic Security”, *Baltic Defense Review*, No. 7, Vol. 7, 2002, p. 55

<sup>421</sup> Wallander, Celeste A. “Security Cooperation, Russia and NATO”, *PONARS Policy Memo 207, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*, November 2001, p. 1

capabilities. To this end, the new Russian leadership, starting from 2000s, had openly proclaimed the course for integrating Russia into the western economic, political and military systems.

For one of the analyst, in the beginning of the 2000s, Russia's geopolitically driven foreign policy which became malodorous should be renewed as an instrument for pursuing domestic goals. As he pointed out,

A succession of failures in the military-strategic sphere, culminating in the humiliation of Russia's impotence during the Kosovo crisis, created space for a more balanced foreign policy that would focus on cooperation and integration with the West in place of an aggressive but futile competition.<sup>422</sup>

Similarly, as another analyst argued, "Putin appeared remarkably free of the traditionally static, monolithic and zero sum representation of Russia's role in the world."<sup>423</sup> Thus, he began to deal with pragmatic transformation of Russia foreign policy. This was a policy between the Gorbachev's and early Yeltsin's years' Western oriented foreign/domestic policy and the foreign policy of the second half of the 1990s which was over geopoliticized.<sup>424</sup>

Putin's security policy had been pragmatic supporting Russia's cooperation with major Western states and institutions to advance Russian interests. Russia's political leadership also pursued pragmatic foreign policy towards the alliance. In this sense, pragmatic nationalists dominated the NATO debate in Russia. Their support for partnership with NATO has developed on the basis of various expectations and strains of thinking.<sup>425</sup> Following the Russia's agreement to resume relations with NATO in February 2000, Igor Bunin, analyst from one of the think tanks in Russia, said Putin's decision to

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<sup>422</sup> Bobo Lo, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003, p. 54

<sup>423</sup> Richard Sakwa, *Putin: Russia's Choice*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 210

<sup>424</sup> Adrian Dellecker and Thomas Gomart, "Introduction: Solving the Eurasian Energy Question", *Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy*, Routledge: New York, 2011, p. 3

<sup>425</sup> Roy Allison, "Russian Security Engagement with NATO", *Putin's Russia and the Enlarged Europe*, eds. Roy Allison, Margot Light and Stephen White, London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006, p. 100

resume relations with the alliance shows he is, above all, pragmatic. Similarly, Dmitry Trenin pointed out that “Russians disagree with the West, but it does not follow that they are happy about Russia’s isolation.”<sup>426</sup> Favoring cooperation with Western states through the NRC, they also accept the importance of cooperation with the EU. However, Russia seeks pragmatic, instrumental cooperation and “has no interest in a form of integration with NATO structures which constrains its internal policies or ability to develop its own strategic goals.”<sup>427</sup>

There was another point that confirmed that changes were pragmatic. The terrorist attacks to the US in 2001 did not turn the world upside-down. Although it was believed many of the tensions gone after the 11 September 2001, the old-major problems still await their solution. NATO’s eastward expansion, the missile defense, strategic arms reduction Iraq and Iran were among these problems to be solved.

### **6.3 The NRC’s First Tests**

In the first year of its existence, NRC survived two tests which threatened the success of this new mechanism. The first was the NATO enlargement which was put on the way at NATO’s Prague Summit in 2002. This time, Russian attitude to enlargement was more relaxed than the previous one. The second was the Iraq crisis of 2002 and 2003 when the Russian position was constructive and engaged than they were during the Kosovo crisis of 1998-9.

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<sup>426</sup> Sharon LaFraniere, “Russia Mends Broken Ties with NATO”, *Washington Post*, 17 February 2000, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/WPcap/2000-02/17/077r-021700-idx.html>, accessed on 4 December 2013

<sup>427</sup> Roy Allison, “Russian Security Engagement with NATO”, *Putin’s Russia and the Enlarged Europe*, eds. Roy Allison, Margot Light and Stephen White, London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006, p. 107



### 6.3.1 'Big Bang' Enlargement

NATO expansion “is considered by many to be one of the projects to create not only a single security space, but also a single normative space characterized by democratic values, respect for human rights, open economies, and durable peace.”<sup>428</sup> NATO is one of the international institutions which pursue this shared objective; the others are Council of Europe (CoE), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union (EU). However, one might think that NATO enlargement and the promotion of democratic transformation might lead to problems in NATO’s relationship with Russia. In the realist or geopolitical perspective, NATO expansion “weakens Russia’s position in Europe.”<sup>429</sup>

A central agenda of the Prague Summit in 2002 was the further enlargement of the Alliance. In Prague it was agreed to proceed with a ‘big bang’ enlargement by inviting seven aspirant countries to join the organization. The so-called ‘big bang’ enlargement was declared by Bush as U.S. policy aim in June 2001 saying that all post-communist states that met the predetermined criteria should be admitted.<sup>430</sup> In this sense, the invitation to NATO membership began a new chapter in NATO’s post-Cold War history by opening the door not only to former Warsaw Pact adversaries but also to former members of the Soviet Union. Three Baltic States were among the seven states that became the first former Soviet republics to sign up to NATO membership. They would

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<sup>428</sup> S. Neil MacFarlane, “Russia, NATO Enlargement and the Strengthening of Democracy in the European Space”, *NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Aurel Braun, New York: Routledge, 2008, p. 39

<sup>429</sup> S. Neil MacFarlane, “Russia, NATO Enlargement and the Strengthening of Democracy in the European Space”, *NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Aurel Braun, New York: Routledge, 2008, p. 39

<sup>430</sup> “NATO Summit Commits to ‘Big Bang’ Enlargement”, *Kyiv Post*, 28 November 2002

“continue to work towards fulfilling their Membership Action Plan (MAP) obligations as part of accession negotiations, with a view to gaining formal membership in 2004.”<sup>431</sup>

Considering the previous enlargement summits in Madrid in 1997 and in Washington in 1999, Yeltsin government had signaled its displeasure by ensuring no Russian representatives attended on both occasions. Moscow was also worried about the prospect of the Baltic States joining NATO. Russian leaders warned that enlarging NATO into the “borders of the former Soviet Union would be stepping over a ‘red line’ with dire consequences for Russia’s relations with the Baltic States and the West.” They repeatedly stressed that Moscow would review its relations with NATO and withdraw from the Founding Act if the alliance started to expand into the territory of the Soviet Union. Russia analyst Dmitri Trenin argued that the process of Baltic entry into the alliance could result in “a new Russian-Western confrontation, Russia’s economic sanctions and other tough measures against the Baltic States, and even bloody ethnic conflicts in the region.”<sup>432</sup>

As the alliance member states were preparing to invite seven countries to join NATO in 2002, “Russian policymakers also felt betrayed by the West, and many blamed Putin for conceding far too much during the first few years of his presidency.”<sup>433</sup> Indeed, for Putin, Moscow would accept another round of NATO enlargement if the alliance transforms into a political organization, a policy which was similar to Yeltsin’s ‘red line’ policy. However, as the new developments between Russia and the alliance arose in the post-September 11, Russian attitude toward NATO enlargement had become more relaxed. Not only Russia no longer perceived enlargement as being such a great threat, but also it did not see enlargement as being so damaging to Russian interests. Although

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<sup>431</sup> Claire Taylor, “NATO: The Prague Summit and Beyond”, *House of Commons Research Paper*, 16 January 2003

<sup>432</sup> Dmitri Trenin, *Baltiiskii Shans: Strany Baltii, Rossiya i Zapad v Skladyvayushcheisya Bol'shoi Yevrope*, Moskva, 1997, pp. 34-36, cited in Vyacheslav Gorskii, “Problems and Prospects of NATO-Russia Relationship: the Russia Debate”, *Final Report, NATO Euro Atlantic Partnership Council Fellowships Programme 1999-2001*, p. 43, <http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/99-01/gorskii.pdf>, accessed on 16 February 2013

<sup>433</sup> Julianne Smith, “The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà vu?”, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 2008, p. 7

Russia could not be described then in favor of NATO expansion, the change in Russian attitudes made it unlikely that the prospect of a sizable enlargement would cause a major conflict between Russia and the alliance.

Although it was reported continuing opposition to NATO enlargement from prominent Russian military figures, Putin sent Foreign Minister Sergei Ivanov to Prague to participate in an NRC ministerial meeting. In his speech following the two weeks Lord Robertson evaluated this process as a revolution.

Three years earlier, as the previous round of enlargement was finalized, Russia, still furious over the Kosovo crisis, shunned any contact with NATO. By contrast, two weeks ago, Russia Foreign Minister Ivanov attended a NATO-Russia Council meeting in Prague, on the margins of the NATO summit, the day after the invitations were issued. He offered a glowing assessment, both in public and in our closed-door meeting, of the progress that had been made in the NATO-Russia Council in the past six months. And then he hopped on Air Force One, and rode back to Russia with President Bush, who was warmly received by President Putin. A revolution indeed.<sup>434</sup>

As the situation changed after September 11, by inviting seven countries join the alliance, NATO scored its biggest victory since its creation. NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson quoted the Wall Street Journal to support NATO's accomplishment as saying, by inviting seven countries to join, "NATO has achieved the greatest victory in the five decades of its existence, by finally erasing the effects of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and the Yalta Agreement, which had shackled Europe for half a century."<sup>435</sup>

Although for some Russian skeptics the NRC was created to mitigate the impact of the second wave of enlargement, Putin used it to shift the focus of Russian attention from the enlargement controversy to the exploration of some form of partnership with NATO. In this sense, this time, Russian attitude was more positive at the Prague Summit compared to earlier attitudes to NATO enlargement. According to the statement by Lord

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<sup>434</sup> NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson, "A New Russia Revolution: Partnership with NATO", 13 December 2002, <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2002/s021213a.htm>, accessed on 8 November 2013

<sup>435</sup> NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson, "A New Russia Revolution: Partnership with NATO", 13 December 2002, <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2002/s021213a.htm>, accessed on 8 November 2013

Robertson, at the NRC Foreign Ministers in Prague, ministers “noted the assurance of NATO member states that decisions taken by the Alliance at Prague summit are not directed against the security interests of Russia or any other Partner state.”<sup>436</sup> Besides, they welcomed progress achieved under the NRC.<sup>437</sup>

At the press conference following NRC meeting, on the question about Russia’s reaction to the NATO’s invitation of seven European countries, Foreign Minister Ivanov answered that “our position on that score is well known and it has been repeatedly stated. We have always emphasized that a mechanical NATO expansion with the preservation of the previous military focus is unlikely to meet the interests of security and cooperation, including in the Euro-Atlantic space.”<sup>438</sup> On the question about “the claim that the accession to NATO of new countries, in particular, the Baltic States, will deal a blow in Russia’s position in the world arena as a global power”, he answered quoting Robertson’s speech. Robertson said that many cynics and skeptics questioned the future of this mechanism both before and during the creation of the NRC. At the press conference, he was pleased to create the NRC and confirmed this saying that the “Council at 20 is becoming an effective instrument of cooperation and joint activity.”

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<sup>436</sup> Statement by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson, in his capacity as Chairman of the NATO-Russia Council at the NATO-Russia Council Meeting at the Level of Foreign Ministers, *Press Release*, 22 November 2002

<sup>437</sup> In crisis management, where NRC Ambassadors agreed on a political framework to take work forward on future NATO-Russia peacekeeping operations...; in the struggle against terrorism, ... looked forward to the NATO-Russia Conference on ‘The Role of the Military in Combating Terrorism’ on 9 December in Moscow; and welcomed steps to meet more effectively contemporary security challenges, in particular terrorism and the proliferation of WMD; in defense reform, where the October 2002 Rome Seminar has paved the way for a more fruitful dialogue with the NRC and increased cooperation in adapting military forces to meet shared security threats; in theatre missile defense, where an ambitious work programme has set forth a road to interoperability of Allied and Russian systems; in civil emergencies, where the September 2002 exercise hosted by Russia at Bogorodsk has provided an impetus for increased cooperation; in non-proliferation, where work is underway for a joint assessment of global trends in the proliferation of NBC agents and their means of delivery. Statement by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson, in his capacity as Chairman of the NATO-Russia Council at the NATO-Russia Council Meeting at the Level of Foreign Ministers, *Press Release*, 22 November 2002

<sup>438</sup> Transcript of Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Ivanov Remarks at Press Conference Following NATO-Russia Council Meeting, Prague, 22 November 2002

### 6.3.2 Iraq Crisis (2002-3)

The NRC also continued in business during the Iraq crisis, which was casting a dark shadow over its launch. Careful analysis of the course of Russia-US relations during the crisis suggests us that post-11 September relations has attained a basis of trust, which would have been hard to imagine in 1999. Russia's announcement of plans in August 2002 for enhanced long-term economic cooperation with the regime of Saddam Hussein was greeted with 'surprisingly calm' by the US side can be given as an example.

In the beginning of the negotiations, the US objective was to craft a resolution such that anything short of full compliance would automatically lead to an authorization to use force to change the Iraqi regime. In drafting the resolution, Russia closely worked with France. Russia and France sought a resolution that would demand Iraqi disarmament and were willing to support more intrusive and comprehensive inspections and the threat of force to achieve that goal. But their draft "insisted on avoiding any automatic triggers for military action and on leaving final control over any decision to act in the hands of the Security Council."<sup>439</sup>

After two months of negotiations, on 8 November 2002, Russia voted in favor to adopt UNSCR 1441, which was carried unanimously. Resolution 1441, "holding Iraq in material breach of its obligations under previous resolutions, gave Iraq a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations, while setting up enhanced inspection regime for full and verified completion of the disarmament process established by resolution 687 (1991)."<sup>440</sup> It also reminded the regime, that it would face 'serious consequences' if it continued to violate those obligations.

The Russian leadership was more than satisfied with their experience of cooperation with the Americans on the elaboration of the Resolution 1441 of the UN Security

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<sup>439</sup> Philip H. Gordon and Jeremy Sharipo, *Allies at War: America, Europe, and the Crisis over Iraq*, New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc, 2004, p. 108

<sup>440</sup> Resolution 1441, Adopted by the Security Council at its 4644<sup>th</sup> Meeting, on 8 November 2002

Council on Iraq and believed it was not only Russia's merit. Moscow paid tribute to the diplomatic flexibility of Washington; "Few people believed that the Americans would be willing to give up its stance and tune in to a compromise on Iraq" and according to the sources from Kremlin, the US approach indicated "the mature and partnerlike nature of our relations" with the US.<sup>441</sup>

At the Prague Summit, NATO leaders also "pledged full support for the implementation of Resolution 1441 and called on Iraq to comply fully and immediately with this and all relevant resolutions."<sup>442</sup> In their statement, they emphasized that they "stand united in their commitment to take effective action to assist and support the efforts of the UN to ensure full and immediate compliance by Iraq, without conditions and restrictions."<sup>443</sup>

On December 7, 2002, Iraq submitted its weapons declaration - 12,000 pages of mostly old and incomplete data.<sup>444</sup> The US evaluated it as a sign that Iraq was not going to comply with the resolution and began to push on the use of force. In early February 2003, it became determined to take action with the support of United Kingdom and other allies. However, in the fall of 2002 and early 2003, "Russian, French and German leaders regularly expressed their strong opposition to the use of force to oust Saddam Hussein and questioned the evidence the US presenting to make its case."<sup>445</sup> Eventually, Russia and France vetoed the UN resolution which would legitimize the use of force. The US invasion of Iraq began on March 19 with a mass bombardment of a bunker where the Iraqi leader was thought to be hiding.

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<sup>441</sup> "Tsarkosel'skii Sammit: Putin i Bush vstupili v paru zrelosti", *Vremya Novosti*, 22 November 2002, <http://www.vremya.ru/2002/216/4/29436.html>, accessed on 14 November 2013

<sup>442</sup> Prague Summit Statement on Iraq, Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Prague, 21 November 2002

<sup>443</sup> Prague Summit Statement on Iraq, Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Prague, 21 November 2002

<sup>444</sup> Philip H. Gordon and Jeremy Sharipo, *Allies at War: America, Europe, and the Crisis over Iraq*, New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc, 2004, p. 115

<sup>445</sup> Julianne Smith, "The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà vu?", *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 2008, p. 8

The Iraq crisis not only created dramatic dispute between NATO members but also raised questions about the alliance's future. For instance, France, Germany and Belgium tried to block NATO's help to defend Turkey's border if war starts in Iraq. When the dispute about NATO's role came to a head at the February 10 meeting of the NATO ambassadors in Brussels, French, German and Belgian representatives argued that NATO planning is unnecessary and unnecessarily provocative, against representatives of other allies, led by the US and Great Britain, who argued that the defense of ally should not be ignored. This division "damaged not only NATO, but also the credibility of trans-Atlantic cooperation."<sup>446</sup> It was argued that the US action in Afghanistan and Iraq proved to many Russian politicians and military that the alliance is obsolete and that bilateral cooperation with the US on various security issues is more preferable.<sup>447</sup> The Iraq crisis was a perfect storm for transatlantic relations, as it divided the allies in the issues of use of force versus diplomacy, strategies to deal with rogue states and the role of the UN.

The Iraq issue was not brought to and discussed at the NRC meetings to resolve differences simply because NATO members themselves could not come to common compromise. This made many analysts to claim that the transatlantic relationship will eventually crack under the weight of this crisis. Lord Robertson answered this in an article written by him in the *European Affairs* journal. For him, transatlantic relationship

will not crack. Why? Because despite disagreements over Iraq there is broader, deeper and stronger consensus than there would seem today, within Europe and across the Atlantic, on the key security questions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century: What are the threats we face today, and will face in future? How are we to tackle them? And will we tackle them together?... The current focus on Iraq and its political fallout may be unavoidable. After all, the crisis demonstrated that the transatlantic community has not yet fully adjusted to the post-9/11 world. For example, the search for agreement on the urgency of threats, and when and how to use force against them, requires a broad debate that has only just begun. Yet

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<sup>446</sup> Roger E. Kanet and Maxime Henri Andre Larive, "NATO and Russia: Perpetual New Beginning", *Perceptions*, Spring, Volume XVII, No 1, 2002 , p. 78

<sup>447</sup> Dmitry Polikanov and Graham Timmins, "Russian Foreign Policy under Putin", *Russian Politics under Putin*, ed. Cameron Ross, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 233

the focus on Iraq obscures the fact that NATO has embarked on a process of adaptation that will help bridge the divides that the Iraq crisis has exposed.<sup>448</sup>

In the article, while answering these questions, he also touched upon the NATO members' getting close "to another goal shared on both sides of the Atlantic; bringing Russia into Europe as a trusting and trusted partner."<sup>449</sup> He said that since the last year of the NRC establishment, the NATO allies and Russia had been sitting at the NRC table "as equals and working out common programs of cooperation on key 21<sup>st</sup> century security challenges."<sup>450</sup>

In later 2002 and early 2003, Russian leaders did not close any options thus not to definitely antagonize the US. For Putin, "Iraqi noncompliance might compel Russia to be more receptive to the US position."<sup>451</sup> For Ivanov, the use of force might be unavoidable if Iraq does not comply with the resolution. Moreover, The Russian side "never unequivocally stated under what circumstances it would support an armed resolution of the crisis."<sup>452</sup> Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov promised that Moscow will use all available and diplomatic methods to avoid a situation when we need to use the veto power in the Security Council in addressing the issue of Iraq.<sup>453</sup> However, this policy was against the Russia's stance during the Kosovo crisis, not sharing the NATO members' view on the possible use of force to end the conflict. Russian decision makers threatened veto power at the UNSC if the alliance demanded a resolution authorizing the use of force against the FRY.

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<sup>448</sup> Lord Robertson, "NATO is Strong Enough to Survive Iraq", *European Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Spring 2003

<sup>449</sup> Lord Robertson, "NATO is Strong Enough to Survive Iraq", *European Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Spring 2003

<sup>450</sup> Lord Robertson, "NATO is Strong Enough to Survive Iraq", *European Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Spring 2003

<sup>451</sup> "Yesli Iraq stavit problem dlya raboty inspektorav, to RF mozhet dogovoritsya s SSha po vyrobotke drugikh resheniy v SB OON – Putin", ITAR TASS, 28 January 2003

<sup>452</sup> Michael Jasinski, "Russia's Views on the Crisis in Iraq", *James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies*, 14 February 2003, <http://cns.miis.edu/stories/030217.htm>, accessed on 15 November 2013

<sup>453</sup> Aleksandr Samohotkin, "Nebol'shaya Vosmyerka? Bush Nashyel Evropeisev, Gotovyh Podderjat' Voinu", 31 January 2003, *Vremya Novostei*, <http://www.vremya.ru/2003/17/4/31841.html>, accessed on 15 November 2013



At that time, it was widely accepted the US National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice had said how to deal with three main opponents of the US-led war in Iraq: “Forgive Russia, ignore Germany and punish France.” Indeed, this approach seemed to describe the Bush administration’s policies as it sought to deal with three major powers. The Bush administration continued diplomatic friendship and cooperation in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, in contrast to its short-term attitude towards France. Bush’s meeting with Putin on the occasion of St. Petersburg’s 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary in a good atmosphere. Describing Putin as good friend, Bush invited him to Camp David in September, to the place where France and Germany was not invited.

Thus, the Iraq crisis creating a dark shadow over establishment of the NRC was over. Dialogue and cooperation may well lead to a more mature relationship capable of tolerating differences. At the press conference following the NRC’s ministerial meeting in May 2003, Robertson argued that the NATO-Russia relationship has reached a certain level of maturity and NRC “could take some of the credit for preventing a rupture in relations.”

I think that the existence of the NATO-Russia Council has prevented differences over Iraq from becoming a crisis, like the NATO-Russia relationship suffered during Kosovo in 1999. It has brought about a new maturity. It has created a new equality and a new respect for each other, so that we are now capable of disagreeing without falling out, of having different opinions without walking out the room. And I think that that is a very good sign for the future of the international community that the NATO nations and Russia can now have established a working relationship of such durability that it can survive and move on from even passionately held differences of opinion, like the one that recently took place on Iraq.<sup>454</sup>

All these developments show that the Russians followed constructive and engaged policy in 2002 and 2003 than they did in 1998 and 1999. They also seemed satisfied with the progress and achievements made by the NRC during this period. Following the joint press conference with Lord Robertson on 11 November 2002, Putin expressed their consideration that the potential laid in Rome for cooperation with the framework of the

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<sup>454</sup> Press Conference by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson following the Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council, *NATO Speeches*, Moscow, 13 May 2003

NRC is beginning to be realized. In Prague, Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said that “Half a year has not yet passed since the meeting of the heads of state and government of Russia and NATO in Rome. But one can already say with confidence not that the Council at 20 is becoming an effective instrument of cooperation and joint activity.”<sup>455</sup> A year later on 13 May 2003, Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov said that “as regard to my assessment of this year of work at 20, I can say that we have already reached the practical, tangible result and there is less and less theory and more and more practice in the cooperation at 20.”<sup>456</sup>

#### **6.4 The NRC and Its Achievements (2002-2004)**

In a year since its existence, the NRC had produced practically focused discussions and programs mainly in four of the nine areas:

- a joint threat assessment on potential terrorist threats to Russian and NATO forces in Bosnia and Kosovo;
- a ‘generic concept’ for future Russia-NATO peacekeeping operations;
- a joint threat assessment of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- the exploration of a shared theatre missile defense.<sup>457</sup>

Theatre missile defense was identified as ‘the flagship program’ of the NRC’s existence since its creation. The first study under the NRC was launched in 2003 and Robertson argued TMD as a breakthrough. Indeed, discussion over missile defense caused distinct views in the international community. It carried a potential to cause major conflict between Russia and the US and between the US and many of its allies in Europe.

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<sup>455</sup> Transcript of Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Ivanov Remarks at Press Conference Following NATO-Russia Council Meeting, Prague, 22 November 2002

<sup>456</sup> Press Conference by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson and Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov, 13 May 2003, *NATO Speeches*, Moscow, Russia

<sup>457</sup> Statement: Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Madrid, Spain, 4 June 2003

Previous Russian proposals to develop theatre missile system with European states were perceived with suspicious that might have been aimed to cause divisions between the US and its European allies in the alliance. In February 2001, Putin presented a set of proposals to the NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson calling on Europe and NATO to work with Russia on developing a common defense against missile attacks. Eventually, after taking Putin's proposal and of the US and European countries' proposals, the NRC established new program on TMD and short-range missile defense. By developing an inclusive framework among the NRC countries, this had mitigated debate over missile defense.

NRC nations had made substantial progress in other areas of cooperation identified in the Rome declaration. All these developments suggested us that Russia-NATO relations had been enhanced, which had already improved to certain level with the creation of the NRC in 2002. This meant although the NRC existed only one year, its achievements had silenced nearly all of its critics. Despite its achievements in a year, I can criticize it with not carrying out concrete accomplishments.

Practical cooperation had been expanded in 2003 and 2004, when both Russian and NATO leadership continued to laud the progress made in the NRC. However, there were some issues that were not consulted in the NRC. For instance, NATO allies and Russia did not come together in the NRC on the issue of Iraq in 2002 and 2003. There were also some issues that haven't taken place or haven't successfully discussed in the NRC. The safeguard mechanism that allows any member of NATO to withdraw an item from the NRC's agenda may cause problems in some circumstances. Putin's complaints, after the deployment of NATO aircraft to the Baltic States in 2004, about Russian government of not being consulted or forewarned about deployment can be given as an example.

The issue of NATO's Baltic air patrol in 2004 was not successfully discussed in the NRC meetings causing temporary freeze in relations. The issue was touched upon in Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov's speech at the Munich Security Conference in February 2004 and again was pursued by Foreign Minister Lavrov at the first meeting of the NRC after second round of enlargement in 2004. Although it was hard to take "the fact of four

NATO aircraft stationed in Lithuania to patrol the Baltic States' borders as a threat, Russia voiced anxiety that this might be followed by further deployments.”<sup>458</sup>

In this sense, in addition to continuing its double enlargement, the alliance pursued a policy that further alienated Russia. When selling its new round of enlargement, NATO argued as follows;

...Those countries wishing to join the Alliance know perfectly well that by joining NATO, they do not leave their neighborhood. They will continue to have strong political and economic interests to cooperate with Russia.... Enlargement is not – as outdated perceptions have it – a zero-sum-game where NATO wins and Russia loses... We are aiming at including, not excluding Russia...<sup>459</sup>

This argument was rejected as duplicitous by Moscow when, in early 2004, “NATO Allied Command Europe began patrolling Baltic States’ airspace and policing their borders with Russia.”<sup>460</sup> Even before Baltic States formally joined the alliance in late March 2004, Brussels had already sent six F-16 fighters from Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands. NATO’s “provocative operation profoundly irritated Moscow, who responded in kind by sending airplanes on similar reconnaissance missions along its borders with the Baltic States.”<sup>461</sup> It confirmed doubts in Russia about the alleged win-win and inclusive nature of NATO expansion.

Recalling that, the four Belgian jets supported by 100 Belgian, Danish and Norwegian troops have come to police the skies over the Baltic States, former Soviet republics that

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<sup>458</sup> Zdzislaw Lachowski and Pal Dunay, “Conventional Arms Control and Military Confidence Building”, *SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 655

<sup>459</sup> Speech by Lord Robertson, NATO Secretary General, Moscow State Institute of Foreign Relations (MGIMO), 21 February 2001, <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2001/s010221a.htm>, accessed on 1 April 2014

<sup>460</sup> Vincent Pauliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 218

<sup>461</sup> Vincent Pouliot, “The Year NATO Lost Russia”, *European Security Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, eds. Frederic Merand, Martial Foucault and Bastien Irondelle, University of Toronto Press Incorporated: Toronto, 2011, p. 248

officially joined NATO in 2004 with Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.<sup>462</sup> Since their formal accession to the alliance in March 2004, the Baltic States' airspace has been patrolled in turn by NATO members in a period of three months, a time which was changed to a four-month term in 2006. As a response to Russia's argument, at the 2 April 2004 NRC meeting, NATO "reiterated its previous pledges regarding the non-deployment of nuclear weapons and substantial conventional armaments on a permanent basis on the territories of the new members."<sup>463</sup> Moreover, the Alliance also reiterated "Baltic States' own promise to demonstrate military restraint and to promptly accede to the adapted CFE treaty regime once it enters into force."<sup>464</sup> This shows us that problems may arise in case NRC is confronted with a tough issue about which Russia and the NATO allies sharply disagree. Disagreements of this type are more likely to arise when the post-11 September convictions fade away. In this sense, both Russia and NATO must exert political will that is necessary to make the NRC work.

## **6.5 Putin's Second Term (2004-2008) and his Policy towards NATO**

During Putin's second presidential term and over the course of the NRC's life from 2004 to 2008, major contentious issues have hung over the NATO-Russia relationship. These were the impasse over the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) and the US missile defense plans in Central Europe. These factors increased the gap between Russia and the alliance also influencing their cooperation within the NRC framework.

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<sup>462</sup> Steven Lee Myers, "As NATO Finally Arrives on Its Borders, Russia Grumbles", *The New York Times*, 3 April 2004

<sup>463</sup> Zdzislaw Lachowski and Pal Dunay, "Conventional Arms Control and Military Confidence Building", *SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 655

<sup>464</sup> Zdzislaw Lachowski and Pal Dunay, "Conventional Arms Control and Military Confidence Building", *SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 655

### 6.5.1 CFE Treaty

To understand the impasse over the CFE Treaty, we need to go back to 1990s. Negotiated in the last years of the Cold War, the Treaty was signed in late 1990 by the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, setting “limits on conventional armaments and equipment on the European continent with solid verification and information exchange mechanisms.”<sup>465</sup> Article IV of the Treaty defined the limitations (East-West or bloc-to-bloc) for NATO and the Warsaw Pact in five categories – “battle tanks, armored combat vehicles (ACVs), artillery pieces, combat aircrafts, and attack helicopters.”<sup>466</sup>

The CFE treaty was updated in 1999 “to reflect the breakup of the Warsaw Pact and an expanding NATO alliance.” The 1999 adapted treaty, which is not ratified by all State Parties therefore not entered into force so far, defined “national and territorial ceilings on conventional armaments and equipment and allowed States Parties to temporarily exceed the established limits in case of military exercises and temporary deployments.”<sup>467</sup> When “it enters into force, the Adaptation Agreement will create a new, highly stable, transparent set of limitations on conventional forces and bring the CFE Treaty into line with today’s European security environment.”<sup>468</sup>

Until now, only Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia have done so. The ratification of the Adapted CFE Treaty has been delayed by the majority of the CFE States Parties due to the disagreements about implementing the Final Act of the CFE, which was adopted in

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<sup>465</sup> Vincent Pouliot, “The Year NATO Lost Russia”, *European Security Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, eds. Frederic Merand, Martial Foucault and Bastien Irondelle, University of Toronto Press Incorporated: Toronto, 2011, p. 247

<sup>466</sup> Article IV, Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 19 November 1990, Paris, <http://www.osce.org/library/14087?download=true>, accessed on 10 April 2014

<sup>467</sup> “Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), ”*The Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI)*, <http://www.nti.org/treaties-and-regimes/treaty-conventional-armed-forces-europe-cfe/>, accessed on 10 April 2014

<sup>468</sup> Department of Defense, *Strengthening Transatlantic Security: A U.S Strategy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Washington DC, 2000, p. 41

parallel to the signing of the Adapted CFE Treaty. In this sense, the original CFE treaty remains in effect.

The OSCE Istanbul Final Act adopted in Istanbul associated with the Adapted CFE Treaty contains several fulfillments of political commitments by Russia, as well as by other States Parties. They are known as the “Istanbul Commitments” and are summarized in the Final Act.<sup>469</sup> For instance, according to the Final Act, Russia agreed to withdraw its forces from Moldova and Georgia.<sup>470</sup> NATO member states accepted to ratify the adapted treaty if Russia fulfills its limits and commitments. Although Moscow declared it already met the adapted treaty’s limits, like before, it rejected the link between ratification of the treaty and commitments describing it ‘artificial and illegitimate’. For Moscow, Russia had “fulfilled its CFE Treaty obligations and the political commitments it undertook in Istanbul have been delayed by the complex situation in the two former Soviet republics.”<sup>471</sup> At the OSCE Sofia Meeting of the Ministerial Council, Russian officials stated that the “Russian Federation do not consider this linkage to be legitimate” since the ‘Istanbul commitments’ are “bilateral and do not imply any obligations for Russia with regard to third countries.”<sup>472</sup>

Although Russian officials asserted that the CFE Treaty was coming to an end, Moscow tried not to undermine the treaty. In 2004, they also stressed that there were no other choices rather than ratifying the Adapted CFE Treaty. In this context, when speaking at his first conference in March 2004, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov urged for the quick ratification of the treaty to ensure a security framework for Europe. Russia also urged

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<sup>469</sup> *Final Act of the Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe*, 19 November 1999, <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/115589.htm>, accessed on 10 April 2014

<sup>470</sup> “In the Final Act, Russia agreed, among other things, on the complete withdrawal of Russian armed forces from Moldova and partial withdrawal of Russian forces from Georgia.” *Final Act of the Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe*, 19 November 1999, <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/115589.htm>, accessed on 10 April 2014

<sup>471</sup> Zdzislaw Lachowski and Pal Dunay, “Conventional Arms Control and Military Confidence Building”, *SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 652

<sup>472</sup> Statement by the Delegation of the Russian Federation at the OSCE Ministerial Council Meeting in Sofia, 7 December 2004, <http://www.osce.org/mc/38830?download=true>, accessed on 20 April 2014

those new NATO members such as Baltic States and Slovenia to join the Adapted Treaty. At their first NRC meeting in April 2004, these states stated their intention to join the treaty upon its entry into force and ministers welcomed this approach “and agreed that their accession would provide an important additional contribution to European stability and security.”<sup>473</sup> However, this act did not happen. In the following months, Russian officials repeatedly criticized the Alliance for delaying the ratification of the Adapted CFE Treaty and creating a security vacuum in the Baltic region.<sup>474</sup>

On its part, the Russian Duma ratified the Adapted Treaty on the eve of Istanbul Summit. However, Putin turned down an invitation for NATO Istanbul Summit which was set to take place in Istanbul on June 28-29. “NATO’s reluctance to ratify the treaty and to place its new Baltic members under CFE restrictions was given as a major reason” why Putin decided not to attend.<sup>475</sup> One of the possible reasons “could be the fact that the question of seven new Eastern European members including the Baltic countries of the former USSR entering NATO will be addressed at the summit.”<sup>476</sup>

The row over the CFE Treaty continued in the following years which resulted in the Russia’s suspension of treaty in 2007. In May 2005, Russia agreed to pull its troops out of Georgia and for Sergey Lavrov “there are no more pretexts left” to delay the ratification of the treaty.<sup>477</sup> But, he argued that Russian troops in Moldova were important in “keeping the peace and protecting large ammunition arsenals there.”

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<sup>473</sup> Chairman’s Statement, Informal Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the Level of Foreign Ministers, *NATO Press Release*, NATO Headquarters, Brussels, 2 April 2004

<sup>474</sup> Deputy Foreign Minister Chizhov, *Interfax*, 28 June 2004, cited in Matthias Conrad, *NATO Russia Relations under Putin: Emergence of Decay of a Security Community? An Analysis of the Russian Discourse on NATO (2000-2008)*, LIT VERLAG Dr. W. Hopf: Berlin, 2011, p. 55

<sup>475</sup> Zdzislaw Lachowski and Pal Dunay, “Conventional Arms Control and Military Confidence Building”, *SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 653

<sup>476</sup> “Putin Ignores NATO Summit”, 3 June 2004, <http://english.pravda.ru/russia/politics/03-06-2004/5795-0/>, accessed on 13 April 2014

<sup>477</sup> Maria Danilova, “NATO, Russia Clash Over Arms Control”, 27 June 2005, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/nato-russia-clash-over-arms-control/222330.html>, accessed on 13 April 2014



However, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer stated that NATO's position will not change. On the eve of Secretary General's visit to Moscow in October 2006, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Grushko said in an interview that the linkage is artificial and threatened to reevaluate the treaty.<sup>478</sup> At the NATO Riga Summit in November 2006, the allies stated allies and other States Parties would ratify the Adapted CFE Treaty if the remaining Istanbul commitments were met. The progress achieved within the agreement signed between Russia and Georgia which foresaw the withdrawal of Russian forces was welcomed by the NATO allies. However, they called on Russia to carry out same action with regard to its forces in Moldova.

In April 2007, Putin called for a moratorium during his annual address to the Federation Council and this was welcomed with thundering applause. After the informal NRC Foreign Ministers meeting in the same day, NATO Secretary General said that the "message was met by concern, grave concern and disappointment and the allies were of the opinion that the Istanbul commitments should be fulfilled and in full, before there can be any ratification of the Adapted CFE Treaty."<sup>479</sup>

Despite this speech, in June, after Russia's request, States Parties organized extraordinary conference in Vienna, Austria. However, they were not able to resolve Russia's concerns and Russia suspended its participation in the CFE Treaty in July 2007, a decision that would come into effect in December of that year. However, Moscow would reverse its decision if they ratify the Adapted Treaty. Not witnessing the positive development in this issue, Russia suspended the CFE Treaty in December 2007. Eventually, it was perceived in Russia that cooperation with the alliance was futile and the final suspension of the CFE Treaty in December symbolized this frustration.

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<sup>478</sup> Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Grushko, *Interfax*, 25 October 2006, [http://www.interfax.ru/e/B/exclusive/29.html?mode=9&title\\_style=exclus&others=2&id\\_issue=11610823](http://www.interfax.ru/e/B/exclusive/29.html?mode=9&title_style=exclus&others=2&id_issue=11610823), accessed on 17 April 2014

<sup>479</sup> News Conference by the Secretary General, Informal Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Foreign Ministers, 26 April 2007, Oslo, Norway

According to Russia's Foreign Ministry official statement, the following issues need to be resolved in order to 'restore the viability of the CFE Treaty';<sup>480</sup>

compensation for the additional potential acquired by NATO as a result of NATO expansion; set parameters for restraining the stationing of forces on foreign territories; resolve flank restrictions pertaining to Russia's territory so as not to hinder Russia's common struggle against terrorism; ensure CFE Treaty participation by the new NATO members: Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Slovenia; embark on the treaty's further modernization.

Despite the suspension of the treaty by Russia, Moscow "noted that it had no plans for arms buildups, but it would not be bound by the treaty limits."<sup>481</sup> Under suspension, Russia would not "participate in treaty data exchanges, notifications, or inspections." However, for Russian diplomats, despite Russia's suspension, Moscow was "prepared to resume exchanging data as soon as NATO governments met certain Russian demands regarding the agreement."<sup>482</sup>

Here, it should be noted that the failure to overcome the impasse over the CFE Treaty can also be seen as a failure by the NRC to function as an effective consultative forum on an issue of major contention. Three months before Russia suspended the NRC Treaty, Putin had mentioned this possibility while proposing that the issue be consulted at the NRC. According to the reports, although the issue was consulted at the NRC, this did not result in significant ameliorative effect.

Noting Russia's suspension as a unilateral measure not provided for under the terms of the CFE Treaty, NATO allies evaluated it as a step that "does not contribute to the long-term viability of the CFE regime" and urged Russia to rescind its decision.<sup>483</sup> They did

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<sup>480</sup> Statement by Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Regarding Suspension by Russian Federation of Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty), *Official Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*, 12 December 2007, accessed on 7 June 2014

<sup>481</sup> "The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and the Adapted CFE Treaty at a Glance", August 2012, <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheet/cfe>, accessed on 16 April 2014

<sup>482</sup> Briefing by Richard Weitz, "Russia's CFE Suspension Threatens European Arms Control", *World Politics Review*, 19 December 2007

<sup>483</sup> Bucharest Summit Declaration, *Press Release*, 3 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8443.htm?mode=pressrelease](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm?mode=pressrelease), accessed on 7 June 2014

not chose “to respond in kind and stated that they would continue meet theirs, without prejudice to any future action they may take.” They urged Russia to respond to their earlier proposals for parallel action package.<sup>484</sup> At the NATO Bucharest Summit in 2008, NATO allies reiterated their earlier proposal and after a meeting of the NRC at the highest level, it was stated that “the NRC member states would remain committed to the long-term viability of the CFE Treaty regime and they would continue to seek, through continued dialogue as part of a multifaceted approach, to facilitate resolution of outstanding CFE issues.”<sup>485</sup> However, despite all efforts, the impasse over the CFE Treaty has still remained unresolved.

### **6.5.2 Missile Crisis**

The Bush administration’s announcement of its missile defense plans in Eastern Europe in 2006 had led to a tension between the alliance and Russia. In May 2006, the US announced its plans on missile defense which would be deployed in in the Czech Republic by 2011. “The new interceptors would add to those already build” in Alaska and California, while the “radar station would complement the modernized facilities” in the UK and Greenland. The reason for the selection of this location was “to intercept eventual Iranian missiles on their way to the US and Europe.” Then, for the US officials, Russians were informed that the system was not aimed at Moscow. Unhappy with the idea, the Russians described the US’s plan as a step that would damage NATO-Russia

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<sup>484</sup> NATO allies have pursued a multifaceted dialogue to address all outstanding concerns in US-Russian bilateral contacts, in the Joint Consultative Group in Vienna, in informal meetings held in Bad Saarow, Paris, Madrid and most recently during the NATO-Russia Council Ministerial meeting on 7 December 2007, This dialogue offered a constructive way forward on the basis of the parallel action package supported by all Allies, to: resolve outstanding concerns of all States Parties, fulfil remaining commitments reflected in the 1999 CFE Final Act with its Annexes, including those related to the Republic of Moldova and Georgia; lay the basis for ratification of the Agreement on Adaptation by all 30 States Parties; and ensure full implementation of the Treaty by all States Parties. Alliance Statement on the Russian Federation’s ‘Suspension’ of its CFE Obligations.” *Press Release*, 12 December 2007, accessed on 11 June 2014

<sup>485</sup> Chairman’s Statement: Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the Level of Heads of State and Government Held in Bucharest, *Press Release*, 4 April 2008

cooperation, including on antimissile systems. To remind, in 2002, President Bush upset Moscow by unilaterally withdrawing from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, long regarded in Moscow as the cornerstone of nuclear arms control. Soon after taking office in 2000, he made the program top priority and “cleared the way for antimissile deployments by withdrawing from the ABM treaty with Russia.”<sup>486</sup>

The Russian reaction to Bush administration’s announcement was harsh and immediate. Russia’s Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, Yuri Baluyevski declared that these plans were “intended to neutralize Russia’s strategic potential.”<sup>487</sup> Similarly, Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov said that “the choice of location for the deployment of those systems is dubious, to put it mildly.” He also said that the development of an antimissile site in Poland would have a “negative impact on the whole Euro-Atlantic security system.”

At the Security Conference in Munich in February 2007, also on several occasions, Putin had “expressed that the US was seeking world domination and warned about the militarization of space.”<sup>488</sup> He also criticized missile defense system in Europe, claiming it would lead to an inevitable arms race. Russia had threatened abandon its obligations under a Nuclear Forces Treaty of 1987 with the United States, which eliminated this class of U.S. and then-Soviet missiles that were stationed in Europe. In April 2007, Kremlin officials indicated that Russia was “preparing its own military response to the US’s controversial plans to build a new missile defense system in Eastern Europe.”<sup>489</sup> In this sense, in June, Putin said that “Russia might now target Poland and the Czech

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<sup>486</sup> Michael R. Gordon, “U.S. Proposing European Shield for Iran Missiles”, 22 May 2006, [http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/22/world/middleeast/22missiles.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/22/world/middleeast/22missiles.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0), accessed on 5 May 2014

<sup>487</sup> Quoted in Matthias Conrad, *NATO Russia Relations under Putin: Emergence of Decay of a Security Community? An Analysis of the Russian Discourse on NATO (2000-2008)*, LIT VERLAG Dr. W. Hopf: Berlin, 2011, p. 55

<sup>488</sup> Roger E. Kanet and Maxime Henri Andre Larive, “NATO and Russia: Perpetual New Beginning”, *Perceptions*, Spring, Volume XVII, No 1, 2012 , p. 86

<sup>489</sup> Quoted in Luke Harding, “Russia Threatening New Cold War over Missile Defense”, *the Guardian*, 11 April 2007, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/apr/11/usa.topstories3>, accessed on 5 May 2014

Republic and transfer medium range ballistic missiles to the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad.”<sup>490</sup>

From the beginning, the US missile defense plans were rejected by the Russians since they perceived them as designed against their nuclear deterrent, as if the Cold War never ended. For Moscow, the program was a “part of an overall strategy by the US to limit Russian nuclear arsenal.”<sup>491</sup> For Washington, the system was “needed to protect the US and Europe from possible attack by hostile nations such as Iran.” For NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, it “would not affect strategic balance and threaten Russia” and “10 interceptors will not, cannot and will not affect the strategic balance and 10 interceptors can also not pose a threat to Russia.”<sup>492</sup> In this regard, both the US and NATO officials have consulted often with Russia over the US missile defense plans. For the US officials, several confidence-building proposals were offered to the Russians. For instance, US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates offered in 2007 that the US and Russia could collocate radars, conduct joint threat assessments, and have a Russian expert presence at missile shield sites.<sup>493</sup> Another suggestion was “that the entire system could be kept nonoperational until an actual identifiable threat appeared from Iran.”<sup>494</sup>

As a counter initiative, during the G-8 Summit in Germany on 7 June 2007, Putin offered to partner with the US on missile defense by suggesting the joint use of Russian early warning radar system in Azerbaijan that has a range of 6,000 kilometers. Bush evaluated his offer as an ‘interesting suggestion’ and seemed to welcome a policy shift. However, others in the administration did not welcome the offer as Secretary of State

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<sup>490</sup> Steven A. Hildreth and Carl Ek, “Long-Range Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe”, *CRS Report for Congress*, 2009, p. 19

<sup>491</sup> Roger E. Kanet and Maxime Henri Andre Larive, “NATO and Russia: Perpetual New Beginning”, *Perceptions*, Spring, Volume XVII, No 1, 2012 , p. 87

<sup>492</sup> “NATO Chief Dismisses Russia Fears”, *BBC News*, 19 April 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6570533.stm>, accessed on 5 May 2014

<sup>493</sup> Sean Kay, “Missile Defenses and the European Security Dilemma”, *NATO in Search of a Vision*, eds. Gülnür Aybet and Rebecca Moore, Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2010, p. 144

<sup>494</sup> Sean Kay, “Missile Defenses and the European Security Dilemma”, *NATO in Search of a Vision*, eds. Gülnür Aybet and Rebecca Moore, Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2010, p. 144

Condoleezza Rice snapped in an interview saying “One does not choose sites for missile defense out of the blue, it is geometry and geography as to how you intercept a missile.”<sup>495</sup> At the G-8 Summit, Putin also proposed that “missile defense interceptors could be placed in Turkey or even Iraq or on sea platforms.”<sup>496</sup>

For some experts, “Azerbaijan was technically not the ideal place to locate the radar since it would be too close to potential Iranian launch sites; they also argued that the radar is outmoded.”<sup>497</sup> Similarly, NATO Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer also said that Russian offer has its weaknesses warning that the system would probably be too close to the ‘rogue states’ it is designed to defend against. A week later, the US stated that Russian offer to share a radar site in Azerbaijan could not replace US plans to site a missile shield in Europe. US Defense Secretary Robert Gates said after a meeting of NATO and Russian defense ministers that “I was very explicit in the meeting that we saw Azeri radar as an additional capability and that we intend to proceed with the... radar in the Czech Republic.”<sup>498</sup> Missile Defense Agency (MDA) Director Trey Obering said that “the Azeri radar could be useful for early detection of missile launches, but that does not have the tracking ability to guide an interceptor missile to a target – which the proposed Czech radar would be able to do.”

At a July 1-2, during his visit with President Bush to Kennebunkport, Putin “offered an expanded counterproposal” which was intended “to build a regional European missile

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<sup>495</sup> Due to its location, the proposed US plan would not cover all NATO member states. Turkey and parts of Greece were out of the coverage. In this sense, Russia had proposed a site that was better for a missile defense from both American and Russian technical and policy points of view. See Richard Dean Burns, *The Missile Defense Systems of George W. Bush: A Critical Assessment*, California: Praeger, 2010, p. 84

<sup>496</sup> Quoted in Ian Jeffries, *Political Developments in Contemporary Russia*, New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 301

<sup>497</sup> Steven A. Hildreth and Carl Ek, “Long-Range Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe”, *CRS Report for Congress*, 2009, p. 17

<sup>498</sup> Mark John and Andrew Gray, “US Says Russia Offer Cannot Replace Missile Shield”, Reuters, 14 June 2007, accessed on 20 May 2014

shield that could include a sophisticated new radar facility on Russian soil.”<sup>499</sup> In this regard, he proposed to build a modern radar facility in Armavir located in the southern Russia and 450 miles close to the Iranian border. He also proposed putting the system under the auspices of the NRC and advocated setting up joint early-warning centers in Moscow and Brussels.<sup>500</sup> Bush responded positively calling it ‘innovative and strategic’, but still insisted on the need for the Eastern European sites.

The issue of missile defense had been discussed at the several NRC gatherings, including at the meeting of foreign ministers on 26 April 2007. 26 NATO allies believed US missile defense plans do not disrupt the strategic balance, whereas Russia had fundamental concerns. Despite disagreements between Russia and the NATO allies, there was a consensus on the need to continue these discussions in the NRC forum. Since then, NATO had also expressed its commitment to work closely with the Russians.

There was not unanimity on the question that it was not directed against Russia. The NATO allies clearly stated it was not, whereas Russia had another position there. Russia had also another position on the perception of threat. At the NRC Chairman’s press conference, Foreign Minister Lavrov clearly stated this as

... we proceed from the necessity first to jointly analyze from whom we together want to defend ourselves, compare the assessments we, the US and other NATO countries have of the threats which are real, and after this, having elaborated their common understanding, decided where it is necessary to locate radar facilities or other missile defense components. But the starting point is to understand whether any threats exist at all, and if they do, then from where they emanate. That’s our position. We shall be guided by it in further discussions. We do not see any real threats that would require creating a base for interceptors in Poland and setting up a radar facility in the Czech Republic.<sup>501</sup>

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<sup>499</sup> Peter Baker, “Putin Proposes Broader Cooperation on Missile Defense”, *The Washington Post*, 3 July 2007, accessed on 20 May 2014

<sup>500</sup> Peter Baker, “Putin Proposes Broader Cooperation on Missile Defense”, *The Washington Post*, 3 July 2007, accessed on 20 May 2014

<sup>501</sup> NATO-Russia Council Chairman’s Press Conference, 26 April 2007, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/articles/2007-04-26-nrc-statement-12/>, accessed on 13 May 2014

At the NATO Bucharest Summit in 2008, NATO countries stated that they were “exploring ways to link planned deployment of European-based United States missile defense assets” with current NATO missile efforts so that “it would be integral part of any future NATO-wide missile defense architecture.”<sup>502</sup> They also encouraged Russia “to take the advantage of United States missile defense cooperation proposals” and declared their readiness “to explore the potential for linking US, NATO and Russian missile defense systems at an appropriate time.”<sup>503</sup> After a meeting of the NRC at the level of Heads of State and Government, it was stated that the NRC would “continue its open and active dialogue on missile defense, despite differences on this matter.”

In September 2009, the Obama administration abandoned the earlier plan that had long soured relations with Russia. The Obama administration decided “to reset European missile defense along a premise that programs should be aligned with threats and capabilities.”<sup>504</sup> To this end, the new system was planned to deploy interceptors on ships by 2011, and later on land in Europe, as part of a ‘European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA)’, which would proceed in four distinct phases.

After Obama’s reset, Dmitri Trenin argued that missile defense could become the flagship project of NATO-Russian cooperation. For him,

For some time, NATO and Russia have been successfully cooperating on theater missile defenses. It is in the interest of the alliance, as well as Western-Russian relations, that topics related to both theater and strategic missile defense be brought together under the auspices of the NRC. US President Barack Obama’s visit to Moscow in July 2009 resulted in a vague and general statement on the subject, which nevertheless opened the door for missile defense cooperation. Depending on progress in US-Russian strategic arms talks, missile defense could become the flagship project of NATO-Russian cooperation.<sup>505</sup>

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<sup>502</sup> Bucharest Summit Declaration, *Press Release*, 3 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8443.htm?mode=pressrelease](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm?mode=pressrelease), accessed on 7 June 2014

<sup>503</sup> Bucharest Summit Declaration, *Press Release*, 3 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8443.htm?mode=pressrelease](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm?mode=pressrelease), accessed on 7 June 2014

<sup>504</sup> Sean Kay, “NATO’s Missile Defense – Realigning Collective Defense for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, *Perceptions*, Vol. 17, No 1, Spring 2012, p. 42

<sup>505</sup> Dmitri Trenin, “NATO and Russia: Partnership and Peril”, *Current History*, October 2009, pp. 302-301



Indeed, NATO took several steps towards collaboration on a missile defense system before the Lisbon Summit in 2010, a summit which would represent a new start in NATO-Russia relations which was deteriorated after Moscow's invasion of Georgia. However, Roberto Zadra argued that the NRC cooperation in this area "would not be effective unless a prior bilateral agreement between the US and Russia takes place."<sup>506</sup> At the meeting of the NRC in Lisbon, Russia and NATO "agreed on a joint ballistic missile threat assessment" and "tasked the NRC to develop a comprehensive Joint Analysis of the future framework for missile defense cooperation."<sup>507</sup> At the meeting, TMD cooperation was also resumed by the NRC leaders.

Similar criticism to Roberto Zadra's argument came from Karsten Jakob Moller. He asserted that

Basically it is more bilateral question between the United States and Russia, but the involvement of NATO might be helpful in solving some of the more difficult problems concerning command and control. If this cooperation turns out to be successful it might profoundly contribute to the development of a true strategic partnership. If it fails, the consequences will probably cause a serious setback in US-Russia relations and thereby also NATO-Russia relations.<sup>508</sup>

What is most interesting here is the NRC's failure on the issue of a missile defense. The main focus of the forum was TMD as opposed to strategic missile defense with which the United States was preoccupied.<sup>509</sup> In 2007, as decision time approached, Russian leaders repeatedly stated that they want to see the issue discussed as a matter of urgency in the NRC. However, consultations in the NRC did not produce an agreement and the issue became an open antagonism in Russia-NATO relations.

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<sup>506</sup> Roberto Zadra, "NATO, Russia and Missile Defense: Towards the Lisbon Summit", *The Rusi Journal*, Vol. 155, No. 5, October/November 2010, p. 15

<sup>507</sup> NATO-Russia Council Joint Statement at the Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council Held in Lisbon, 20 November 2010

<sup>508</sup> Karsten Jakob Moller, "Russia and NATO after the Lisbon Summit: a New Beginning – Once Again?", *NATO's New Strategic Concept: A Comprehensive Assessment, DIIS Report*, eds. Jens Ringsmose and Sten Rynning, 2011, pp. 58-59

<sup>509</sup> Martin A. Smith, "NATO Russia Relations: Will the Future Resemble the Past", *NATO in Search of a Vision*, eds. Gülnur Aybet and Rebecca Moore, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010, p. 115

## 6.6 The NRC and its Achievements (2004-2008)

At the Istanbul Summit in 2004, NATO leaders stated that, since its creation in 2002, the NRC had raised the quality of NATO-Russia relations and they would broaden their political dialogue and make further progress in the implementation of the Rome declaration. Similarly, NRC Foreign Ministers, taking stock of the NRC accomplishments in the first two years, reiterated their adherence to the agreements related with the institutional relationship between NATO and Russia and they addressed the NRC's contribution to the Euro-Atlantic area. NRC Foreign Ministers also agreed on further plans, for instance, welcoming Russia's offer to participate in Operation Active Endeavour (OAE) and agreeing "to initiate the second phase of the NRC project" on TMD.<sup>510</sup> Besides important promises in Istanbul, 2004 seemed to be among the most active years of the NRC, approving NRC Action Plan on Terrorism. The NRC foreign ministers' aim was "to enhance capabilities to act, individually and jointly, in three critical areas: preventing terrorism; combating terrorist activities; and managing the consequences of terrorist acts."<sup>511</sup> An updated plan was approved in 2011.

NRC's activities were evaluated in Sofia 2006. Based on the achievements and challenges, NRC Foreign Ministers "agreed a set of priorities and recommendations to guide the NRC's work in the medium term." Accordingly, overarching priorities included

reinforcing the NRC's political dialogue; intensifying efforts to develop interoperability and to deepen cooperation on defence reform; intensifying

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<sup>510</sup> 'Istanbul Summit: Reader's Guide', [http://www.nato.int/docu/rdr-gde-ist/html\\_en/ist-sum-rg-5.html](http://www.nato.int/docu/rdr-gde-ist/html_en/ist-sum-rg-5.html), accessed on 24 December 2013 "Taking note of the broad-based cooperation in the struggle against terrorism, they welcomed Russia's offer to participate in maritime operations in the Mediterranean Sea in the framework of Operation Active Endeavour and NAC approved the offer. The ships *Pitlyvi* and *Ladnyi* were deployed in 2006 and 2007 respectively and other Russian ships were expected to be rotated into the operation in future."

<sup>511</sup> For detailed information see "NRC Action Plan on Terrorism: Strategic Objectives", 9 December 2004, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/59703/2004.12.09\\_nrc\\_action\\_plan\\_on\\_terrorism.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/59703/2004.12.09_nrc_action_plan_on_terrorism.pdf), accessed on 24 December 2013

cooperation in the struggle against terrorism; further developing mutual trust, confidence and transparency with regard to NATO and Russian armed forces; further developing interoperability and cooperation on crisis management; identifying areas for result-oriented cooperation on non-proliferation; heightening public awareness of the NRC's goals, principles and achievements; and seeking adequate resources to support NATO-Russia initiatives.<sup>512</sup>

This analysis showed that between 2002 and 2008 the NRC had been a forum where many practical activities initiated and developed. However, according to NATO Parliamentary Assembly reports, despite its achievements between 2002 and 2008, it has not lived up to its expectations. Even, “despite these praiseworthy examples of NATO-Russian military cooperation”, the relationship between Russia and NATO had “fallen short of their promise.”<sup>513</sup>

## 6.7 Conclusion

This chapter explored that because Russia's foreign policy purpose was “to secure favorable conditions for Russia's internal development”, the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO, or in general towards the West after Putin came to power and the September 11, were pragmatic rather than revolutionary. On the issue of enlargement, as the new developments arose in the post-September 11 which resulted in the creation of the NRC, it became clear that the Russian attitude toward NATO enlargement had become more relaxed than the previous one. This time Russia did not see enlargement as being damaging to its interests and the change in its attitudes made it unlikely that the prospect of a sizable enlargement would cause a major conflict between Russia and the alliance. On the issue of Iraq crisis, Russians were also constructive and engaged than they were during the Kosovo crisis in 1999. However, it was not discussed at the NRC simply because NATO member states were fundamentally divided. The chapter found

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<sup>512</sup> “Riga Summit: Reader's Guide”, [http://www.nato.int/docu/rdr-gde-riga/html\\_en/riga07\\_04.html](http://www.nato.int/docu/rdr-gde-riga/html_en/riga07_04.html), accessed on 24 December 2013

<sup>513</sup> Raynell Andreychuk, “Resetting Relations with Russia”, *NATO Parliamentary Assembly*, 2009, <http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=1777>, accessed on 12 August 2014

out that in the first year of its existence, the NRC's achievements had silenced nearly all of its critics and in the next year, practical cooperation had been expanded which was lauded by Russian and NATO leadership. Lastly, during his second presidential term, several factors increased the gap between Russia and the alliance. Among them were the impasse over the CFE Treaty and the US missile defense plans in Europe. What is important here is that the failure to overcome the impasse over the CFE Treaty can be seen as a failure by the NRC to function as an effective consultative forum on an issue of major contention. Although the issue was consulted at the NRC, this did not result in significant ameliorative effect. Consultations in the NRC did not produce an agreement on missile defense and it became an open antagonism between Russia and NATO allies. This shows that despite the NRC's achievements, Russia-NATO relations remained constantly prone to disruption as a result of long-term disputes or disagreements unresolved.

The next chapter continues the task that the earlier chapter was going to implement. It discusses Russia's policy towards NATO between 2008 and 2014. The chapter examines the importance of the NATO Bucharest Summit (2008) for Russia-NATO relations and discusses the Russian attitude to the Georgia crisis (2008) after which the NRC activities were suspended. It also analyzes the NATO Lisbon Summit (2010) and NATO Chicago Summit (2012) in relation to Russia-NATO relations.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **RUSSIA-NATO RELATIONS BETWEEN 2008 AND 2014**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines Russia-NATO relations between 2008 and 2014. It starts with the discussion of the NATO Bucharest Summit (2008) in terms of Russia-NATO relations. More importantly, the chapter seeks to explore work of the NRC meeting in Bucharest where Putin attended the first summit meeting of the NRC since its creation in 2002. Then, the chapter analyses the Georgia crisis (2008) and its impact on Russia-NATO relations. Here, it addresses NATO's reaction to Russian actions during the crisis, and its suspension of the NRC activities. It also deals with the Georgia's crisis relationship with enlargement and NATO's newer members' concerns on Russia's military actions. Next, after touching upon the US's 'reset' policy towards Russia and its impact on Russia-NATO relations, the chapter discusses the NATO Lisbon Summit in terms of NATO's future relationship with Russia focusing on the Lisbon Summit Declaration, the New Strategic Concept and the NRC Joint Statement. The last part of the chapter examines the decisions taken at the NATO Chicago Summit (2012) and apart from missile defense, the topics discussed that are connected to NATO's relationship with Russia.

#### **7.2 The NRC Bucharest Summit (2008) and Russia-NATO relations**

The NATO Bucharest Summit was a unique event for the alliance since it was the largest summit in the alliance history. It was the largest summit in number of

participants and in meeting formats. In addition to traditional meetings of the NAC, the EAPC, the NRC and the NUC, there took place an extended meeting of countries and organizations contributing troops to the NATO mission in Afghanistan. This meeting was attended by Afghan President Hamid Karzai, Secretary-General of the UN Ban Ki-Moon, high representatives from EU institutions and World Bank, and senior officials of the contact countries of Australia, Japan, New Zealand and Jordan.

The NATO Bucharest Summit was also important in terms of NATO-Russia relationship. The meeting of NATO leaders sent diplomatic signals for a fresh renewal of NATO-Russia cooperation. According to the Bucharest Summit Declaration they stated that “they believe the potential of the NATO-Russia Council is not fully realized and they remain ready to identify and pursue opportunities for joint actions at 27...” and “reiterate that, far from posing a threat to our relationship, they offer opportunities to deepen levels of cooperation and stability.”

NRC session was held at the highest level in the last day of the summit. Putin attended the first Summit meeting of the NRC since its creation in 2002; the Russians had not accepted invitations to the previous two summits. NATO Secretary General described the NRC meeting at the highest level as “a strong signal of our continued commitment to the spirit of the Rome Summit.”<sup>514</sup> It should be also noted that the NATO Bucharest Summit is also considered as a NRC Bucharest Summit where all the heads of NRC member states participated.

At the Rome Summit in 2002, Russia and NATO allies opened a new page in their relations with the signature of Rome Declaration. According to the declaration, Russia and NATO agreed “to enhance their ability to work together as equal partners in areas of common interest and to stand together against common threats and risks to their security.”<sup>515</sup> Similarly, the NRC Bucharest Summit was the first such where they were

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<sup>514</sup> “NATO-Russia Council Meeting Concludes the Bucharest Summit”, *NATO Live News*, 4 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news\\_7219.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_7219.htm), accessed on 20 June 2014

<sup>515</sup> NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, May 28, 2002, [http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28\\_nrc\\_rome\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.nato-russia-council.info/media/69549/2002.05.28_nrc_rome_declaration.pdf), accessed on 16 January 2013

“resolved to enhance their work as 27 equal partners to respond together to the multi-faceted security risks they have in common” and “renewed their commitment to the goals, principles and objectives set forth in the Founding Act and the Rome Declaration.”

The NRC meeting in Bucharest examined the work done under the NRC since its creation in 2002 discussed the ways to implement them more effectively in the future. Although NRC leaders gave a positive assessment of the NRC achievements, they did not issue a statement at the end of summit, particularly given the differences on NATO enlargement and missile defense. They agreed only to the Chairman’s statement, in which Secretary General touched upon important issues. In the beginning of the statement, he mentioned the issues that Russia and the alliance differ. He stated that the “NRC member states will continue to seek to facilitate resolution of outstanding CFE issues” and “will continue open active dialogue on missile defense.”<sup>516</sup> Despite differences on Kosovo, they expressed their commitment to bringing about “a stable, democratic, multi-ethnic, peaceful, and secure future for the Western Balkans.”

According to the Chairman’s statement:

- The NRC will continue its work in implementing the NRC Action Plan on Terrorism, in particular efforts to deny terrorists access to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)... tasked the NRC to expedite on the NRC’s joint project to counter terrorist threats to civil aviation, the Cooperative Airspace Initiative (CAI), so that the CAI will reach its initial operational capability by the end of 2008 and full operational capability about the end of 2009.
- The NRC will continue to enhance its dialogue in support of efforts against proliferation of WMD and their means of delivery.
- They commended progress in the NRC project towards developing interoperability among respective Theatre Missile Defence systems... The NRC will continue to enhance military to military work, as it enters a phase where more practical activities are pursued... have tasked the NRC to

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<sup>516</sup> Chairman’s Statement, Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the Level of Heads of State and Government in Bucharest, *Press Release*, 4 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8962.htm?mode=pressrelease](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8962.htm?mode=pressrelease), accessed on 29 June 2014

intensify efforts to conclude a Framework Agreement for the use of Russian Armed Forces' air transport capability.

- The NRC will enhance its important cooperation in civil emergency planning, scientific and environmental projects, to increase its preparedness and protection against acts of terrorism, and natural and man-made disasters.
- Convinced that there remains ample room for increasing public awareness of NRC activities, they tasked the NRC to expedite work to facilitate other forms of dialogue among political scientists; the academic community; research institutions; and other relevant organizations.<sup>517</sup>

The main Russian initiative at the summit was the Russian offer of land transit support for the ISAF in Afghanistan. Earlier, a document was signed between the NATO Secretary General and the Russian Foreign Minister, and at the NRC meeting, a mechanism had been defined to facilitate land transit through Russian territory of goods to ISAF in accordance with UNSCR 1386. A senior US administration official stated that “agreement is basically to facilitate the operations” and “is evidence of Russia stepping up and doing more to help the effort in Afghanistan, and that is a good thing.” It was of great importance to Russia since stability in Afghanistan would ultimately strengthen Russia’s security in the South.<sup>518</sup> Another issue concerned Afghanistan was the NRC Pilot Project for Counter-Narcotics Training. Because the narcotics trafficking still threatened the region, the NRC also decided to continue working on this project

At the end of the Chairman’s statement, the leaders enunciated that the NRC since its creation in 2002 “had proven to be a key instrument for political dialogue, consensus-building, cooperation and joint decision-making by its 27 members acting in their national capacities in a manner consistent with their collective commitments and obligations” and they “reaffirmed their determination to continue to work in this constructive spirit in the future...” According to the NATO news, “the atmosphere of

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<sup>517</sup> Chairman’s Statement, Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the Level of Heads of State and Government in Bucharest, *Press Release*, 4 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8962.htm?mode=pressrelease](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8962.htm?mode=pressrelease), accessed on 29 June 2014

<sup>518</sup> Nathalie Vogel and Dmitry Udalov, “NATO Summit in Bucharest: A Glass Half-Empty of Half-Full”, *World Security Network*, 8 April 2008



the session was friendly and constructive and in this context, participants appraised the Council as an excellent forum for frank political dialogue.”<sup>519</sup> Despite the disagreements between Russia and the allies on a number of topics, as it was confirmed in the session, “political will was expressed to use the NRC in search for appropriate solutions to existing problems.”<sup>520</sup>

Before the Bucharest Summit, many expected that Putin would reiterate his strong anti-West stance by delivering a speech similar to that during the Munich Security Conference on February 2007. In this sense, they had every reason to expect ‘second Munich’. But, there was no ‘second Munich’ in Bucharest. Drafting his last presidential speech before the NRC meeting, from the very start, he intended to balance out Russia’s discontent with NATO’s actions with its proposals on future relations between the two sides.<sup>521</sup> This shows us his speech was not a *deja-vu* of Munich 2007.

He addressed the NRC meeting without media coverage. It was informed that he was constructive in his remarks and elaborated upon all the issues discussed, though he did mention the issues where views have differed such as NATO enlargement, missile defense, the CFE and Kosovo. Some argued that Putin’s constructive approach was the result of the NATO Secretary General’s warning him in advance and publicly some time ago before the summit to “prevent another embarrassing scene in Bucharest.”<sup>522</sup> During his speech to the Brussels Forum at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, he stated that “he’s looking forward to a very constructive and interesting NRC in Bucharest.” Some argued that Putin wanted to conclude his last mandate on a successful

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<sup>519</sup> “NATO-Russia Council Meeting Concludes the Bucharest Summit”, *NATO Live News*, 4 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news\\_7219.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_7219.htm), accessed on 20 June 2014

<sup>520</sup> “NATO-Russia Council Meeting Concludes the Bucharest Summit”, *NATO Live News*, 4 April 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news\\_7219.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_7219.htm), accessed on 20 June 2014

<sup>521</sup> Dmitry Kosyrev, “No Munich in Bucharest”, *RIA Novosti*, 4 April 2008, <http://en.ria.ru/analysis/20080404/103773414.html>, accessed on 7 July 2014

<sup>522</sup> Vladimir Socor, “Kremlin Uses NATO-Russia Council as a Platform for Anti-NATO Polemics”, *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 5, Issue 68, 10 April 2008

note since it would have been unwise to have a confrontational course ahead of the visit to Sochi to meet George W. Bush after the summit.

At the NRC meeting, Putin again tried to negotiate with NATO leaders on major controversial issues. During his press conference after the meeting, it became clear that he and NATO leaders did not reach agreement on the issues; however, Russia's position had been heard and accepted by the alliance. In this sense, the press conference after the meeting "reflected the content of his unpublished speech."<sup>523</sup> It should be noted that he it was an unexpected decision to appear at the press conference. Initially, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov was expected to appear at the press conference after the NRC meeting.

He was satisfied that the NRC meeting did not become a 'ping pong charges'. He said "We talked very openly and constructively. We did not cross certain boundaries. It was not a kind of ping pong charges."<sup>524</sup> He outlined Russian position and, in his opinion, much of colleagues listened to Moscow's point of view and "there was a constructive response to what he said and overall, it was a real, open and useful discussion." He said that "he was satisfied with the discussion" and "it again confirmed the need for NATO-Russia Council to address security concerns." Russia and NATO could "make significant progress towards political dialogue and practical cooperation."<sup>525</sup> "Effectiveness of our cooperation depends on how NATO countries will take into account our interests." "Such large regional organizations like NATO, of course, are important players and the work itself of the NATO-Russia Council talks about our desire to establish a dialogue. So, we will continue to act if our partners will take into account

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<sup>523</sup> Vladimir Socor, "Kremlin Uses NATO-Russia Council as a Platform for Anti-NATO Polemics", *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 5, Issue 68, 10 April 2008

<sup>524</sup> "Putin Dovolno, Chto Sovet Rossiya-NATO Ne Prevratil'sya V Ping-Pong Obvineniye", *RIA Novosti*, 4 April 2008, <http://ria.ru/politics/20080404/103732055.html>, accessed on 15 July 2014

<sup>525</sup> "Po Itogam Soveta Rossiya-NATO Stalo Yasno, Chto Raznoglasiya s RF Preodolet' ne Udalos". *Al'yans budet Rasshirat'sya*, 4 April 2008, [http://www.newsru.com/arch/world/04apr2008/nato\\_russia.html#4](http://www.newsru.com/arch/world/04apr2008/nato_russia.html#4), accessed on 15 July 2014

our interests.”<sup>526</sup> He also added that further cooperation between Russia and NATO depends “on the alliance’s readiness to compromise on the issues shaping the strategic environment in Europe and in the world.”

When he was asked how he evaluates the discussion in the framework of the NRC meeting and prospects of working within the NRC, he replied

Despite the fact that there are unresolved issues, the spirit of cooperation and willingness to seek compromises were present, and I think this is the most important thing. If such a spirit strengthens, mutual trust will be strengthened, and then the prospects of working within the Council will be very positive. We want this very much in Russia.<sup>527</sup>

During the press conference, he appeared to be mixing frank criticism and constructive ideas. Commenting on the situation in Europe, he called Russian partners “talk honestly and with open cards.”

No one has gotten rid of the Washington agreement, we have liquidated our bases in Cuba and Vietnam, pulled out troops out of Eastern Europe and gotten rid of heavy arms in Eastern Europe in general. But what did we get in return? A base in Romania where we are now, a base in Bulgaria, missile defense system in Poland and Czech Republic. This is all a movement of military infrastructure closer to our borders. Why don’t we talk about all this openly? With all our cards put on the table! We want an open dialogue.<sup>528</sup>

He said that “With the accession of the Baltic States there appeared combat aircrafts in the sky, but why? What are they doing there? Four or five aircrafts. Only irritant. Nothing more. All these things require continuous attention, analysis and reaction.” He added that “If the NATO-Russia Council so openly, honestly addresses these issues, it will be in demand.”<sup>529</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> “Putin Prizval Uchityvat’ Interesy Rossis”, *BBCRUSSIAN.com*, 4 April 2008, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/russian/international/newsid\\_7330000/7330643.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/russian/international/newsid_7330000/7330643.stm), accessed on 15 July 2014

<sup>527</sup> “Putin: Uchastniki Zasedaniya Soveta Rossiya-NATO Khotyat Iskat’ Kompromissy”, *RIA Novosti*, 4 April 2008, <http://ria.ru/politics/20080404/103760339.html>, accessed on 15 July 2014 11647

<sup>528</sup> Nathalie Vogel and Dmitry Udalov, “NATO Summit in Bucharest: A Glass Half-Empty of Half-Full”, *World Security Network*, 8 April 2008

<sup>529</sup> ‘Putin Prizval NATO Raskryt’ Karty’, *RIA Novosti*, 4 April 2008, <http://ria.ru/politics/20080404/103745227.html>, accessed on 17 July 2014

Russian president evaluated the meeting as positive and said that Russia's concerns on several issues heard by American and NATO partners. Commenting one of the important issues, that is, the US plan on the deployment of missile defense system in Central Europe, he said that "the positive thing in today's dialogue was that the our concerns about ensuring our security in case of the introduction of a missile defense system, which is offered by our American partners, was heard." According to him, the issue of missile defense was mentioned at the NRC meeting but it was as casual. He believed that he intended to continue this conversation tomorrow in Sochi, where would meet US President George Bush. The Russian leader recalled that Moscow's previously offered its 'own initiatives', proposing, in particular, "joint analysis of missile threats, joint creation of future strategic missile defense architecture, and ensuring equal and democratic access to its control by those who will organize it - the United States, Russia, Europe."<sup>530</sup> At the same time, Moscow offered the creation of centers in Moscow and in Brussels responsible for the exchange of operational information. He continued "What is wrong? I don't know. But our partners have proposed their version of the system. This is worse than our proposal..." Putin also noted that there is a progress in the dialogue on the establishment of the theatre missile defense (TMD). "Indeed, today we have noted that there is a significant progress in the dialogue on the establishment of the TMD, and our NATO colleagues, including the military, noted that it happened, including due to the constructive position of the Russian General Staff and military experts."<sup>531</sup> He also assured that "we will continue to work in this direction."

Putin also believed that NATO heard him about the issue of CFE Treaty. "Today, I think I was heard by our partners on the issue of CFE. And there is a desire either to ratify what has already formulated before, or to go to some new agreements. Or, to change

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<sup>530</sup> "Po Itogam Soveta Rossiya-NATO Stalo Yasno, Chto Raznoglasiya s RF Preodolet' ne Udalos'. Al'yans budet Rasshirat'sya", 4 April 2008, [http://www.newsru.com/arch/world/04apr2008/nato\\_russia.html#4](http://www.newsru.com/arch/world/04apr2008/nato_russia.html#4), accessed on 15 July 2014

<sup>531</sup> "Putin Otmechayet Progress k Dialoge po Sozdaniyu POR TVD", 4 April 2008, <http://ria.ru/politics/20080404/103742270.html>, accessed on 15 July 2014

something, but we need to do something. But, simply acting unilaterally and trying to blame everything on one side – is futile.”<sup>532</sup>

When he was asked about the possibility of returning to a period of ‘Cold War’ in international relations, he replied ‘No’. “I think that this is impossible, No one is interested in it. But there are perhaps some forces that want to muddy some water in this muddy water to catch some fish. But, global players, I think neither Europe nor the United States nor Russia wants to return to the past... There are no ideological schisms and sections in Europe today.”<sup>533</sup>

According to him, ‘there are serious obstacles’ in the development of Russia-NATO relations at the moment: “The continued expansion of NATO, creation of the military infrastructure on the territory of new members, the crisis surrounding the CFE Treaty, Kosovo, plans to deploy missile defense elements of the US in Europe.” “All these don’t work to strengthen predictability and confidence in our cooperation, and do not contribute to its transition to a new quality.”<sup>534</sup>

In this sense, the Russian leader said that Moscow is not sufficient with the assurances that the activities of the alliance are not directed against Russia. “The appearance of a powerful military bloc on our borders, a bloc whose members are subject in part to Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, as a direct threat to the security of our country.” He also added that the “the claim that this process is not directed against Russia will not suffice.” Besides, he said NATO expansion does not automatically solve all problems of acceding states. Even more, it was incomprehensible for him that Russia with the accession of Ukraine and Georgia into the alliance will get democratic partners in the neighborhood. Putin asked “Is Ukraine not a democracy now?” ‘NATO membership

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<sup>532</sup> “Putin Schitayet, Chto NATO Uslyshal Yego po Voprosu o DOBSE”, 4 April 2008, <http://ria.ru/politics/20080404/103708375.html>, accessed on 15 July 2014

<sup>533</sup> “Zayavleniye dlya Pressy i Otvety na Voprosy Zhurnalistov po Itogam Zasedaniya Soveta Rossiya-NATO”, 4 April 2008, <http://archive.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2008/04/163119.shtml>, accessed on 20 July 2014

<sup>534</sup> “Putin: Priblizheniye NATO k Nashim Granitsam My Rastsenim Kak Pryamuyu Ugrozu”, *RIA Novosti*, 4 April 2008, <http://ria.ru/politics/20080404/103688842.html>, accessed on 18 July 2014

does not automatically lead to the democratization of any country.”<sup>535</sup> He continued his speech as

Entering NATO unfortunately does not result in the further democratization of a country. NATO is not a ‘democratisator’. Let us take the Baltic States, in Latvia, there are hundreds of thousands of non-citizens and such a state has been criticized by international organizations. This is a non-democratic state of society and entry to NATO has not changed a thing for those hundreds of thousands of people. So, the idea of NATO as a democratizing instrument has been overblown.<sup>536</sup>

At Bucharest, NATO did agree on the offer of membership to Ukraine and Georgia after NATO allies were split troubled by strong objections from Russia. Bush’s proposal that the two countries should be offered a Membership Action Plan (MAP) that prepares nations for NATO membership was opposed by Germany, France and several other member states which argued that “since neither Ukraine nor Georgia is stable enough” to be offered MAP now, a membership plan would be an unnecessary offense to Russia, which firmly opposed the move.<sup>537</sup> It also risked attempts to soften Russian opposition to the US missile defense plans. Thus, the alliance decided not to offer them MAP at Bucharest but agreed to review this in December. According to the Bucharest Summit Declaration, NATO leaders asked Foreign Ministers to evaluate the progress at their December 2008 meeting and ministers would decide whether to offer MAP to Ukraine and Georgia. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer also told a news conference that both countries will eventually become members.

When a journalist inquired whether Russia would ever consider membership, Putin immediately answered that “Russia does not aspire to be a NATO member. In terms of security, we are a self-sufficient country and we do not intend to sacrifice part of our

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<sup>535</sup> “Putin Vystupil v NATO”, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, 5 April 2008, <http://www.rg.ru/2008/04/05/putin.html>, accessed on 19 July 2014

<sup>536</sup> Nathalie Vogel and Dmitry Udalov, “NATO Summit in Bucharest: A Glass Half-Empty of Half-Full”, *World Security Network*, 8 April 2008

<sup>537</sup> Steven Erlanger and Steven Lee Myers, “Bush Plan on NATO Expansion Spurned: Allies Oppose Adding Ukraine and Georgia”, *New York Times*, 3 April 2008

sovereignty in order to create the illusion of increasing our security.”<sup>538</sup> However, he emphasized Russia’s intention to cooperate with the alliance and other international structures. For him, it is impossible to fight alone with today’s security threats. “Concerted action by all strategic players both individual countries and regional and international organizations are required.”<sup>539</sup> He said that Russia is ready for such work. But he noted that Russia will not make concessions to the West to the detriment of their security.

Putin also expressed that the alliance, without Russia, is not able to respond effectively to contemporary problems and challenges. “Non-proliferation of WMD – what can be done without Russia? Nothing.” He continued asking “What can be done without Russia on the fight against terrorism? ...Can they work efficiently without Russia, which has so much potential on Afghan issue? That’s why they are calling us all the time to provide transit, to assist and so on.”<sup>540</sup>

### **7.3 Georgia Crisis (2008) and Russia-NATO Relations**

Following the Georgia crisis in early August 2008, NATO-Russia relations reached the lowest point in a decade. The crisis definitely caused rift in the relations resulting in NATO’s decision to temporarily suspend NRC activities and in return Russia’s announcement that it would suspend military cooperation with the Alliance. To this end, this part examines the Georgia crisis in terms of NATO-Russia relations and its impact on the NRC activities in details.

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<sup>538</sup> “Putin Prizval Uchityvat’ Interesy Rossis”, *BBCRUSSIAN.com*, 4 April 2008, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/russian/international/newsid\\_7330000/7330643.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/russian/international/newsid_7330000/7330643.stm), accessed on 15 July 2014

<sup>539</sup>“Dembel’skiy Al’bom Putina”, 5 April 2008, <http://ria.ru/society/20080405/103813905.html>, accessed on 20 July 2014

<sup>540</sup> “Zayavleniye dlya Pressy i Otvety na Voprosy Zhurnalistov po Itogam Zasedaniya Soveta Rossiya-NATO”, 4 April 2008, <http://archive.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2008/04/163119.shtml>, accessed on 20 July 2014

### 7.3.1 Russian Intervention in Georgia and NATO's Response to Russia

Although the possibility of military conflict existed before the summer of 2008, it was caught much of the world by surprise when Georgia and Russia went to war over South Ossetia.<sup>541</sup> The crisis started with the Georgia's bombardment and a ground attack on the region, killing civilians as well as a dozen Russian peacekeepers. In the following days, Russian troops responded by capturing Tskhinvali, landing forces in Abkhazia, conducting airstrikes on military and industrial compounds near Tbilisi and bombing the Georgian seaport of Poti.<sup>542</sup> The Georgian president Michael Saakashvili precipitously attempted to regain full control over the region and this "provided Moscow with a pretext for a war against Tbilisi", causing major crisis in relations with the alliance.<sup>543</sup>

The Russians' call on an NRC meeting to discuss the conflict was blocked by the US and instead convened a NAC meeting. In this sense, Moscow's request "to discuss the Georgian 'aggression' at the NRC had been obstructed by the alliance", undermining the very purpose of the Council.<sup>544</sup> During the crisis, the NRC, the main platform for dialogue and cooperation between NATO and Russia, was shaken by the Russian military actions in Georgian territory. As a response, on 19 August 2008, an extraordinary meeting of foreign ministers held by the alliance. According to the statement following the NAC meeting, the ministers stated their concerns "by Russia's actions during this crisis" and reminded "Russia of its responsibility for maintaining security and order..." and evaluated Russian military action as "disproportionate and

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<sup>541</sup> Julianne Smith, "The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà vu?", *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 2008, p. 12

<sup>542</sup> Vincent Pouliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 223

<sup>543</sup> Luca Ratti, "NATO-Russia Relations after 9/11: New Challenges, Old Issues", *NATO Beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, eds. Ellen Hallams, Luca Ratti and Benjamin Zyla, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p.261

<sup>544</sup> Jakup Kulhanek, "Russia's Uncertain Rapprochement with NATO", *The RUSI Journal*, Vol. 156, Issue 1, 2011, p. 41



inconsistent with its peacekeeping role, as well as incompatible with the principles of peaceful conflict resolution set out in the Helsinki Final Act, the Founding Act and the Rome Declaration.”<sup>545</sup> They called on Russia “to take immediate action to withdraw its troops from the areas it is supposed leave under the terms of six-point agreement signed by Presidents Saakashvili and Medvedev.”<sup>546</sup> Taking into account the implications of Russia’s military actions on the relations between NATO and Russia, they decided that they cannot continue as though nothing happened. This meant they suspended NRC gatherings and cooperation in some areas until such time Russia had satisfied in full the six-point agreement. In addition to suspending de facto the NRC, the alliance reacted by establishing the NGC and blessing the signing in August 2008 of a bilateral US-Polish missile agreement and relocating a US Patriot missile battery from Germany to Poland. After reviewing of its relations with NATO, Russia suspended its military cooperation with NATO.

At the meeting, they also agreed to support Georgia in several areas: to assess “the damage to civil infrastructure and the state of the ministry of defense and armed forces;” to support “the re-establishment of the air-traffic system; and to advice on cyber defense issues.” The agreement was reached on the rapid development of the modalities for NGC. In September 2008, it was established to oversee NATO’s assistance to Georgia and to supervise the process on Georgia’s future membership of NATO. The NATO’s highest organ NAC’s visit to Gori and meeting in Tbilisi on 15-16 September was a clear sign of moral support for Georgia. One of the scholars argued that, in the short term, first effective humanitarian relief, then support for economic stabilization and reconstruction and finally help in restoring armed resources must be respectively offered

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<sup>545</sup> Statement after the North Atlantic Council at the Level of Foreign Ministers Held at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, 19 August 2008

<sup>546</sup> As Complemented by President Sarkozy’s Letter Dated 16 August 2008 and Subsequent Correspondence on this Issue. It was first agreed by Russia, then by Georgia and was signed on 15 August in Tbilisi and on 16 August in Moscow by Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev respectively. The six-point agreement: refraining from the use of force; an effective end to all hostilities; provision of free access for humanitarian aid; the return of the Georgian armed forces to permanent bases; withdrawal of Russian forces to the line of deployment prior to the outbreak; and the start of an international process over the future statues of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. ‘Georgia’, *Security Council Report: Update Report*, No. 2, 12 August 2008, p. 4

to Georgia by the US policymakers. If the improvements in these steps observed, the issue of Georgia's membership into NATO would be raised again. However, he also argued that raising the issue would harm Georgia's security if the alliance was not ready with an answer.<sup>547</sup>

In December 2008, NATO's Foreign Ministers decided not to grant MAP to Georgia which was previously agreed to revive it in December. For me, this poses a question whether this decision was due to Russia's opposition? According to the final communique, they agreed that Georgia had "significant work left to do" and "decided to provide further assistance" to Georgia "in implementing needed reforms" as it progresses "towards NATO membership."<sup>548</sup>

Despite NATO's reactions, Medvedev has assumed a tough stance. He appeared on national TV with Dmitry Rogozin, who was a 'Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to NATO' in Brussels, said that

We do not need illusion of partnership. When we are being surrounded by bases on all sides, and a growing number of states are being drawn into the North Atlantic bloc and we are being told, 'Don't worry, everything is all right,' naturally we do not like it. If they essentially wreck this (NRC) cooperation, it is nothing horrible for us. We are prepared to accept any decision, including the termination of relations.<sup>549</sup>

The US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice criticized Russia saying that Moscow had not achieved and would not achieve any 'enduring strategic objective' and its leaders' choices "are putting Russia on a one way path to self-imposed isolation and international irrelevance."<sup>550</sup> She also insisted that they would not allow Moscow to dictate on the issue of NATO enlargement: "We will not allow Russia to wield a veto over the future

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<sup>547</sup> Stephan Sestanovich, "What Has Moscow Done? Rebuilding U.S. – Russia Relations", *Council on Foreign Relations*, Vol. 87, Issue 6, November 2008, pp. 12-28

<sup>548</sup> Final Communique, Meeting of the North Atlantic Council at the Level of Foreign Minister, *Press Release*, 3 December 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_46247.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_46247.htm), accessed on 18 September 2014

<sup>549</sup> Clifford J. Levy, "Russia Adopts Blustery Tone Set by Envoy", *The New York Times*, 27 August 2008

<sup>550</sup> William Branigin, "Rice Says Russia Has Taken a 'Dark Turn' ", *Washington Post*, 19 September 2008

of our Euro-Atlantic community – neither what states we offer membership, nor the choice of those states to accept.”

Despite a ceasefire brokered by French president Nicolas Sarkozy on 12 August, President Dmitry Medvedev said that Russian troops would remain in current position in Georgia. With the signing of the presidential decrees by Medvedev on 26 August, Russia de facto recognized South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states, putting them under the protection of about 76000 Russian soldiers. In response, US President George W. Bush released a statement condemning his decision and he added that “the territorial integrity and borders of Georgia must be respected, just as those of Russia or any other country. Russia’s action only exacerbates tensions and complicates diplomatic negotiations.” A day later, condemning Russia’s decisions, the NAC called to reverse its decision. The alliance continued to support Georgia’s internationally recognized borders and it “does not recognize elections that have taken place” in these regions and underlined that “the holding such elections does not contribute to a peaceful and lasting settlement.”<sup>551</sup> The war against Georgia in the name of the right to self-determination of these regions sent a clear message to NATO: although Russia cooperates with the alliance, it was willing and able to undertake actions deemed necessary to protect its interests.<sup>552</sup>

It is essential to frame the Georgia War and the recognition these regions as independent states by Russia within the issue of Kosovo’s independence declaration. Prior to Kosovo’s independence, First Deputy Prime Minister Sergei Ivanov warned at the 44<sup>th</sup> Munich Security conference that “If it comes to a unilateral recognition of Kosovo that would be a precedent. That would definitely be beyond international law and it would be

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<sup>551</sup> “NATO Backgrounder: Deepening Relations with Georgia”, [http://www.nato.int/nato\\_static/assets/pdf/pdf\\_publications/Deepening\\_Relations\\_with\\_Georgia\\_EN.pdf](http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_publications/Deepening_Relations_with_Georgia_EN.pdf), accessed on 18 September 2014

<sup>552</sup> Luca Ratti, “NATO-Russia Relations after 9/11: New Challenges, Old Issues”, *NATO Beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, eds. Ellen Hallams, Luca Ratti and Benjamin Zyla, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p.261

something close to opening a Pandora's Box",<sup>553</sup> meaning it could lead to unpredictable outcomes. The Russians were also angry of the West for supporting Kosovo's independence without taking the issue to the UN Security Council.

They had not concealed their interpretation of Kosovo's declaration of independence with regard to South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Putin criticized the recognition of Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence by NATO member states as a 'terrible precedent' that would break up the entire system of international relations. He said "they have not thought the results of what they are doing. At the end of the day it is a two-ended stick and the second end will come back and hit them in face."<sup>554</sup> Dmitry Rogozin argued that support from the EU and NATO "would in turn give Russia the right to use its own 'brute force' in future scenarios." He went further warning that these two regions might engage in a process of 'real secession' if NATO to signal to Georgia that could join the alliance.<sup>555</sup> Statement by the Duma and Council of Federation asserted that If Kosovo could declare its independence, so could South Ossetia and Abkhazia.<sup>556</sup> Thus, Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence was widely cited in Russia as a precedent for possibly also recognizing these two breakaway regions of Georgia. However, there was not much evidence that the NATO member governments had taken the 'precedent' argument seriously and made less any real effort to assuage it in the NRC. They simply insisted that Kosovo was a unique case.

It is also essential to analyze the Georgia War within the framework of the NATO enlargement. The Georgian issue started with the diplomatic crisis between Georgia and

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<sup>553</sup> Shaban Buza and Douglas Hamilton, "Russia Warns of 'Pandora's Box' Risk in Kosovo", *Reuters*, 10 February 2008

<sup>554</sup> "Putin Calls Kosovo Independence 'Terrible Precedent'", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2008, <http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/putin-calls-kosovo-independence-terrible-precedent/2008/02/23/1203467431503.html>, accessed on 29 August 2014

<sup>555</sup> Quoted in Matthias Conrad, *NATO Russia Relations under Putin: Emergence of Decay of a Security Community? An Analysis of the Russian Discourse on NATO (2000-2008)*, LIT VERLAG Dr. W. Hopf: Berlin, 2011, p. 72

<sup>556</sup> Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: US-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, p. 161

Russia in 2006 when Tbilisi expelled several Russian officials on spying accusations. Moscow responded introducing a complete embargo on Georgia and deporting ethnic Georgians living in Russia.<sup>557</sup> A few days earlier on 21 September 2006 in New York ‘Intensified Dialogue’ was offered to Georgia by the NATO Secretary General after Georgian Foreign Minister visited Brussels and Washington. Within the ‘Intensified Dialogue’, “Georgia would have access to a more intense political exchange with NATO allies on its membership aspirations and relevant reforms.”<sup>558</sup> Russia’s Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov accused the West of provoking the current crisis between Russia and Georgia: “the last trick with the seizure of our officers was held just after the decision of NATO to give Georgia a plan of intensified cooperation and after the visit of Mikhail Nikolayevich (Saakashvili) to the United States. Here, how the events developed in chronological order: the trip to Washington, the NATO decision and the taking of hostages.”<sup>559</sup> As a result, NATO’s open door policy extended the post-Soviet space to Russia’s very borders which caused growing nervousness in Moscow which turned into outright aggressiveness during the Georgia war in August 2008.

As one scholar argued, there should no doubt that Russia’s military intervention in Georgia derived in part from the larger fight for influence in the South Caucasus. Thus, it can be viewed partly as a dramatic warning to the alliance members’ opening the way to Georgian membership to NATO. In this sense, timing of the intervention was important since it occurred between NATO Bucharest Summit in April 2008 and the meeting of the NATO foreign minister in December 2008. Most importantly, as he asserted, “Moscow’s defiant assertiveness and its new deafness to Western criticisms and objections” are considered as evidence that for the first time since the end of the Cold War, “NATO has lost its symbolic authority and is not in a position to punish

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<sup>557</sup> Niklas Nilsson, “Georgia’s Rose Revolution: The Break with the Past”, *The Guns of August 2008: Russia’s War in Georgia*, eds. Svante E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr, Washington: The Central Asia – Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program Joint Center, 2009, p. 101

<sup>558</sup> “NATO Offers Intensified Dialogue to Georgia”, 21 September 2006, <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2006/09-september/e0921c.htm>, accessed on 29 August 2014

<sup>559</sup> Dmitry Sidorov and Vladimir Solovyov, “Sanktsionnyy Smotritel’: Rossiya Ob’yavila Gruziiyui Svoim Vnutrennim Delom”, *Kommersant*, 4 October 2006

Russia or steer its foreign policy anymore.”<sup>560</sup> While Moscow peacefully responded to first two phases of NATO enlargement, this time, with Georgia (and Ukraine), it seemed its opposition would be much more active and resolved.

Finally, it should be noted that Russia’s invasion of Georgia had alarmed NATO’s newer members from Central and Eastern Europe. They considered Moscow’s military action as a threat which was a direct challenge to the Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. In this sense, they started questioning the Article 5. Many of them repeatedly stressed the West’s tepid response, “leaving more than few members anxiously looking over their shoulders.”<sup>561</sup> They asked NATO to check seriously its resources for collective defense based on Article 5. They had doubted whether the alliance would live up to its commitments of collective defense if an attack occurs on individual members.<sup>562</sup>

### **7.3.2 Criticisms on NATO’s Response and Suspension of the NRC Activities**

According to James Sherr, NATO made serious mistake by convening a special meeting of the NAC at the Foreign Ministerial level. For him, this was the first mistake.

Given NATO’s 14-year investment in Georgia, to protocol-conscious Russians, a ministerial meeting could be read as a weak signal of NATO’s purpose, suggesting that any adverse consequences would be temporary. Even if the Foreign Ministers had read out a declaration of war, Moscow would have downplayed the gravity of the message. A more appropriate sequence would

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<sup>560</sup> Vincent Pouliot, “The Year NATO Lost Russia”, *European Security Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, eds. Frederic Merand, Martial Foucalt and Bastien Irondelle, University of Toronto Press Incorporated: Toronto, 2011, p. 252

<sup>561</sup> Julianne Smith, “The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà vu?”, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 2008, p. 13

<sup>562</sup> Marcel de Haas, “NATO-Russia after the Georgian Conflict”, *Atlantisch Perspectief*, Vol. 33, No. 7, November 2009, p. 6

have been to convene the NAC at the highest level, if only symbolically, and only then convene Foreign Ministers to agree a plan of action.<sup>563</sup>

At the NAC special meeting on 19 August 2008, as noted above, it was decided to temporarily suspend the meetings of the NRC and cooperation in some areas, until Russia adhered to the ‘ceasefire’ agreement brokered by Nicholas Sarkozy who was the President of the European Council. For Sherr, this was the second mistake.

This strengthened the dominance of the EU, whose role as a mediator could not have performed by NATO. But it strengthened it too much. Military conflict between Russia and a key PfP Partner was NATO’s core business, and communication was required at every level. The suspension also provided Russia with an added incentive to delay implementing the ceasefire provisions and allow divisions inside NATO to ripen...<sup>564</sup>

To talk about the work of the NRC suspension, the informal discussions originally planned had not been held by the end of 2008 and the NRC had not met since August. Although cooperation suspended, in key areas of common interest such as Afghanistan, continued. In turn, Russia halted its military cooperation with the alliance, while as noted above, President Medvedev even threatened to cut ties with NATO completely. Moscow’s decision to suspend included all peacekeeping operations and exercises with NATO and its participation in NATO’ PfP program. However, it should be noted that it refrained from cutting all ties and continued to provide assistance in Afghanistan.<sup>565</sup>

NATO’s position on Russia was explained in a final communique issued after the meeting of the NAC at the level of Foreign Ministers on 3 December 2008. They stated that recent Russia’s actions had shaken NATO’s confidence in Russia’s attachment to their shared values and principles, and called on Russia “to demonstrate its commitment to them” and “to implement fully the commitments agreed with Georgia...”

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<sup>563</sup> James Sherr, “The Implications of the Russia-Georgia War for European Security”, *The Guns of August 2008: Russia’s War in Georgia*, eds. Svante E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr, Washington: The Central Asia – Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program Joint Center, 2009, pp. 209-210

<sup>564</sup> James Sherr, “The Implications of the Russia-Georgia War for European Security”, *The Guns of August 2008: Russia’s War in Georgia*, eds. Svante E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr, Washington: The Central Asia – Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program Joint Center, 2009, p. 211

<sup>565</sup> Clifford J. Levy, “Russia Adopts Blustery Tone Set by Envoy”, *The New York Times*, 27 August 2008

Significantly, they agreed “on a measured and phased approach in the near future; mandated the Secretary General to re-engage with Russia at the political level; agreed to informal discussions in the NRC; and requested the Secretary General to report back to them prior to any decision to engage Russia in the NRC.”<sup>566</sup>

In March 2009, they agreed to formally resume the NRC meetings, including at ministerial level, as soon as possible, even though Moscow had not fully met its commitments on Georgia. According to one of the experts, the reason would be the alliance needed Russia to carry on with cooperation on issues of common security interest such as the stabilization of Afghanistan, counter terrorism, drugs trafficking, arms control, non-proliferation and the new threat of piracy.<sup>567</sup> In April 2009, at the Strasbourg/Kehl Summit, the allies urged Russia “to meet its commitments with respect to Georgia” and stated that the alliance had condemned “Russia’s recognition of the South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states” and continues “to call on Russia to reverse its recognition.”<sup>568</sup> They also emphasized that the alliance and Russia share common security interest on above mentioned areas and that “they look forward to the reconvening of formal NRC meetings... before summer 2009.”<sup>569</sup> Eventually, at the informal NRC ministerial meeting in June 2009, political and military cooperation was relaunched, and at the first formal NRC Foreign Ministers meeting in December 2009 NRC cooperation was reinvigorated.

NATO’s decision to suspend the NRC after the Georgia conflict had been criticized by various scholars. Martin A. Smith argued that the Council in August 2008 proved to be as deficient as the PJC in 1999 during the Kosovo crisis and failed to function as an

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<sup>566</sup> Final Communique, Meeting of the North Atlantic Council at the Level of Foreign Minister, *Press Release*, 3 December 2008, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_46247.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_46247.htm), accessed on 18 September 2014

<sup>567</sup> Marcel de Haas, “NATO-Russia after the Georgian Conflict”, *Atlantisch Perspectief*, Vol. 33, No. 7, November 2009, p. 6

<sup>568</sup> Strasbourg/Kehl Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of North Atlantic Council, 4 April 2009

<sup>569</sup> Strasbourg/Kehl Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of North Atlantic Council, 4 April 2009



effective early-warning mechanism, as well as a forum for crisis management consultations between NATO and Russia. For him, the NRC failed the Goltz test.

The 2008 Georgia crisis revealed a dramatic way the key limitations on the institutional relationship between NATO and Russia that had developed since the NRC's inception in 2002. Georgia mattered because it was the first significant crisis since then in which both sides perceived that they had essential stakes. With regard to this crisis, the NRC failed the Goltz test. This manifestly did not happen in the case of Georgia, with reference either to the ongoing disputes over Abkhazia and South Ossetia or to the question of possible Georgian membership in NATO. Further, when the crisis came to a head, the NRC was sidelined as thoroughly as the PJC had been in 1999.<sup>570</sup>

James Sherr criticized by posing a question that why the subject of 'frozen conflicts' "was not put on the agenda of the NRC on May 15 or at any time since the Bucharest summit, when a crisis was developing under everyone's noses." For him,

The answer is that the NRC was on its way to becoming a virtual institution well before this point, as was the NATO-Russia relationship... NATO has tried to focus the Council's work on practical cooperation (e.g. terrorism, maritime security, and, so it thought until recently, missile defense). As a result, areas of agreement have received more attention than areas of disagreement, which when they have been discussed (as in the case of CFE), tend to reiterate differences rather than narrow them. The formalistic, methodical and programmatic approach of the NATO bureaucracy – defining objectives and monitoring their fulfillment – had not helped... The tendency to assess NATO-Russia cooperation in terms of the number of 'activities' planned and implemented has added a layer of virtual reality to the relationship, persuading some until recently that relations were considerably better than they actually were...<sup>571</sup>

Dmitry Trenin criticized the NRC turning into technical workshop and recommended NATO and Russia to keep in touch and hear each other.

...the 7 years since the establishment of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), which created an official diplomatic vehicle for cooperation, the relationship between the alliance and its biggest neighbor has not lived up to the expectations

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<sup>570</sup> Goltz argued that the core challenge for a consultative forum like the NRC 'is to reach an agreement and to come to a consensus when you have different views on the same problems.' Martin A. Smith, "NATO Russia Relations: Will the Future Resemble the Past", *NATO in Search of a Vision*, eds. Gülnur Aybet and Rebecca Moore, Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2010, p. 118

<sup>571</sup> James Sherr, "The Implications of the Russia-Georgia War for European Security", *The Guns of August 2008: Russia's War in Georgia*, eds. Svante E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr, Washington: The Central Asia – Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program Joint Center, 2009, p. 211

of 1997 and 2002. The NRC, instead of becoming the instrument of Western-Russian security interaction, has turned into a mostly technical workshop – useful, but extremely narrow in scope. The major contentious issues in European security, such as Kosovo, the South Caucasus, all the ‘frozen conflicts’ in the former Soviet republics, and ballistic missile defense, have not been constructively discussed and dealt with in the NRC context. This needs to change if NATO means to avoid a new crisis down the road. ...It is important that the NRC become an all-weather operation... For Russia and NATO, keeping in touch and hearing each other out are essential, but the key task is to lay down elements of confidence in their badly, even dangerously frayed relationship.<sup>572</sup>

Martin A. Smith argued that the NRC was ineffective and offered solution how to overcome this problem.

Since 2002, substantial agreement and cooperation had not been achieved within the NRC on significant issues. Cheerleaders for the NRC had tended to emphasize the degree to which it had become institutionalized. Thus, for example, reference had been made to the substantial number of subsidiary committees and working groups that had been created under the NRC. Less impressive, however, had been NATO-Russia practical cooperation on the ground... The limited nature of the NATO-Russia rapprochement begs the question as to whether this is solely or even mainly due to bureaucratic ossification. Such ossification is less likely to take hold if a sufficient dynamic is generated by mutual political will. Such will in turn can both develop from and reflect an underlying sense of shared beliefs, values, and objectives. More than anything else, these are what had thus far been absent from the NATO-Russia relationship.<sup>573</sup>

#### **7.4 NATO Lisbon Summit (2010) and Russia-NATO Relations**

Russia’s invasion of Georgia in August 2008 generated severe setback in NATO-Russia relations. However, the alliance had again tried to improve its relations with Russia since the suspension of the NRC. As a result, the relations had slowly started to improve since

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<sup>572</sup> Dmitri Trenin, “NATO and Russia: Partnership and Peril”, *Current History*, October 2009, pp. 299-300

<sup>573</sup> Martin A. Smith, “NATO Russia Relations: Will the Future Resemble the Past”, *NATO in Search of a Vision*, eds. Gülnur Aybet and Rebecca Moore, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010, p. 119

early 2009. As noted earlier, in March 2009 at the Kehl/Strasbourg Summit, the allies stated their willingness to see formal meetings of the NRC, including ministerial level. In June 2009, the first informal NRC meeting of foreign ministers was held in Corfu where ministers agreed that the “Corfu meeting marked the beginning of the return to high-level political consultations suspended after the Georgia crisis.” They also decided to resume military cooperation under the NRC.

After the nadir of the G.W. Bush period, especially in the aftermath of the Georgia crisis, the new administration in the US, as one of the priority of its foreign policy, had sought to improve relations with Russia. At the Munich Security Conference in February 2009, after stating that there had been dangerous drift in NATO-Russia relations in last several years, Vice President John Biden announced the administration’s ‘reset’ policy saying “it’s time to press the reset button and to revisit the many areas where we can and should be working together with Russia.”<sup>574</sup> Barack Obama himself announced this ‘reset’ policy in July 2009 during his visit to Moscow saying that “the President and I agreed that the relationship between Russia and the United States had suffered from a sense of drift. We resolved to reset U.S.-Russia relations, so that we can cooperate more effectively in areas of common interest.”<sup>575</sup> He also added that in a less than six months of collaboration, they have done exactly that “by taking concrete steps forward on a range of issues, while paving the way for more progress in the future.” In this regard, Obama administration’s takeover had led to a significant improvement in the U.S.-Russia relations, the so called ‘reset’. Some of the significant outcomes of the ‘reset’ policy were the creation of the Presidential Bilateral Commission in July 2009, agreement on the New START Treaty in April 2010 and working closely on Iran’s nuclear program and on UN Security Council Resolution in response to North Korea’s

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<sup>574</sup> Remarks by Vice President John Biden at the 45<sup>th</sup> Munich Security Conference, 7 February 2009, <http://germany.usembassy.gov/events/2009/feb-biden-security/>, accessed on 18 September 2014

<sup>575</sup> Press Conference by President Obama and President Medvedev of Russia at the Kremlin, Moscow, Russia, 6 July 2009, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Press-Conference-by-President-Obama-and-President-Medvedev-of-Russia/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Press-Conference-by-President-Obama-and-President-Medvedev-of-Russia/), accessed on 18 September 2014

nuclear test.<sup>576</sup> All these events show that NATO-Russia relations had been developing in parallel with the U.S.-Russia relations, meaning “the character of the NATO-Russia relationship was basically dependent on US-Russia relations.”<sup>577</sup> Therefore, it was logical that after taking office in August 2009, the new Secretary General made NATO-Russia relations as one of his three top priorities.

In his public speech in September, he presented an analysis of NATO-Russia relations and a vision for future developments. In his speech he asserted that “...of all of NATO’s relationships with Partner countries, none hold greater potential than the NATO-Russia relationship.”<sup>578</sup> He also made three proposals: to start cooperation in the agreed areas, rejuvenate the NRC, and “agree to carry out a joint review of the new security challenges.” The possible changes in the NRC, which he actively promoted after taking the office, was concluded at the first formal NRC meeting in December, when ministers “decided that the structure of the NRC’s committees would be modified to better support the identifying of practical cooperation that would benefit both sides.”<sup>579</sup> They also agreed on the NRC work programme for 2010 and agreed to launch a ‘Joint Review of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Common Security Challenges’, which was planned to produce a document a year later. In June 2010, the NRC’s first political advisory format meeting was held in Rome to exchange views on how to make the NRC a more substance-based forum.

In October, Dmitry Medvedev announced that he would attend the Lisbon Summit, but only after meeting in Deauville in France with French President Nicholas Sarkozy and German Chancellor Angela Merkel. He expressed his believe that “the summit would facilitate reaching compromises and developing dialogue between Russia and NATO.”

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<sup>576</sup> Detailed Information on Comprehensive Overview of the ‘Reset’ Policy Achievements, “U.S.-Russia Relations: ‘Reset’ Fact Sheet”, 24 June 2010, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/us-russia-relations-reset-fact-sheet>, accessed on 18 September 2014

<sup>577</sup> Karsten Jakob Moller, “Russia and NATO after the Lisbon Summit: a New Beginning – Once Again?”, *NATO’s New Strategic Concept: A Comprehensive Assessment, DIIS Report*, eds. Jens Ringsmose and Sten Rynning, 2011, p. 55

<sup>578</sup> “NATO and Russia: A New Beginning”, Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Carnegie Endowment, Brussels, 18 September 2009

<sup>579</sup> “Report on the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic 2009”, *Ministry of Foreign of Relations of Czech Republic*, Prague 2009, p. 100

After his visit to Moscow prior to the summit, NATO Secretary General Rasmussen said that “We will leave behind us not only the Cold War, but also the post-Cold War period... and we will move forward.”<sup>580</sup> He also thought “Russia shared his view that it was time to start working together.”

In Lisbon, NATO leaders put great effort both in declaration and the adopted New Strategic Concept into expressing goodwill toward Russia. Although they reiterated their previous position in the Summit Declaration regarding Georgia and its breakaway regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, they stated that they want to see “a true strategic partnership between NATO and Russia, and would act accordingly, with the expectation of reciprocity from Russia.”<sup>581</sup> In the New Strategic Concept, they also made an effort to alleviate Russia’s mistrust of NATO by stating that “NATO-Russia cooperation is of strategic importance as it contributes to creating a common space of peace, stability and security. NATO poses no threat to Russia.”<sup>582</sup>

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev attended the NRC meeting in Lisbon, making it for the first time the highest level meeting between NATO and Russia since the Georgia crisis in August 2008. Here, it can be argued that in addition to reaching agreement on certain areas of cooperation, Medvedev was pursuing a pragmatic approach towards the West in order to carry out a comprehensive modernization of his country. According to Karsten Jakop Moller,

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<sup>580</sup> Quoted in Richard Galpin, “NATO and Russia Promise ‘Fresh Start’ at Lisbon Summit”, *BBC News*, 20 November 2010

<sup>581</sup> Lisbon Summit Declaration, Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Lisbon, 20 November 2010

<sup>582</sup> “Strategic Concept for the Defense and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization”, *Adopted by Heads of State and Government at the NATO Summit in Lisbon*, 19-20 November 2010, p. 29 This statement might also be answer to the 2010 Russian Military Doctrine which defined the main external military dangers causing criticisms by NATO officials and clarifications by Russian officials. The Section II.8.a sounds as follows: The main external military dangers: a) ‘the desire to endow the force potential of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with global functions carried out in violation of the norms of international law and to move the military infrastructure of NATO member countries closer to the borders of the Russian Federation, including by expanding the bloc’

Medvedev was pursuing the most important mission of his foreign policy: namely to create favorable external conditions for ensuring the security and prosperity of Russia. Russia was interested in investments, the newest technologies and innovative ideas as well as stable and open markets so it can carry out a comprehensive modernization of the country and this was reflected in the present pragmatic approach to NATO and the European Union.<sup>583</sup>

In the NRC Joint Statement, the leaders pledged to attempt work further towards the implementation of their objectives they had agreed before. In this sense, the leaders affirmed that “they had embarked on a stage of cooperation towards a true strategic partnership, referring to the principles and commitments set forth in the Founding Act, the Rome Declaration and the OSCE 1999 Charter for European Security, including the Platform for Cooperative Security.”<sup>584</sup> ‘The Joint Review of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Common Security Challenges’ was accepted and concrete activities those were to be implemented under the NRC were identified. At the NRC meeting, Russia stated its readiness to discuss missile defense cooperation. It should be noted that in the Lisbon Summit declaration, NATO leaders “decided to develop a missile defense capability to protect all NATO European populations, territory and forces, and invited Russia to cooperate with them.” To this end, NRC leaders agreed “on a joint ballistic missile threat assessment and to continue dialogue in this area.” They also resumed Theatre Missile Defense cooperation. They assigned the NRC to develop a comprehensive joint analysis for future cooperation on missile defense. NRC leaders agreed on a number of issues to support for stabilization of Afghanistan and the wider region. These include: revising transit arrangements, expanding the scope of counter narcotics training and planning to contribute to Afghan security forces. At the NRC meeting, practical cooperation projects were identified on counter terrorism, piracy and armed robbery at sea. They also agreed to build on their improved relations to help solve their differences on the various issues.

All these developments show that in Lisbon NATO allies sought for a fresh start in their relations with Russia and Moscow responded positively to their move. In this sense, the

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<sup>583</sup> Karsten Jakob Moller, “Russia and NATO after the Lisbon Summit: a New Beginning – Once Again?”, *NATO’s New Strategic Concept: A Comprehensive Assessment, DIIS Report*, eds. Jens Ringsmose and Sten Rynning, 2011, p. 56

<sup>584</sup> NATO-Russia Council Joint Statement at the Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council Held in Lisbon, 20 November 2010

Lisbon Summit sought for a new, more cooperative, relationship with Moscow and it achieved one of its primary goals. However, as in the previous chapters, some criticisms on an important step forward in Russia-NATO relations should be mentioned.

John D. Johnson thought that as a result of the US ‘reset’ policy towards Russia and therefore NATO’s reengagement with Russia, the US/NATO-Russia relations had steadily improved in last two and half years. For him,

In spite of lingering mistrust and marked differences on some issues, the U.S., NATO and Russia have created a positive political environment where real dialogue and engagement on a number of shared interests makes possible a ‘true strategic partnership between NATO and Russia’ for the 21<sup>st</sup> century as expressed in NATO’s new Strategic Concept. Moreover, as important strategic issues such as counter terrorism, Afghanistan, Iran and North Korea continue to challenge all sides, and other powers continue to evolve, cooperation seems as important now as at any other time since the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>585</sup>

Adrian Hyde-Price thought working out “a more cooperative and more balanced relationship” would not be that easy due to the powerful constituencies both within Russia and the alliance who are suspicious and mistrustful of each other.<sup>586</sup> However, quoting Angele Merkel, she argued that what had been achieved at Lisbon was an extremely important step. For Angele Merkel, “the fact that we are talking to Russia about common threats and the chance to cooperate with Russia on a missile defense is an extremely important step. That could be proof that the Cold War has finally come to an end.”

Adam Daniel Rotfeld, a former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed a more critical view on the NATO-Russia relationship. For him, “the main problem in their relationship is not lack of institutions, documents, or procedures, but a lack of

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<sup>585</sup> John D. Johnson, “Developing Better Relations with Russia”, *Small Wars Journal: Small Wars Foundation*, 28 February 2011, p. 1

<sup>586</sup> Adrian Hyde-Price, “NATO’s Political Transformation and International Order”, *NATO’s New Strategic Concept: A Comprehensive Assessment, DIIS Report*, eds. Jens Ringsmose and Sten Rynning, 2011, pp. 48-49

transparency, confidence and mutual trust.”<sup>587</sup> He argued that the alliance’s strategy towards Russia must be inclusive, but it requires that Russia demonstrate its willingness to cooperate with the alliance. He thinks Russia must make a choice; however, when making its choice, it must be away from the Cold War rhetoric.

More pessimistic view came from Jakub Kulhanek. He asked whether the Moscow’s recent cooperative efforts with the US and NATO in Lisbon would mean really a new Russia? He argued that “the much-lauded rapprochement may achieve very little progress while heralding the potential return of distrust and suspicion in NATO-Russia relations.”<sup>588</sup> Similar view was expressed by Arthur R. Rachwald who argued that recent developments between the West and Russia seemed to be temporary unless Russia changes its political and strategic priorities. For him,

The reset in NATO-Russia relations had only tactical significance. Both nations will work together on a number of vital but not fundamentally important security-related projects, but a genuine reset in mutual relations must wait for a reset in Russia’s political and strategic priorities. For this reason, the new NATO doctrine will place an exceptionally strong priority on a comprehensive engagement with Russia to dissuade its imperial restoration and encourage its convergence toward European values and ideals... Without a grass-rooted reset in Russia away from Putin’s authoritarianism and imperial nostalgia, the current reset between NATO and Russia would mean nothing more than the beginning of another round in centuries old Moscow’s ‘expansion and coexistence’ foreign policy, where a period of closer collaboration with the West would follow every successful enlargement of the Russian state.<sup>589</sup>

In assessing the outcome of the NRC summit, Karsten Jakob Moller thinks that “only a few concrete decisions were taken except from some details concerning Afghanistan” and, to certain extent, missile defense. For him, Russia and the alliance members had to go long way before the mutual trust between them “has reached the level of true strategic partnership.” He argues that “the key to this goal” is dependent on the US-

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<sup>587</sup> Adam D. Rotfeld, “Re-Setting the NATO-Russia Relationship”, *Project Syndicate*, 17 November 2010,

<sup>588</sup> Jakub Kulhanek, “Russia’s Uncertain Rapprochement with NATO”, *The RUSI Journal*, Vol. 156, Issue 1, 2011, p. 40

<sup>589</sup> Arthur Rachwald, “A ‘reset’ of NATO-Russia Relations: Real or Imaginary?”, *European Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2011, p. 126



Russia relationship, “which unfortunately is highly dependent on the future political fate of President Obama.”<sup>590</sup>

## 7.5 Chicago Summit (2012) and Russia-NATO Relations

Two important issues, NATO’s collective defense capabilities and details on the ending of the NATO-led ISAF mission in Afghanistan, were discussed at the 2012 NATO Chicago Summit. In this connection, it made several important decisions, “advancing above all implementation of commitments made during the previous summit in Lisbon”<sup>591</sup> where NRC leaders agreed to discuss pursuing missile defense cooperation and made decisions on a number of issues on Afghanistan. However, one could ask that how these developments affected the NATO Chicago Summit in terms of NATO-Russia relations? For one thing, that is Russia’s new President Vladimir Putin’s unwillingness to participate the summit “can be considered as a significant feature of the relationship of that time.”<sup>592</sup>

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen’s invitation to join the summit was not positively responded by Putin. The Secretary General’s explanation for his absence at the summit, for some people, does not correspond much with reality: He expressed this as follows after the NRC meeting at the level of foreign ministers:

What I told you is that I have talked with President-elect Putin, and we agreed that due to a very domestic political calendar in Russia, just a few weeks after his inauguration as a new president of Russia, it is not possible and not practical also to have a NATO-Russia Summit meeting in Chicago.<sup>593</sup>

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<sup>590</sup> Karsten Jakob Moller, “Russia and NATO after the Lisbon Summit: a New Beginning – Once Again?”, *NATO’s New Strategic Concept: A Comprehensive Assessment, DIIS Report*, eds. Jens Ringsmose and Sten Rynning, 2011, p. 61

<sup>591</sup> Marcel de Haas, “Russia at NATO’s Chicago Summit”, *Atlantisch Perspectief*, Vol. 4, July 2012, p. 1

<sup>592</sup> Marcel de Haas, “Russia at NATO’s Chicago Summit”, *Atlantisch Perspectief*, Vol. 4, July 2012, p. 3

<sup>593</sup> Statement by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Press Point Following the NATO-Russia Council Meeting in Foreign Ministers Session, 19 April 2012

He continued saying that they would continue dialogue and would meet as soon as possible after Putin's inauguration. It should be noted that at the NRC meeting, foreign ministers discussed Afghanistan and Rasmussen earlier invited Russia to send a representative to the Afghanistan meeting at the Chicago Summit. However, if we look at the Russian and the US officials' statements, Putin's reluctance to attend the summit lie in the failure of agreement on a number of issues. Earlier, both Russian and the US officials announced that they believed it was pointless to hold the NRC meeting as they had failed to agree on a number of issues, including European missile defense. State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nulan said that the United States confirmed that "there will not be a NATO-Russia Council meeting in Chicago."<sup>594</sup> For Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, due to the unresolved issues, Moscow remained undecided as to the level of its participation in the summit.

According to one of the analysts, Russia and NATO's failure to make significant process on missile defense since the Lisbon Summit is the main reason why Putin did not attend the summit.<sup>595</sup> This is evident in Russian officials' statement made four months earlier by one of the high officials from Russian side. One of the Russian officials earlier stated that Russia may not join the NRC meeting in Chicago if the US and Russia fail to agree on the European missile defense. "If we agree on the missile defense issue, it would be much easier for us to make a positive decision about the summit. We do not know whether or not we will agree."<sup>596</sup> Later, he also said that the decision to participate the summit will be discussed only if there will be clarity on the content of the summit. In short, Putin's absence at the summit could be considered that there appeared a gap

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<sup>594</sup> "No NATO-Russia Council Meeting in Chicago – State Department", *RIA Novosti*, 24 April 2012, <http://en.ria.ru/russia/20120424/173002055.html>, accessed on 26 September 2014

<sup>595</sup> Nicolai Sokov, "NATO-Russia Disputes and Cooperation on Missile Defense", *The James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies*, 14 May 2012, <http://www.nonproliferation.org/nato-russia-disputes-and-cooperation-on-missile-defense/>, accessed on 26 September 2014

<sup>596</sup> "Russia May Skip 2012 NATO Summit – Foreign Ministry", *RIA Novosti*, 9 December 2011, <http://en.ria.ru/russia/20111209/169516630.html>, accessed on 26 September 2014

between Moscow and the alliance, although they cooperated on Afghanistan on a number of areas.

At the Chicago Summit, the Heads of State and Government declared that the NATO allies have achieved an Interim NATO BMD Capability, which was expected to be fully operational by the end of the decade. Based on their common security interests with Russia, they stated that they “remain committed to cooperation on missile defense in the spirit of mutual trust and reciprocity, such as the recent NRC TMD exercise...” At the same time, there was an attempt to reaffirm that “the NATO missile defense in Europe will not undermine strategic stability” and reassure Russia that it “is not directed against Russia and will not undermine Russia’s strategic deterrence capabilities.”<sup>597</sup> They also welcomed “Russia’s willingness to continue dialogue to reach an agreement on the future of framework for missile defense cooperation.” Above statements can be regarded as a response to “Russia’s demand for legally-binding guarantees” that the missile would not undermine its arsenal. Although Moscow accepted at the end of 2010 to NATO’s proposal to explore a cooperative missile defense arrangement with Russia, it lately had proven unwilling to engage until it receives certain legal guarantees from the US. Analyzing the issue, one of the skeptics claimed that the impasse over the missile defense would continuously irritate both the relations between Russia and NATO, and Russia and the US. He also added that tensions may increase if NATO continues to implement its missile defense plan without achieving agreement with Russia.<sup>598</sup>

Although the NRC meeting was not held at Chicago, in the final declaration, apart from missile defense, there are number of topics discussed which were more or less with Russia. In the part devoted to Russia, NATO allies stressed common security interests and expressed the importance of the NRC “as a forum for frank and honest political dialogue and for promoting practical cooperation.” They touched upon NRC cooperation on Afghanistan, counter-terrorism and counter piracy, noting it a sign of their “common

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<sup>597</sup> Chicago Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council Chicago, 20 May 2014

<sup>598</sup> Stefanie von Hlatky, “NATO’s Chicago Summit: Alliance Cohesion Above All Else”, *Center for Security Studies*, No. 116, June 2012, p. 2

determination to build peace and stability in the region.” From Russian side, it is important that it does not link Afghanistan to their disagreements on other major issues. However, on the eve of the summit, NATO allies and Russia differed on the plans to withdraw NATO forces from Afghanistan in 2014. Criticizing NATO’s plan, Lavrov said “that coalition troops should remain in the country until Afghan government forces are capable of ensuring security.”<sup>599</sup> He argued that “as long as Afghanistan is not able to ensure by itself the security in the country, the artificial timelines for withdrawal are not correct and they should not be set.” NATO allies responded in the Chicago declaration as “they are gradually and responsibly drawing down their forces to complete the ISAF mission by 31 December 2014.”

They also stated that they are “committed to, and look forward to, further improving trust and reciprocal transparency in: defense matters; strategy; doctrines; military postures, including of non-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe; military exercises; arms control and disarmament.” However, the alliance probably worried about Russia’s military rearmament program, investing some €600 billion to modernize 70 % of its army by the end of this decade.<sup>600</sup> For Marcel de Haas, even it succeeds, this “would not a pose a threat to NATO but might be threatening to Russia’s neighbors” which develops close ties with the West.<sup>601</sup>

On Georgia, reiterating the decisions taken at the Bucharest Summit and subsequent decisions, NATO allies “agreed to enhance Georgia’s connectivity with the alliance, including by further strengthening political dialogue, practical cooperation, and interoperability with Georgia...”<sup>602</sup> They repeated their “continued support to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia...”, and again called on “Russia to reverse its recognition of the South Ossetia and Abkhazia regions of Georgia as

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<sup>599</sup> “NATO, Russia Fall Apart on Afghanistan, Shield”, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 20 April 2012

<sup>600</sup> Marcel de Haas, “Russia at NATO’s Chicago Summit”, *Atlantisch Perspectief*, Vol. 4, July 2012, p. 14

<sup>601</sup> Marcel de Haas, “Russia at NATO’s Chicago Summit”, *Atlantisch Perspectief*, Vol. 4, July 2012, p. 14

<sup>602</sup> Chicago Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council Chicago, 20 May 2014

independent states.” They also stated their concerns “by the build-up of Russia’s military presence on Georgia’s territory.” In the part devoted to Ukraine, NATO allies welcomed “Ukraine’s commitment to enhancing political dialogue and interoperability with NATO.” They also stated their readiness “to continue to develop its cooperation with Ukraine and assist with the implementation of reforms...” However, they stated that they were “concerned by the selective application of justice and what appear to be politically motivated prosecutions, including of leading members of the opposition, and the conditions of their detention.”<sup>603</sup> After Viktor Yanukovich became the president of Ukraine, a new ‘non-aligned’ status was adopted, removing the issue of NATO membership from Ukraine’s foreign policy priorities. More importantly, one of his first moves was to agree with Dmitry Medvedev “to end long-term wrangling over gas prices in return for an extended lease for Russia’s Black Sea Fleet in the Crimea” from 2017 to 2042. This was the most explicit sign of his administration’s tilt toward Moscow and “lack of interest in NATO membership as the Russian naval base would be an obstacle for Ukraine’s integration into the alliance.”<sup>604</sup> Despite all these developments, NATO’s interest in maintaining and deepening cooperation continued. At the Chicago Summit, NATO-Ukraine bilateral talks were mainly about internal situation in the country. Moreover, as stated in the declaration, NATO officials expressed their worries about the Tymoshenko case.

On the issue of the CFE, NATO leaders stated their commitment to conventional arms control. NATO CFE allies recalled “that the decision taken in November 2011 to cease implementing certain CFE obligations with regard to the Russian Federation are reversible” if it returns to full implementation.<sup>605</sup> They stated that they “continue to implement fully their CFE obligations with respect to all other CFE States Parties.” With

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<sup>603</sup> Chicago Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council Chicago, 20 May 2014

<sup>604</sup> Igor Lyubashenko and Konrad Zasztowt, “NATO-Ukraine Partnership”, *NATO’s Future Partnership*, eds. R. Ondrejcsak and B. Gorka-Winter, Bratislava-Warsawa: Center for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), 2012, p.

<sup>605</sup> Chicago Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council Chicago, 20 May 2014

NATO's initiative in June 2010, new consultations started on a "framework for negotiations to strengthen and to modernize the conventional arms control regime in Europe" but ended in May 2011 without agreement on a follow-up agreement.<sup>606</sup> The September 2011 review conference on the CFE Treaty also ended without a final declaration. In November 2011, the US and other NATO CFE allies stopped the CFE Treaty-related data exchange with Russia.<sup>607</sup> The suspension of the cornerstone of arms control regime between Russia and NATO is regrettable since it provided mutual on-site inspections as outstanding instrument of confidence-security building measures.

Maybe the most important part of the Chicago Declaration devoted to Russia is that NATO allies' statement that "there is a need to improve trust, reciprocal transparency, and predictability in order to realize the full potential of the NRC." For Alina Mogoş, the Russian behavior is even less predictable than the one of the Transatlantic Alliance. However, for her;

The issue on which Russia has a predictable behavior and will pose opposition are the ones that regard further NATO expansion towards its borders and the development of a NATO missile defense shield in the future without an effective and important role of Russia in the system. The allies are aware of these issues and if they take them into consideration will know how they have to negotiate with Russia in order to prevent a new belligerent action as the war in Georgia... Understanding how it sees the international environment and (which are) its main interests, renders it easier for other actors to predict how will Russia behave when its interests are threatened.<sup>608</sup>

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<sup>606</sup> Wolfrang Zellner, "Conventional Arms Control in Europe: Is There a Last Chance", *Arms Control Association*, March 2012, [https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2012\\_03/Conventional\\_Arms\\_Control\\_in\\_Europe\\_Is\\_There\\_a\\_Last\\_Chance](https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2012_03/Conventional_Arms_Control_in_Europe_Is_There_a_Last_Chance), accessed on 3 October 2014

<sup>607</sup> Final Statement of the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council at the Level of Foreign Ministers Held at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, on 7 December 2011

<sup>608</sup> Alina Mogoş, "NATO-Russia: Predictable Relationship", *Journal of European Studies and International Relations*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 2012, pp. 39-47

## 7.6 Conclusion

This chapter showed that Russia-NATO relations between 2008 and 2014 pass through huge events that led to ups and downs in their relations. At the Bucharest Summit (2008), NATO leaders sent diplomatic signals for a fresh renewal of NATO-Russia cooperation. Bucharest Summit was very important in terms of Russia-NATO relations since Putin attended the NRC meeting for the first time since its creation in 2002. At the meeting, the leaders “resolved to enhance their work as 27 equal partners... and renewed their commitment to the goals, principles and objectives...” Russia’s offer of land transit to support the ISAF in Afghanistan was welcomed by the NATO leaders. However, the chapter explored that Russia-NATO relations reached the lowest point in a decade after the Georgia crisis in 2008. During the crisis, the NRC was shaken by the Russian military actions in the Georgian territory. NATO suspended the NRC meetings and cooperation in some areas until such time Russia had satisfied in full the six-point agreement. Here, chapter pointed to timing of the intervention since it occurred between NATO Bucharest Summit and the meeting of the NATO foreign ministers in December 2008. The chapter also mentioned NATO’s newer members’ concerns whether the alliance would live up to its commitments if an attack occurs on individual members. However, the relations slowly started to improve since early 2009. The chapter explored that this was the reflection (result) of the US’s ‘reset’ policy with Russia. At the Lisbon Summit (2010), NATO leaders put great effort into expressing goodwill toward Russia and in the ‘New Strategic Concept’, they also made an effort to alleviate Russia’s mistrust of NATO. It can be concluded that the developments in Lisbon show NATO allies’ renew their relationship with Russia and Moscow responded positively to their move. Putin did not participate in the next NATO Summit in Chicago and this fact demonstrated the Russia’s attitude towards NATO of that time. The chapter found out that the main reason for Putin’s absence would be Russia’s and NATO’s failure to make significant process on missile defense.

The relationship between Russia and NATO deteriorated after the Ukraine crisis in 2014. The next chapter deals with the most prolonged and deadly crisis in Ukraine and its impact on Russia-NATO relations. It mainly analyzes Russian aggression and NATO's response to this aggression. The chapter focuses on NATO's response by suspending the NRC activities and its plan to take extra measures. The chapter also analyzes NATO Summit in Wales where NATO allies were expected to take certain measures regarding the challenges posed by Russia.



## **CHAPTER 8**

### **THE UKRAINE CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON RUSSIA-NATO RELATIONS**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

The last chapter is devoted to the most recent crisis in Ukraine and its impact on Russia-NATO relations. The chapter starts with the analysis of the reason behind the beginning of the crisis and consecutive events that precipitated it to become international crisis in 2014. Then, it discusses Russia's annexation of Crimea. Here, it addresses a referendum on the future of Crimea which would decide Crimea to join Russia or would remain an autonomous republic within Ukraine. It also examines the Crimea Parliament's decision to adopt a declaration on the independence of Crimea and its connection with the referendum. Next, the chapter discusses NATO's response to Russian actions in general and its annexation of Crimea. The chapter also examines the statement issued by NATO Foreign Ministers on Russian aggression and the implementation of certain measures related to Ukraine and Eastern Europe. Then, it discusses the new developments in the eastern and southern Ukraine drifting the country into deep crisis. The last part of the chapter analyzes NATO Summit in Wales in terms of Russia-NATO relations and NATO's responses to the changes on NATO's borders and the challenges posed by Russia.

#### **8.2 The Ukraine Crisis**

The crisis in Ukraine began with the protest against the Ukrainian government's decision which cancelled the plans to seek an association agreement with the EU and

continued with the ouster of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich which resulted in Russian military intervention in Crimea and its incorporation into Russia. As a result, Europe has faced one of the gravest crises in the post-Cold War era. All these developments have led to tensions between Russia and the West, and thus between Russia and NATO.

The Ukraine crisis began in November 2013 after Yanukovich's rejection of a trade and association agreement with the EU, which was ready to sign at a summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, for the Eastern Partnership, which governs the relationship between the EU and Ukraine. This decision led to increasing antigovernment demonstrations and after three months of demonstrations some one hundred protestors died. On 21 February 2014, Yanukovich and leaders of opposition parties signed an EU brokered agreement to end the country's deadly political crisis. According to one of the conditions of the agreement, the Presidential elections must be held before December 2014 allowing Yanukovich to stay in the power until the elections.<sup>609</sup> However, he fled to Russia next day after the Ukrainian parliament voted to oust Yanukovich from office and hold early presidential elections on May 25. Arsen Avakov, a member of Tymoshenko's party, was appointed as new Interior Minister. Another Tymoshenko ally, Alexander Turchinov was elected as speaker of the Ukrainian parliament. The new government members were pro-Western and anti-Russia to the core. Ukrainian parliament also authorized to release opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko from the prison. The new government was not recognized as legitimate by the Crimean officials. Moscow also had refused to recognize the new authorities in Kiev denouncing the events as an illegitimate coup. It was considered that the coup was backed by Washington since several US officials also took part in demonstrations at Euromaidan.<sup>610</sup> The US ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt evaluated Yanukovich's ouster as "a day for the history books."<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>609</sup> See for Detailed Information "Agreement on the Settlement of Crisis in Ukraine – Full Text", *the Guardian*, 21 February 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/21/agreement-on-the-settlement-of-crisis-in-ukraine-full-text>, accessed on 6 October 2014

<sup>610</sup> "According to a phone conversation recording revealed, Nulan had advocated regime change and wanted the Ukrainian politician Arseniy Yatsenyuk to become prime minister in the new government,

The Ukraine crisis turned into international crisis in late February 2014 when pro-Ukraine's Crimea region got under the control of pro-Russian forces. On 27 February, government buildings in the Crimean regional capital of Simferepol were seized by masked men with guns, raising the Russian flags over a barricade.<sup>612</sup> The Crimean Parliament had held emergency session and, approving no-confidence vote, dismissed the regional government. It appointed new prime minister, replacing Anatoly Mogilyev with Sergei Aksyonov, who leads the main pro-Russian party in Crimea. The Crimea parliament also voted in favor of holding referendum on 'whether to expand its autonomy' and set a referendum on May 25, in the same day as Ukraine's presidential election would take place.<sup>613</sup>

On 28 February, the newly appointed Prime Minister Sergei Aksyonov requested Moscow's assistance "in guaranteeing peace and calmness on the territory of the autonomous republic of Crimea." His appeal came during heightened tensions in Crimea a day after heavily armed troops without military insignias took control of government buildings in Simferepol and two key airports in the region. More importantly, Ukrainian officials reported that hundreds of Russians troops were in Crimea and Ukraine's acting president Alexander Turchynov urged Putin to stop 'provocations' and pull his military forces back.

These events ramped up tensions between Russia and the US. US President Barack Obama, after he was informed of Russia's presence in the southern region, said that "we are now deeply concerned by reports of military movements taken by the Russian Federation inside of Ukraine" and that it would constitute a clear violation' of

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which he did." John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin", *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014

<sup>611</sup> William Booth, "Ukraine's Parliament Votes to Oust President: Former Prime Minister is Freed From Prison", *The Washington Post*, 22 February 2013

<sup>612</sup> Andrew Higgins and Steven Erlanger, "Gunmen Seize Government Buildings in Crimea", *The New York Times*, 27 February 2014

<sup>613</sup> "Crimean Parliament Dismisses Cabinet and Sets Date for Autonomy Referendum", *The Moscow Times*, 28 February 2014, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/crimean-parliament-dismisses-cabinet-and-sets-date-for-autonomy-referendum/495391.html>, accessed on 7 October 2014

international law.<sup>614</sup> He also warned that “any violation of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity would be deeply destabilizing, which is not in the interest of Ukraine, Russia or Europe” and that “there will be costs for any military intervention in Ukraine.”

In announcing on March 1 to send Russian troops to Crimea, it seemed Putin ignored US warnings. The Russian parliament approved Putin’s request for authorization to use Russian armed forces in Ukraine. According to the Kremlin, he requested authorization “to deploy troops in order to protect the lives of ethnic Russians in Ukraine and Russian armed forces based in Ukraine’s Crimean region, until the ‘normalization’ of the political situation there.”<sup>615</sup> Despite Russian parliament’s approval of military intervention in Ukraine, on March 6, Putin denied that the troops had been deployed and had called the masked soldiers ‘local militia’.

On 2 March, the NAC condemned Russia’s “military escalation in Crimea and expressed its grave concern regarding the authorization by the Russian Parliament to use armed forces on the territory of Ukraine.”<sup>616</sup> It stated Russia’s military actions against Ukraine “is a breach of international law and contravenes the principle of the NATO-Russia Council and the Partnership for Peace.” Calling upon Russia to withdraw its forces to the bases in Crimea and not to interfere elsewhere in Ukraine, NATO allies urged “both parties to immediately seek a peaceful resolution through bilateral dialogue... and through the dispatch of international observers...”<sup>617</sup> On 5 March, the NRC met at ambassadorial level to discuss the crisis. After the meeting, NATO Secretary General Rasmussen, noting Russia’s continued violation of “Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, and its own international commitments”, stated that NATO took immediate

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<sup>614</sup> Paul Lewis, Ian Traynor and Luke Harding, “Crimea Crisis: pro-Russian Leader Appeals to Putin for Help”, *the Guardian*, 28 February 2014

<sup>615</sup> “Parliament Oks Putin Request to Use Russian Forces in Ukraine”, *RFE/RL*, 1 March 2014, <http://www.rferl.org/content/ukraine-crimea-forces-russian/25281291.html>, accessed on 6 October 2014

<sup>616</sup> “North Atlantic Council Statement on the Situation in Ukraine”, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_107681.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_107681.htm), accessed on 6 October 2012

<sup>617</sup> North Atlantic Council Statement on the Situation in Ukraine, 2 March 2014, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_107681.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_107681.htm), accessed on 8 October 2014

steps: suspending the planning of first NATO-Russia joint mission, not letting Russia be “involved in the escort of the US vessel” which would neutralize Syria’s chemical weapons; and not holding staff-level civilian or military meetings for some time.<sup>618</sup> He also expressed that these steps sent a clear message to Russia that its actions have consequences.

### **8.3 Russian Annexation of Crimea**

On March 6, the Crimea parliament voted to secede from Ukraine and become part of Russia. To this end, it announced a referendum that would ask whether citizens want Crimea to be incorporated into Russia or remain in Ukraine under 1992 Crimean Constitution which means Crimea would remain an autonomous republic within Ukraine. It also set referendum in 10 days’ time moving the date of earlier proposed referendum on the status of Autonomous Republic of Crimea to March 16. The referendum did not include question that would allow voters to indicate a preference for independence. As noted above, the referendum ballot paper included two questions: “Do you support Crimea’s reunification with Russia or Do you support the restoration of the Constitution of the Crimean Republic dated 1992 and Crimea’s status as a part of Ukraine.”<sup>619</sup>

Ukraine’s new Prime Minister said “referendum has no legal ground at all... Crimea was, is and will be an integral part of Ukraine.”<sup>620</sup> Earlier, Putin said “Russia had no intention of annexing Crimea” but that the residents of a region can determine their own future. Obama said that proposed referendum violated the Ukrainian constitution and

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<sup>618</sup> Remarks by the NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Press Conference Held Following the Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at NATO HQ, Brussels, 5 March 2014

<sup>619</sup> “Crimean Parliament Speeds up Referendum, Introduces Question about Joining Russia”, *KyivPost*, 6 March 2014, <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/crimean-parliament-moves-back-referendum-introduces-question-about-joining-russia-338562.html>, accessed on 8 October 2014

<sup>620</sup> Peter Walker and Nabeelah Shabbir, Tom McCarthy and Alan Yuhas, “Ukraine Crisis: Obama Says Crimea Referendum Would ‘Violate International Law’”, *the Guardian*, 6 March 2014

international law. To ramp up pressure on Putin, he imposed visa restriction on several officials who are ‘threatening the sovereignty of Ukraine’ and enabled further sanctions against Moscow by signing an executive order. However, the US left open door for dialogue over Ukraine crisis. The EU member states, saying Russia’s illegal actions cannot pass without a response, agreed: “to suspend negotiations on a more liberal visa regime for Russians; to stop work on a comprehensive new agreement on relations between Russia and the EU; and to pull out all preparations for the G8 summit in Sochi in June.”<sup>621</sup> They also warned of tougher steps if Moscow does not come to the table to find a solution of the crisis.

During an extraordinary session on 11 March, the Crimean Parliament adopted a declaration on the independence of Crimea from Ukraine. If the referendum votes in favor of leaving Ukraine (joining Russia), taking the example of Kosovo<sup>622</sup>, this declaration envisages Crimea’s independence and sovereignty.<sup>623</sup> However, the ‘Declaration of Independence’ paved the way for the Crimean peninsula to join Russia.

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<sup>621</sup> The Prime Minister David Cameron Gave a Press Conference after a Meeting of EU Heads of State or Government to Discuss Ukraine, 6 March 2014

<sup>622</sup> In accordance with the UN International Court of Justice on 22 July 2010, the unilateral declaration of independence by a part of the country does not violate any international norms.

<sup>623</sup> Declaration of Independence of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol: We, the members of the parliament of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the Sevastopol City Council, with regard to the charter of the United Nations and whole range of other international documents and taking into consideration the confirmation of the status of Kosovo by the United Nations International Court of Justice on July 22, 2010, which says that unilateral declaration of independence by a part of the county does not violate any international norms, make this decision jointly: 1) If a decision to become part of Russia is made at the referendum of the March 16, 2014 Crimea including the Autonomous Republic of Crime and the city of Sevastopol will be announced an independent and sovereign state with a republican order. 2) Republic of Crimea will be a democratic, laic and multinational state, with an obligation to maintain peace, international and intersectarian consent in its territory. 3) If the referendum brings the respective results, Republic of Crimea as an independent and sovereign state will turn to the Russian Federation with the proposition to accept the Republic of Crimea on the basis of a respective interstate treaty into Russian Federation as a new constituent entity of the Russian Federation.’ Declaration approved by the Resolution of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea at the extraordinary plenary session on March 11, 2014 and by the Decision of the Sevastopol City Council at the extraordinary plenary session on Marcy 11, 2014. Christian Walter, “Postscript: Self Determination, Secession, and the Crimea Crisis”, *Self-Determination and Secession in International Law*, eds. Christian Walter, Antje von Ungern-Stemberg and Kavus Abushov, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 297

This was abundantly clear in the wording of the declaration and in the earlier and in the further course of events.

The wording of the declaration “was made explicitly subject to a positive referendum on joining Russia.” First, if the result of the referendum would be decided on joining of the Crimea to Russia, it would be declared as an independent state. Then, the new republic would “be a democratic, laic and multinational state.” Finally, if the referendum results respectively, Republic of Crimea would appeal to Russia to accept it as a new constituent entity of Russia.

For the Speaker of the Supreme Council of Crimea, declaration was adopted “to make the upcoming referendum legitimate and transparent.” He said it “will be a necessary procedural document and will contribute to the recognition of the legitimacy of the entire procedure for the inclusion (of Crimea) in Russia... It is also done to prevent any questions from experts. This will make the inclusion procedure fully legitimate.”<sup>624</sup> Crimea parliament’s attempt was declared unconstitutional by Kiev. Ukraine’s parliament also appealed Crimea people not to vote and stated that calls for Russia’s annexation is a violation of the Ukrainian constitution, “which gives only the central government the right to conduct foreign affairs.”

For the Russian Foreign Ministry, Crimean Parliament’s decision was absolutely within its rights and that Russia “will fully respect the result of the free will of the Crimean people at the referendum.”<sup>625</sup> It also stated OSCE observers “were invited to monitor the referendum” but “was dismissed by the OSCE chief.” The OSCE Chairperson Didier Burkhalter “ruled out the possibility of an OSCE observation of the planned referendum as the basic criteria for a decision in a constitutional framework was not met.” He said “for any referendum regarding the degree of autonomy or sovereignty of the Crimea to

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<sup>624</sup> “Crimea Obtains State Status with Declaration of Independence Adoption – Crimean MP”, *World Affairs*, 11 March 2014, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/content/crimea-obtains-state-status-declaration-independence-adoption-crimean-mp>, accessed on 12 October 2014

<sup>625</sup> Statement by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Regarding the Adoption of the Declaration of Independence of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol, [http://www.mid.ru/brp\\_4.nsf/0/4751D80FE6F93D0344257C990062A08A](http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/4751D80FE6F93D0344257C990062A08A), accessed on 12 October 2014

be legitimate, it would need to be based on the Ukrainian constitution and would have to be in line with international law.”<sup>626</sup>

According to the results of the referendum on 16 March, Crimean people voted overwhelmingly in favor of joining Russia in a ballot condemned by the US and Europe “as illegal and destabilizing” and they “were expected to slap sanctions on Russia for it.” A day later, based on its previous declaration and the results of the referendum, Crimea’s parliament formally declared independence and applied to join Russia. A decree which recognized Ukraine’s Crimea region as a sovereign state was immediately signed by Putin. NATO considered that the referendum held in Crimea “to be both illegal and illegitimate” and stated that it “violated the Ukrainian constitution and international law, and allies do not and will not recognize its results.”<sup>627</sup> The alliance considered the referendum held under deeply flawed circumstances: “the rushed nature of the poll under conditions of military intervention and the restrictions on, and the manipulation of media...”<sup>628</sup> NATO allies, calling Russia to return to path of dialogue with Ukrainian government, urged Russia not to attempt to annex Crimea.

Finally, on 18 March, he signed an agreement on admission of Crimea into Russia and the creation of new constituent entities within Russia.<sup>629</sup> All these developments show that “Crimean independence was, right from the beginning, instrumental for finally joining Russia.” For Christian Walter,

Both the clear wording of the Declaration of Independence of 11 March 2014 and the speed with which the next steps were taken underline the main difference from the other conflicts... in the case of the Crimean secession was not an

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<sup>626</sup> “OSCE Chair Says Crimean Referendum in its Current Form is Illegal and Calls for Alternative Ways to Address the Crimean Issue”, Bern, 11 March 2014, <http://www.osce.org/cio/116313>, accessed on 12 October 2014

<sup>627</sup> “NATO’s Relations with Russia”, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_50090.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50090.htm), accessed on 12 October 2014

<sup>628</sup> Statement by the North Atlantic Council on the so-called Referendum in Crimea, 17 March 2014

<sup>629</sup> Executive Order on Executing Agreement on Admission of Republic of Crimea into the Russian Federation, <http://eng.kremlin.ru/by-region/CR?page=3>, accessed on 16 October 2014



instrument for achieving independent statehood, but a transitory step in the process of integrating into Russia.<sup>630</sup>

Another analyst thinks that Russian annexation of Crimea is “at once a replay and an escalation of tactics that Moscow has used in the past two decades to maintain its influence across the domains of the former Soviet Union.”<sup>631</sup> However, he argues each time Russia tried in this way, the result proved to be opposite, referring Russia would lose much in the future.

Moscow’s support for separatist movements within their borders has driven Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova to all wean themselves of their dependence on Russia and pursue new partnerships with the West. Ukraine will likely follow a similar trajectory. By annexing Crimea and threatening deeper military intervention in eastern Ukraine, Russia will only bolster Ukrainian nationalism and push Kiev closer to Europe, while causing other post-Soviet states to question the wisdom of a close alignment with Moscow. ...Russia may have won Crimea, but in the long run, it risks losing much more: its once-close relationship with Ukraine, its international reputation, and its plan to draw the ex-Soviet states back together.<sup>632</sup>

After Putin signed an agreement, Ukraine’s acting President Alexander Turchinov reacted by saying that Kiev was ready to negotiate with Russia but would never accept Crimea’s annexation. The EU and US responded imposing sanctions involving visa ban and an asset freeze against several Russian and Ukrainian officials. The EU official said selected officials “were responsible for threatening Ukraine’s territorial integrity and independence.” But she noted that there was still time to avoid ‘a negative spiral’ and urged Russia to pull back its forces from Crimea.

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<sup>630</sup> Christian Walter, “Postscript: Self Determination, Secession, and the Crimea Crisis”, *Self-Determination and Secession in International Law*, eds. Christian Walter, Antje von Ungern-Stenberg and Kavus Abushov, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 298

<sup>631</sup> Jeffrey Mankoff, “Russia’s Latest Land Grab: How Putin Won Crimea and Lost Ukraine”, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2014

<sup>632</sup> Jeffrey Mankoff, “Russia’s Latest Land Grab: How Putin Won Crimea and Lost Ukraine”, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2014

## 8.4 NATO's Response to Russian Actions

All these developments caught NATO unprepared and led to a crisis in Russia-NATO relations. At that time, NATO Secretary General described Russia's military aggression in Ukraine as "the most serious crisis in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall" which "follows a pattern of behavior of military pressure and frozen conflicts in our neighborhood: Transnistria, South Ossetia, Abkhazia and now in Crimea."<sup>633</sup> For him, NATO's responses were as follows; 1) reaffirming their commitment to collective defense; 2) strengthening cooperation with Ukraine and wither region; 3) making clear that they "can no longer do business as usual with Russia."<sup>634</sup> However, the door was left still open for political dialogue. What is important here, he also mentioned some of real assets and actions to reinforce its collective defense: "more Allied aircraft on patrol over the Baltic region" and surveillance flights over Poland and Romania. In March, the US increased the number of F-15 fighter jets to 10 which had been traditionally deployed 4 jets for the mission.<sup>635</sup> After NAC decided on 10 March "to increase surveillance in the airspace" over Poland and Romania and "to monitor the crisis in Ukraine", the alliance started AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) reconnaissance flights over these countries.

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<sup>633</sup> "A Strong NATO in a Change World", Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Brussels Forum, 21 March 2014

<sup>634</sup> He announced them accordingly: '1) No one should doubt NATO's resolve if the security of any of its members were to be threatened. Our commitment to the security of all Allies is unbreakable. Now and in the future. This comment is not just about words, but real assets and real actions. More planes to police the airspace over the Baltics. Surveillance flights over Poland and Romania. And we remain vigilant and ready to take all necessary steps. Our goal is to defuse the crisis on our borders. 2) Support of the transformation of Ukrainian armed forces into modern and effective organizations, able to provide credible deterrence and defense against military threats; enhancing the ability of the Ukrainian armed forces to work and operate together with armed forces of NATO Allies; increased participation in NATO exercises 3) We have already agreed that no staff-level meetings with Russia will take place for now. And we are reviewing the entire range of our cooperation so that NATO Foreign Ministers can take the appropriate decisions when they meet in Brussels in ten days from now.' "A Strong NATO in a Change World", Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Brussels Forum, 21 March 2014

<sup>635</sup> "Fact Sheet: NATO Reassurance Measures Ukraine Crisis", 26 May 2014, <http://www.aco.nato.int/land.aspx>, accessed 17 October 2014

Ahead of NATO Foreign Ministers meeting on 1 April, where they gathered for the first time in Brussels Crimean annexation, NATO Secretary General stated that “Russia’s aggression against Ukraine fundamentally changes Europe’s security landscape and causes instability right on NATO’s borders.” “Today, NATO Foreign Minister will show their steadfast commitment to NATO’s collective defense...” When he was asked whether Russian troops are withdrawing from the Ukrainian border, he answered that “Unfortunately, I cannot confirm that Russia is withdrawing its troops. This is not what we are seeing. And this massive military build-up can in no way contribute to a de-escalation of the situation... a de-escalation that we all want to see.”<sup>636</sup> His statement came after Putin told German Chancellor Angela Merkel in a telephone conversation that small troops are withdrawing from the Ukrainian border. One of NATO military officials said that “about 35,000 to 40,000 Russian troops equipped with tanks, other armored vehicles, and fixed and rotary wing aircraft were positioned near the Ukrainian border.” To this end, Rasmussen also signaled for some measures as a response saying “We are now considering all options to enhance our collective defense, including further development of our defense plans, enhanced exercises and also appropriate deployments.”<sup>637</sup>

NATO Foreign ministers issued a statement “suspending all practical cooperation with Russia in protest at its annexation of Crimea.” According to the statement, they condemned “Russia’s illegal military intervention in Ukraine and its violation of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.”<sup>638</sup> Not recognizing “Russia’s illegal and illegitimate attempt to annex Crimea”, they urged Russia to take immediate steps “to engage immediately in a genuine dialogue towards a political and diplomatic solution.” Demonstrating their commitment to Ukraine, they would intensify their cooperation under the ‘Distinctive Partnership’: in this sense, the alliance and Ukraine agreed on

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<sup>636</sup> Doorstep Statement by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Start of the NATO Foreign Ministers Meetings, 1 April 2014

<sup>637</sup> Anne Gearan, “NATO Chief Re-commits to Defending Eastern European, Baltic Nations”, *Washington Post*, 1 April 2014

<sup>638</sup> Statement by NATO Foreign Ministers, 1 April 2014

concrete measures “to strengthen Ukraine’s ability to provide for its own security.”<sup>639</sup> However, as NATO ministers met, Russia issued a warning to Ukraine against integration with the alliance, saying “Kiev’s previous attempts to move closer to the defense alliance had unwelcome consequences.”<sup>640</sup>

As noted above, NATO allies’ most important response was the suspension of all practical cooperation and this part of statement sounds as following:

Our goal of a Euro-Atlantic region whole, free, and at space has not changed, but has been fundamentally challenged by Russia... Over the past twenty years, NATO has consistently worked for closer cooperation and trust with Russia. However, Russia has violated international law and has acted in contradiction with the principles and commitments in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council Basic Document, the NATO-Russia Council Founding Act, and the Rome Declaration. It has gravely breached the trust upon which our cooperation must be based. We have decided to suspend all practical civilian and military cooperation between NATO and Russia.<sup>641</sup>

For German Foreign Minister, “NATO’s future relationship with Russia would depend, among other things, on whether Russia started withdrawing troops from the Ukrainian border.” Indeed, NATO Foreign ministers stated that political dialogue in the NRC at the ambassador level and above can continue to allow them to exchange views on this crisis. It should be noted that NATO-Russia cooperation on Afghanistan would not be affected.

Ministers also “ordered military commanders to draw up plans for reinforcing NATO’s defenses to reassure Eastern European members, including former Soviet republics in the Baltics, that NATO is ready to defend them.”<sup>642</sup> To this end, on 16 April 2014, the NAC agreed on defensive measures to reinforce the alliance’s collective defense in the wake of the crisis in Ukraine: these were “more Allied aircraft on patrol over the Baltic

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<sup>639</sup> “NATO and Ukraine’s foreign ministers agreed to step up cooperation with training and other programs to help modernize Ukraine’s armed forces. Rasmussen said Ukraine will be given more chances to take part in NATO exercises.”

<sup>640</sup> Adrian Croft and Sabine Siebold, “NATO Suspends Cooperation with Russia over Ukraine Crisis”, *Reuters*, 1 April 2014

<sup>641</sup> Statement by NATO Foreign Ministers, 1 April 2014

<sup>642</sup> Adrian Croft and Sabine Siebold, “NATO Suspends Cooperation with Russia over Ukraine Crisis”, *Reuters*, 1 April 2014

region, the deployment of Allied ships to the Baltic Sea and the eastern Mediterranean and NATO land training and exercises.” Maritime measures, and land training and exercises were as follows:

- NATO has deployed two of its standing maritime groups: Standing Mine Counter-Measures Group ONE left the port of Kiel, Germany for patrols in the Baltic Sea on 22 April 2014. It is conducting port visits and participates in an annual mine clearance operation (naval exercise Open Spirit 2014). The group currently includes seven ships from Germany, Belgium, Estonia, France, Norway and the Netherlands.
- NATO on 12 May 2014 tasked an enlarged Standing NATO Maritime Group ONE to conduct NATO maritime assurances measures alongside counter-terrorism patrols in the eastern Mediterranean. It includes five ships from Norway, Germany, Turkey, United States and Canada.
- Around 6,000 troops from Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States participated in the NATO-led ‘Steadfast Javelin’ exercise which took place from 16-23 May. The exercise was based on a fictitious scenario and involved participating Allied forces repelling an attack on Estonia in an article 5. Participating units included infantry and reconnaissance forces, engineers, fighter jets as well as anti-aircraft teams and cyber security team. Reinforced Military Planners: Eighteen allies have sent extra military staff to Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) to reinforce planning functions.<sup>643</sup>

Andrew Foxall thinks it was a limited response saying that,

Strengthening cooperation with Ukraine, reaffirming its commitment to defend Central and Eastern European allies, rebuking Russia. On 1 April, the alliance suspended all practical cooperation with Moscow – the second time it had done so since 2008, when Russia invaded Georgia. Such words and actions, however, scarcely hide the fact that the alliance failed to deter Russia’s aggression and was ill-prepared to counter Russia’s use of unconventional warfare and its information war when it occurred. Even the members of the alliance itself – namely, Poland and the three Baltic states - have been highly critical at what they see as tokenism in NATO’s response to the Ukraine crisis.<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> This fact sheet list includes only captures military assets which have been placed under the direct control of NATO. “Fact Sheet: NATO Reassurance Measures Ukraine Crisis”, 26 May 2014, <http://www.aco.nato.int/land.aspx>, accessed 17 October 2014

<sup>644</sup> Andrew Foxall, “A Fateful Summit: The Future of NATO’s Relationship with Russia”, *Russia Studies Centre The Henry Jackson Society Policy Paper*, No. 1, September 2014, p. 2

After incorporating Crimea into Russia, Moscow did not want Kiev get close to the West against Moscow, “making it clear that he could wreck Ukraine as a functioning state before he would allow it to become a Western stronghold on Russia’s doorstep.”<sup>645</sup> On April 6, pro-Russian protestors seized government buildings in three eastern cities of Donetsk, Luhansk and Kharkiv and called for a referendum on independence. Although Ukrainian authorities regained control in Kharkiv on 8 April, the rest remained out of control.<sup>646</sup> At that time, it was argued that the alliance would have “to find a way to reassure its Eastern European members without repudiating existing structures for cooperation with Russia.”<sup>647</sup>

After the NRC meeting on 2 June, Rasmussen urged Russia to engage constructively with the newly elected Ukraine’s President and called on Russia “to withdraw its troops fully and verifiably from Ukraine’s border, to stop the flow of arms and fighters into Ukraine, to condemn armed separatists and to use its influence for the freeing of OSCE monitors taken hostage.”<sup>648</sup> He stated that “Russia has threatened its neighbor countries and used force against them.” He also stated that NATO allies “want to improve climate, but to do that Russia must show that it is ready...”

More importantly, they agreed to support protection in Eastern Europe, “but insisted they are acting within the limits of a key-post Cold War treaty with Russia.”<sup>649</sup> For Rasmussen, they agreed to develop a “Readiness Action Plan ... to respond to the changed security environment”. Later, he told that, to strengthen the alliance’s collective

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<sup>645</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin”, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014

<sup>646</sup> “To achieve objectives noted above, Moscow has provided advisers, arms, diplomatic support to separatists in eastern Ukraine, while at the same time denying that it was doing so. It is a common view that they were almost certainly responsible for the destruction of flight MH17 on 17 July killing all 298 people on board. Moscow has continued to destabilize Ukraine by amassing large army on the Ukrainian border and undertaking military exercises in western Russia. Moreover, Russia has sharply raised the price of the natural gas exporting to Ukraine and demanded to pay for past exports.”

<sup>647</sup> Jonathan Eyal, “Burning Questions for our Alliance”, *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 159, No. 3, June 2014, p. 10

<sup>648</sup> Secretary General Sets Out NATO’s Position on Russia-Ukraine Crisis, 2 June 2014, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions\\_110643.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_110643.htm), accessed on 15 October 2014

<sup>649</sup> “NATO Agrees to ‘Readiness Action Plan’ to Counter Russia”, *Defense News*, 3 June 2014

defense, NATO allies “need to be ready to respond and act quickly whenever and wherever required.”<sup>650</sup> Toward that end, in the middle of June, he said that they are developing a ‘Readiness Action Plan’ which would be ready for the NATO Wales Summit in September. He stated that,

As part of the plan, we are looking closely at how we can best deploy our forces for defense and deterrence. This includes force posture, positions, and presence. We are considering reinforcement measures, such as necessary infrastructure, designation of bases and pre-positioning of equipment and supplies. We are reviewing our defense plans, threat assessments, intelligence-sharing arrangements, early-warning procedures, and crisis response planning. We are developing a new exercise schedule, adapted to the new security environment. And we want to further strengthen our NATO Response Force and Special Forces, so we can respond more quickly to any threat against any member of the Alliance, including where we have little warning.<sup>651</sup>

During his visit to Kiev in August, Rasmussen stated that the NATO allies stand by Ukraine and that they decided to hold a special meeting with Ukraine in Wales. He also said that ‘Russia continues to destabilize Ukraine’ and that it has massed “large army on Ukraine border to shield the separatists and to use any pretext to intervene any further.” Later in one of his statement, he told that “there is a ‘high probability’ of a Russian military intervention” saying that “we see the Russians developing the narrative and the pretext for such an operation under the guise of a humanitarian operation, and we see a military build-up that could be used to conduct such illegal military operations in Ukraine.”<sup>652</sup> In this sense, he called on “Russia to step back from the brink and not to

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<sup>650</sup> According to Rasmussen, the plan would be one of the responses to Russia’s aggression and other old and new threats: ‘Now, we are facing another turning point in history. The world that we helped build after the end of the Cold War is being challenged. To our east, Russia’s aggression against Ukraine is an attempt to rewrite international rules and recreate a sphere of influence. At the same time, to our south, we see states or extreme groups using violence to assert their power. And overall, we see threats old and new, from piracy to terrorism to cyber-attacks... Our summit must give a clear answer. And our response must be strength and unity. I see three key parts to that response: responsibly completing our combat mission in Afghanistan, strengthening our collective defense and staying engaged globally.’ NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, “The Future of NATO: A Strong Alliance in an Unpredictable World”, *Chatham House: The Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 19 June 2014, p. 2

<sup>651</sup> NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, “The Future of NATO: A Strong Alliance in an Unpredictable World”, *Chatham House: The Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 19 June 2014, p. 3

<sup>652</sup> Alec Luhn, “Russia to Send Humanitarian Convoy into Ukraine in Spite of Warnings”, *the Guardian*, 11 August 2014

use peacekeeping as an excuse for war-making” and urged Russia “...to stop its support for separatists, to pull back its troops and to engage in a sincere dialogue for a peaceful solution.”<sup>653</sup>

On 22 August, a Russian aid convoy of more than 100 Lorries, after waiting more than a week, entered Eastern Ukraine without Ukrainian permission. Petro Poroshenko, newly elected Ukrainian President, accused Russia of a ‘flagrant violation of international law.’ Western leaders already warned Russia that “any attempt to send its military personnel into Ukraine under the guise of humanitarian assistance would be considered as an invasion.”<sup>654</sup> Russia’s foreign ministry warned against any attempts to sabotage and said that it was a “purely humanitarian mission, which was prepared a long time ago, in the atmosphere of full transparency and in cooperation with the Ukrainian side and the ICRC (Red Cross).”<sup>655</sup>

While Russian aid convoy waiting to enter, on 15 August the Guardian reported that “23 armored personal carriers, supported by fuel trucks and other logistic vehicles with official Russian military plates” crossed the border in an area not controlled by Kiev.<sup>656</sup> In late August, Ukrainian officials said Russian forces have crossed previously unbreached part of eastern Ukraine in last several days and attacked Ukrainian forces to open third front in the war in eastern Ukraine between Kiev and pro-Russian separatists, along with the fighting outside the cities of Donetsk and Luhansk. NATO official told more than “1,000 Russian troops are operating inside Ukraine”, “supporting separatists and fighting with them.” NATO released satellite images showing Russian forces

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<sup>653</sup> “NATO Stands by Ukraine, Secretary General Says in Kiev”, 7 August 2014, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news\\_111908.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_111908.htm), accessed on 17 October 2014

<sup>654</sup> Alec Luhn, “Russia to Send Humanitarian Convoy into Ukraine in Spite of Warnings”, *the Guardian*, 11 August 2014

<sup>655</sup> Ian Bateson and Katya Gorchinskaya, “Ukrainian Foreign Ministry: Terrorists Are Shelling the Convoy’s Possible Route with Mortars”, 22 August 2014,

<sup>656</sup> Shaun Walker, “Aid Convoy Stops Short of Border as Russian Military Vehicles Enter Ukraine”, *the Guardian*, 15 August 2014



involved in military operations. Thus, it was then clear that Russia was involved in military activities in Ukraine.

### **8.5 NATO Wales Summit (2014)**

As tension increased in the region, Rasmussen said that NATO, for the first time in the alliance's history, is preparing to deploy its forces in Eastern Europe to respond to the Ukraine crisis and to deter Russia from destabilizing the former Soviet Baltic States.<sup>657</sup> On 1 September, it was announced that NATO "is to create a 4,000-strong 'spearhead' high readiness force that can be deployed rapidly in Eastern Europe and the Baltic States to help protect member nations against potential Russian aggression."<sup>658</sup> For Rasmussen, the plan "responds to Russia's aggressive behavior" but at the same time "it equips the alliance to respond to all security challenges, wherever they may arise."<sup>659</sup> To this end, he announced NATO allies would develop "a spearhead within NATO Response Force - a very high readiness force able to deploy at very short notice. This would be provided by Allies in rotation, and could include several thousand troops and ready to respond where needed with air, sea and Special Forces support."<sup>660</sup> He also said that "it can

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<sup>657</sup> Ian Traynor, "NATO Plans East European Bases to Counter Russia", *the Guardian*, 27 August 2014. He said NATO would overcome divisions within the alliance at a summit in Wales and agree to new deployments on Russia's borders. Some NATO countries argue a permanent presence of NATO forces in Eastern Europe would be a direct breach of post-Cold War agreements with Moscow and could result in a very strong reaction from Moscow. However, it will not include the creation of permanent bases as NATO members such as Poland and the Baltic States have called for. Rasmussen said NATO forces would stay 'for as long as necessary' and eastern allies would be satisfied when they see what is actually in the 'readiness action plan.'

<sup>658</sup> Ewen MacAskill, "NATO to Create High-Readiness Force to Counter Russian Threat", *the Guardian*, 1 September 2014

<sup>659</sup> Rasmussen continued: 'We have already a NATO Response Force. This is a multinational force, which brings together land, air, maritime and special operation forces. It can be deployed anywhere in the world, for collective defense or crisis management. We will now significantly enhance the responsiveness of our NATO Response Force. We will develop what I call a spearhead within our Response Force...' Pre-Summit Press Conference by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at Residence Palace, 1 September 2014

<sup>660</sup> Pre-Summit Press Conference by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at Residence Palace, 1 September 2014

travel light, but strike hard if needed.” Although the ‘spearhead’ high readiness force “does not help with the immediate crisis in Ukraine, which is facing Russian incursions in the east and in the south of the country, it might have a deterrent effect if Russia was considering destabilizing the Baltic States.”<sup>661</sup>

Indeed, the alliance was caught napping by Russia’s actions in Ukraine. It “was ill-prepared to counter Russia’s use of unconventional warfare and its information and disinformation war.”<sup>662</sup> In this context, the ‘spearhead’ group would be useful since it would “be trained to deal with unconventional actions such as funding of separatists groups, use of social media, intimidation and black propaganda.”

In Wales, NATO leaders were to discuss whether global challenges call for an increase in the level of defense spent by NATO members. Secretary General also expected a commitment to increase defense investment as their economies recover. NATO member countries are committed to spend at least 2% of their GDP on defense.<sup>663</sup> However, only four members USA, UK, Estonia and Greece spent that in 2013. With respect to Russia, the Georgian conflict in 2008 revealed Russia’s comparative weakness in certain capabilities. As a result, Russia changed its policy to spur a reform process of its army that is still undergoing. Since then, Russia increased its military spending and in 2012 Putin stated that the government will continue implementing the 2008 development program for the modernization of the army through major investments. In 2012, a further increase of 17% in real terms was planned for the 2013-2017 period, with military spending of 4.8% of GDP.<sup>664</sup> Russia continues to implement the State Armaments Plan

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<sup>661</sup> Ewen MacAskill, “NATO to Create High-Readiness Force to Counter Russian Threat”, *the Guardian*, 1 September 2014

<sup>662</sup> Much of Russia’s action in Ukraine has been covert and deniable. Russia’s actions have posed the biggest challenges as NATO is designed for conventional warfare.

<sup>663</sup> Check for detailed information Federica Cocco, “NATO Summit: Which Members Are Not Pulling Their Weight with Defense Spending”, *The Mirror*, 3 September 2013, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/ampp3d/nato-summit-members-not-pulling-4156751>, accessed on 6 November 2014

<sup>664</sup> SIPRI Yearbook, 2013, p. 142

for 2011-20 planning to spend more than 700 billion on new and upgraded armaments, and it aims to replace 70% of equipment with modern weapons by 2020.<sup>665</sup>

Before the Wales Summit, all these developments show that NATO faces an unpredictable world as a result of Russia's aggression. In his interview, Rasmussen said that "We have to face the reality that Russia does not consider NATO a partner. Russia is a nation that unfortunately for the first time since the Second World War has grabbed land by force. Obviously we have to adapt to that." He also said that "We have seen the Russians improve their ability to act swiftly. They can within a very, very, short time convert a major military exercise into an offensive military operation." In this context, one of the analysts argued that,

NATO must review the threat posed by Russia and consider how it would respond should the situation in Ukraine worsen or repeat in a NATO country. Russia perceives that NATO lacks the political will to respond to aggression, and the absence of such a review would risk confirming this... Wales Summit is the most important meeting – and most difficult test – for NATO in generation. NATO must rise to the challenge provided by Russia's aggression and in doing so reassert its own credibility.<sup>666</sup>

Criticisms came from several scholars on the ongoing Ukraine Crisis and NATO's response to Russia's aggression. For J. Mearsheimer, the US and its European allies are mostly responsible for the crisis:

The taproot of the trouble is NATO enlargement, the central element of a larger strategy to move Ukraine out of Russia's orbit and integrate it into the West. At the same time, the EU's expansion eastward and the West's backing of the pro-democracy movement in Ukraine – beginning with the Orange Revolution in 2004 – were critical elements, too. Since the mid-1990s, Russian leaders have adamantly opposed NATO enlargement, and in recent years, they have made it clear that they would not stand by while their strategically important neighbor turned into a Western bastion. For Putin, the illegal overthrow of Ukraine's democratically elected and pro-Russian president – which he rightly labeled a 'coup' – was the final straw. He responded by taking Crimea, a peninsula he

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<sup>666</sup> Andrew Foxall, "A Fateful Summit: The Future of NATO's Relationship with Russia", *Russia Studies Centre The Henry Jackson Society Policy Paper*, No. 1, September 2014, p. 1

feared would host a NATO naval base, and working to destabilize Ukraine until it abandoned its efforts to join the West.<sup>667</sup>

For Andrew Monaghan, Ukraine crisis shows that Moscow's and the West's perception of European security largely differ. He thinks,

Western capitals see the emergence of a Europe 'whole, free and at peace', Moscow sees a continent still fragmented, still dominated by bloc mentality (given US influence in European security), and burdened by ongoing conflict. Where Western capitals see the 'open door' policy and the enlargement of organizations such as NATO and EU contributing to wider European stability, Moscow sees the expansion of these organizations destabilizing European security. Where Western leaders have sought to emphasize partnership with Russia, including attempting to develop strategic partnership and the creation of numerous seats at the diplomatic table, Moscow sees itself increasingly isolated, the mechanisms for interaction failing to provide Moscow with a voice.<sup>668</sup>

For Andrew Foxall, "For over the two decades, NATO's security priorities had focused on terrorism and failed states. While these remain important, events in Ukraine mean that the alliance must undertake a fundamental re-assessment of the threats it faces and the military capabilities it requires."<sup>669</sup> Similarly, Andrew Monaghan argues that "the Ukraine crisis appears to be a potential turning point in Euro-Atlantic security", and as some senior Western officials and politicians have talked about, he thinks it "both creates new security realities for the twenty first century and demands a significant response from NATO."<sup>670</sup>

At Wales, the first priority of NATO allies was to respond to Russian aggression in Ukraine. They approved the 'NATO Readiness Action Plan' to respond to the Russia's challenges and their strategic implications. In this sense, it included assurance measures and the adaptation measures. The assurance measures would include continuous rotation

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<sup>667</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin", *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014

<sup>668</sup> Andrew Monaghan, "The Ukraine Crisis and NATO-Russia Relations", *NATO Review*, August 2014

<sup>669</sup> Andrew Foxall, "A Fateful Summit: The Future of NATO's Relationship with Russia", *Russia Studies Centre The Henry Jackson Society Policy Paper*, No. 1, September 2014, p. 5

<sup>670</sup> Andrew Monaghan, "The Ukraine Crisis and NATO-Russia Relations", *NATO Review*, August 2014

of meaningful military activity in Eastern Europe which would provide “the fundamental requirement for assurance and deterrence, and are flexible and scalable in response to the evolving security situation.”<sup>671</sup> As for adaptation measures, they agreed to create a Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF). A new allied joint force, a spearhead within NATO Response, would be “some 4000 to 6000 troops strong capable of being deployed at two or five days’ notice.”<sup>672</sup> Overall, the Readiness Action Plan was “aimed at reassuring NATO’s Eastern members’ doubts as to whether NATO would even be capable of mounting a military response to Russian aggression at all.”<sup>673</sup>

In Wales, NATO allies agreed “to reverse the trend of declining defense budgets.”<sup>674</sup> However, no breakthroughs are expected under the financial constraints that are still very in effect. For one of the critics, it would be considerable success if NATO member states should succeed in preventing further shrinkage of the budgets.<sup>675</sup> Besides these measures and agreements, in Wales, NATO allies reiterated their previous statements on Russian aggression and its annexation of Crimea.

In the declaration, NATO leaders stated that the alliance so far has made huge efforts to build partnership with Russia. They stated “Russia has breached its commitments” and international law resulting in disappearance of trust which constituted the core of their

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<sup>671</sup> Wales Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participation in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Wales, 5 September 2014

<sup>672</sup> Ian Kearns, ‘NATO in Wales: Summit of Missed Opportunities’, 19 September 2014 “It would consist of a land component, with appropriate air, maritime and special operations forces available, and would be tested through short-notice exercises. They would also establish permanent command and control presence and store vehicles, weapons and other equipment for the VJTF in the Baltic States, Poland and Romania, as well as adapting its command structures.”

<sup>673</sup> Christian Nünlist and Martin Zaphe, “NATO after Wales: Dealing with Russia – Next Steps”, *Center for Security Studies*, No. 161, October 2014, p. 2

<sup>674</sup> Wales Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participation in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Wales, 5 September 2014 According to the Wales declaration, those NATO members spending a minimum of 2% of their GDP of defense and spending more than 20% of their defense budgets on major equipment, including related Research & Development would continue to do so. Those member states spending less in both cases would aim towards the 2% guideline and increase their annual investments to 20% or more of total defense expenditures.

<sup>675</sup> Christian Nünlist and Martin Zaphe, “NATO after Wales: Dealing with Russia – Next Steps”, *Center for Security Studies*, No. 161, October 2014, p. 3

cooperation. Although they “continue to aspire to a cooperative and constructive relationship with Russia”, they stated “conditions for that relationship do not currently exist.”<sup>676</sup> As a result, their previous decision to suspend all practical cooperation under the NRC remained in place.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

This chapter demonstrated that the crisis in Ukraine began after Yanukovych’s rejection of a trade and association agreement with the EU and this brought about antigovernmental demonstrations in Ukraine escalating over the following three months and causing deaths of some hundred protestors. The Ukraine crisis turned into international crisis when pro- Ukraine’s Crimea region got under the control of pro-Russian forces. This was followed by the Crimea Parliament’s dismissal of the regional government and decision to hold referendum on the future of Crimea, and the newly appointed pro-Russian Prime Minister’s request for Moscow’s assistance after a day heavily armed troops without military insignias took control of government buildings and the airports in the region. These events ramped up the tensions between Russia and the US and the US President Barrack Obama stated that they are concerned by the military movements of Russia and warned that there will be costs for any military intervention in Ukraine. The next day after the Russian parliament upper house approved Putin’s request to use Russian armed forces in Ukraine, the NAC condemned Russia’s “military escalation in Crimea and expressed its grave concern regarding the authorisation by the Russian Parliament” and evaluated Russia’s military actions as a breach of international law and contravenes the principle of the NRC and the PFP.

The chapter explored that, to ramp up pressure on Putin after Crimea parliament announced a referendum on the future of Crimea, Obama imposed visa restrictions on certain officials and signed an executive order enabling further sanctions against

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<sup>676</sup> Wales Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participation in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Wales, 5 September 2014

Moscow. The EU also responded taking several measures and warned of tougher steps if Russia does not engage direct talks with the Ukrainian government. The chapter examined the wording of the declaration of independence and it became clear that it paved the way Crimea to join Russia. If the result of the referendum would be decided to join Russia, Crimea would be declared an independent and sovereign state, and according to these respective results, Republic of Crimea would appeal to Russia as a new constituent entity of Russia. Eventually, Crimean people voted in favor of overwhelmingly joining Russia in a ballot condemned by the US and Europe. NATO stated that the referendum was illegal and was a violation of the Ukrainian constitution and urged Russia not to take any steps to annex Russia. In the chapter, it can be concluded that NATO allies' most important response was the alliance's suspension of all practical and military cooperation in the NRC in protest at Russia's annexation of Crimea, second time they had done so since Russia's military actions in Georgia in 2008. In addition to statement on Russia's actions in Ukraine, NATO Foreign Ministers ordered military commanders to draw up plans for reinforcing NATO's defenses to reassure its members in Eastern Europe. Later, the NAC agreed "on a package of extra measures to reinforce the alliance's collective defense in the wake of the crisis in Ukraine."

Ukraine was drifting to deep crisis after pro-Russian protestors' seizure of government buildings in Donetsk, Luhansk and Kharkiv and call for a referendum on independence. As a response, after the NRC meeting on 2 June 2014, Rasmussen urged Russia to engage constructively and expressed NATO allies' readiness to improve the climate. More importantly, at the meeting, foreign ministers agreed to develop a 'Readiness Action Plan' "to respond to the changed security environment created by the escalating conflict in Ukraine." At the Wales Summit, it was expected that NATO allies would agree in Wales to new deployments on Russia's borders. At the Wales Summit, NATO leaders were expected to approve 'Readiness Action Plan' to respond to Russia's aggressive behavior, and to respond to all security challenges, wherever they may arise. In Wales, they were also to discuss whether global challenges call for an increase in the level of defense spent by NATO member states. From the beginning to the end, this

chapter discussed NATO's struggle to find a response to Russia's aggressive behavior. In Wales, NATO allies approved the Readiness Action Plan and "agreed to reverse the trend of declining defense budgets." More significantly, suspension of all practical cooperation under the NRC remained in place as the conditions for more cooperative and constructive relationship did not exist.



## **CHAPTER 9**

### **CONCLUSION**

The creation of the NRC at the Rome Summit in May 2002 opened a new chapter in Russia-NATO relations. In this sense, the main objective of this study was to examine the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after the creation of this mechanism in 2002. The existing literature has not yet provided a satisfactory explanation for understanding Russia-NATO relations. Most of them studied Russia-NATO relations focusing on the issues and the events while a few of them analyzed in terms of institutional relationship in the framework of the NRC. This PhD dissertation has sought to discuss the development of Russia's relations with NATO in details focusing specifically on cooperation under the NRC and its functioning.

This thesis evaluated Russia-NATO relations from liberal and realist perspectives. It argues realism is more explanatory than liberalism in explaining Russia's policy towards NATO. Realism, basing its "analysis of international politics on the role of power" and emphasizing "competition and conflict among states", offers a more complete understanding of Russia-NATO relations including the problem of cooperation within the NRC.

This study revealed that NATO's new mission was to construct a new security order in Europe on the basis of shared liberal democratic values and that it pursued this vision by developing a variety of political tools such as the NACC and the PfP. It has developed special arrangements with Russia and Ukraine. In the case of Russia, the signing of the Founding Act is good example in this regard. All these developments are in line with the liberal argument that "the spread of democracy is the key to world peace", claiming "that democratic states were more peaceful than authoritarian states." According to the liberal perspective, since 1991, the alliance has taken the shape of an institutional regime

whose policy shaped by liberal democratic principles and values. After September 11, had anticipated a gradual converge of interests between Russia and NATO.

This study chapter showed that liberalism is consistent with NATO enlargement, while it is difficult to explain why enlargement excluded Russia. Here, one may pose a question if NATO membership aimed to bolster democracy and promote economic policies, why not extend those aims to Russia or why not make membership contingent on Russian domestic reforms? Neoliberal institutionalism can account the creation of the NRC and cooperation under this institution. However, liberal account of international politics cannot explain suspension of the NRC after Russia's military actions in Georgia and its military intervention in Ukraine followed by its annexation of Crimea.

This thesis showed that realism is more consistent with the most important aspects of Russia-NATO relations including institutional cooperation under the NRC. Because CEE states perceive Russia as a potential threat, "balance of threat theory" can explain their bid for NATO membership. In the realist perspective, their efforts to become the member of NATO are viewed as an effort "to win an insurance policy against a Russian resurgence and to balance Moscow rather than all-out embracement of Western democratic values and practices." NATO had little reason to perceive Russia as a threat. In this sense, it seems because neorealist explanation relies on threat and because NATO had little reason to consider Russia as a threat, neorealism cannot explain why NATO expanded. However, in the realist perspective, preclusion was considered as the only conceivable reason for NATO enlargement. Russia's relative weakness in the second part of the 1990s and in the beginning of 2000s provided a unique opportunity to expand NATO eastwards. It was assumed that "if in the future Russia regained strength and returned to its traditional policy" toward the CEE states, "an enlarged NATO would be able to deny Russia's restoration of the former Soviet hegemonic sphere." Lastly, Russia's exclusion from NATO enlargement is consistent with neorealism. Because advisory relations provide the *raison d'être* for alliance and alignments and because Russia is viewed as the plausible enemy of NATO, enlargement should stop short of excluding Russia.

This study showed that the realists, focusing on relative power capabilities, emphasize Russia's perception of NATO as a military enterprise and argue that NATO's actions beyond its traditional area have greatly affected Russia-NATO relations. From the realist perspective, NATO enlargement is viewed as "an effort to extend Western influence well beyond the traditional area of U.S. vital interests – during a period of Russian weakness and was/is likely to provoke harsh response from Moscow."

In the realist view, not affecting relative power capabilities, the September 11 marked no paradigm shift in Russia-NATO relations. Their strategies have been influenced more by underlying factors and concerns. From the realist perspective, "even after 9/11 cooperation could only take on a limited basis, as a genuine engagement between NATO and Russia was deterred by conflicting strategic priorities."

This study demonstrated that the institutional relationship in the NRC to promote cooperation on common threats is consistent with neorealism. Neorealism can explain the creation of the NRC in terms of the threats such as nuclear proliferation and terrorism that could pose to the alliance and Russia. Russia's military action in Georgia and its military intervention in Ukraine are consistent with the realist "assumptions that the states in anarchy are preoccupied with power and security" and are prone to "conflict and competition." The thesis explored that the Russian foreign policy with respect to NATO has been reflecting the most of the assumptions of the classical realism.

This thesis explored that although liberalism offers significant explanations on several issues related to Russia-NATO relations including the creation of the NRC, it has difficulty in explaining the most important aspects of this relationship. It is necessary to use realist approach rather than liberal approach. Realism, basing its analysis of international politics on the role of power and emphasizing conflict and competition among states, helped us understand the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO after 2002.

This study argues that although the NRC presents an example of international cooperation through institutions, it has been functioning in accordance with power politics or concerns of Russia. After Russian military action in Georgia and its military

intervention in Ukraine followed by Crimea's annexation, the activities of the NRC were suspended. Russia also threatened to deploy ballistic missiles on the territory of Russian exclave of Kaliningrad as a response to the US missile shield plans in Central Europe. These actions showed that despite its cooperation with NATO in the NRC, Russia is ready to undertake actions deemed necessary to protect its interests. Russia's actions are consistent with the realist "assumptions that the states in anarchy are preoccupied with power and security" and are prone to conflict and competition and international anarchy "inhibits their willingness to cooperate even when they share common interests."

This study illustrated that the cooperation between Russia and NATO in the NRC has been crucially circumscribed. We have not witnessed a spillover effect between low and high politics. Although the NRC had been a forum where many practical activities initiated and developed, this did not result in a broader strategic or political rapprochement between Russia and NATO allies. As a result, despite the NRC's achievements, the relationship between Russia and NATO still remains constantly prone to disruption as a result of long-term disputes or disagreements unresolved. In this respect, the thesis illustrated that the developments around the NRC are in line with the general realist view that international cooperation is possible under anarchy, but it is harder to achieve, more difficult to maintain and more dependent on state power. In short, the developments around the NRC are consistent with realism's "pessimistic analysis of the prospects for international cooperation and of the capabilities of international institutions."

After developing the theoretical framework and discussing Russia-NATO relations between 1991 and 2002, the study has moved on to discuss the founding of the NRC and cooperation areas under this forum respectively. Then, it examined the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO between 2002 and 2013 focusing on the major issues and events that have greatly affected Russia-NATO relations within this period. The last chapter of the thesis discussed the most recent Ukraine crisis after which the relations between Russia and NATO reached the lowest point second time after the Georgia crisis in the last fifteen years.

Throughout the thesis, there can be made several conclusions and findings. The thesis searched for Russia-NATO relations between 1991 and 2002 and concluded that the phases between these periods have been bumpy characterizing as ‘fragile honeymoon’ between 1991 and 1993 and a noticeable deterioration between 1994 and 1995. NATO and Russia’s efforts to construct a new ‘special relationship’ ended with the signing of the Founding Act and the establishment of the PJC in 1997. However, these contacts were interrupted during the Kosovo crisis of 1998-99. It can be argued the Act was a good basis as long as it was strategically and politically beneficial for Russia and NATO. However, Kosovo crisis proved the vulnerability of these political arrangements when major disagreements occur between two parties.

After the Kosovo crisis in 1999, two major reasons contributed to the improvement of Russia-NATO relations: Putin’s strategic realignment with the West and the events of 11 September 2001. All these points illustrated the complexities of Russia-NATO relations and helped us to understand the underlying themes that had marked relations during the first decade in the post-Cold War era. In this sense, it was interesting for many people whether the relations between Russia and NATO after the creation of the NRC in 2002 would repeat in the same manner as in the case of the first decade.

Having examined Russia-NATO relations in the first decade, the study examined the creation of the NRC in 2002 and highlighted the NRC-based cooperation and clarified its evolving status. The agreement on the creation of the NRC was a milestone in Russia-NATO relations. It was created as a measure to move beyond the frustrations of the PJC. NATO Secretary General evaluated its creation as marking the final demise of the Cold War. The NRC was created to upgrade Russia’s status giving Moscow an equal voice on decisions on common interest. In this sense, it pleased Moscow since it requires joint decision-making through consensus, assisted by Preparatory Committee.

Here, the question was whether the NRC would face the same destiny as the PJC faced during the Kosovo crisis. After its creation, there came out optimistic views on the future of the NRC. However, there also came out pessimistic views which were suspicious about the prospects of the new mechanism. One of the pessimistic views was

that the issues such as antiterrorism and nonproliferation of the WMD are not the main problems of European security that Russia will be given the possibility to make decision. Important problems will be discussed at another table without Russia's participation. Another pessimistic view was that Russia wants "to participate in decisions when there is some problem, some controversial issues, something like Yugoslavia. It is not a problem to reach an agreement when you have the same points of view. The problem is to reach an agreement and to come to a consensus when you have different views on the same problems."

In order to highlight the NRC-based cooperation and to clarify its evolving status, the study discussed its activities and practical cooperation. It seems Russia and NATO actively cooperated on all areas of mutual interest. In this sense, cooperation in the area of struggle against terrorism should be mentioned to understand their desire to cooperate. Cooperation in this area has been carried out through Ad-Hoc Working group, high-level conferences, joint exercises, CAI and STANDEX. Russia and NATO member states agreed to draw up an action plan on terrorism at the NRC meeting in Istanbul which marked a milestone in the development of the cooperation against terrorism. More significantly, because they share common objectives in stabilizing Afghanistan, they actively cooperated through transit agreement concluded in 2008, the NRC Project for Counter-Narcotic Training launched in 2005, and through the NRC Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund established in 2010. Even, Russia did not cancel all ties with NATO after the Georgia crisis and continued to provide assistance in Afghanistan.

Since early months of his presidency, Putin's primary ambition had been to restore his country's greatness and its leading role in international affairs. But, he knew that his country's economy and the well-being of population were more important than Russia's 'greatness syndrome'. In this sense, his foreign policy purpose was "to secure favorable conditions for Russia's internal development, concentrating on reducing tensions and improving relations with the outside world." His priority of his foreign policy in the first years of his presidency was the West. Russia was bound to have partnership with the West to rebuild its economy and this understanding made Russia's drifting towards the

US and Europe inevitable, to a certain extent. Putin's strategy to achieve this objective was different than that of Primakov considerably. Contrary to Primakov's policy of balancing against the West, he explicitly sided with the West and insisted that Russia was a country of European and Western identity. The main tactic was to mention any completion with the West.

It seems the September 11 had provided an entirely new opportunity for NATO-Russia relations. The harsh distrust was being replaced with cooperation and major changes were expected to happen on both sides. After the tragic events, Russia and NATO entered into a process which led the creation of the NRC in 2002. However, it should be noted that short after Putin became the president the PJC resumed its work in May 2000 and NATO opened an information office in Moscow. Here, it can be argued that although the terrorist attacks to the US and Russia's support to the US campaign against terrorism had given Russia-NATO relations added impetus, the roots of a better relationship was already on the way before 11 September. Thesis argues that the new spirit after the September 11 lent impetus to changes that were already in motion. The September 11 was an accelerator, not a turning point.

Based on the illustrations above, this study demonstrated that the changes in Russia's policy towards NATO, or in general towards the West after Putin came to power in 2000 and the September 11, were pragmatic rather than revolutionary. Putin's security policy had been pragmatic supporting Russia's cooperation with major Western states and institutions to advance Russian interests. In this respect, it can be argued that Russia's cooperation with NATO is to reflect Russia's common interests in the Western security arrangements.

The NRC survived the first tests of NATO enlargement set in motion at the NATO Prague Summit in 2002 and Iraq crisis of 2002 and 2003. At the Prague Summit in 2002, NATO allies agreed to proceed with a 'big bang' enlargement by inviting seven aspirant countries to join the organization. Three Baltic States were among them that became the first former Soviet republics to sign up to NATO membership. As NATO was going to invite, Russian policymakers felt betrayed by the West and blamed Putin for conceding

far too much. Indeed, Putin also continued Yeltsin's 'red line' policy that Russia would only accept another round of enlargement if the alliance transformed itself to a political organization. However, as the new developments arose in the post-September 11, Russian attitude toward enlargement had become more relaxed. Although it cannot be said Russia supported NATO enlargement, the change in its attitude made it unlikely that 'big bang' enlargement would cause a major conflict between Russia and NATO.

This study revealed that Russians were constructive and engaged during the Iraq crisis of 2002 and 2003. Russia voted in favor to adopt UN Security Council Resolution which gave Iraq a final opportunity comply with its disarmament obligations. Russian leaders indicated that use of force might be unavoidable if Iraq fails to comply with the resolution. This was against Russia's stance during the Kosovo crisis in 1999 when it did not share the NATO members' view on the possible use of force to end the conflict. Eventually, the US started bombardment despite Russia and France's opposition to the use of force. For NATO Secretary General Robertson, "the existence of the NRC had prevented differences over Iraq from becoming a crisis... we are not capable of disagreeing without falling out, of having different opinions without walking out the room..." It should be noted that the Iraq crisis was not discussed at the NRC simply because NATO member states were fundamentally divided. However, in the first two years of its existence, the NRC proved to be working actively when both Russian and NATO leadership continuously lauding the progress made under the NRC.

The thesis explored that after Putin came to power in 2004 for the second term, Russia's relationship with the West, and consequently with NATO was undergoing a number of dramatic transitions. During his second presidential term and over the course of the NRC's life from 2004 and 2008, several major issues had hung over Russia-NATO relations, increasing the gap between Russia and NATO. Among them were the impasse over the CFE Treaty and the US missile defense plans in Europe. Here, it should be noted that the failure to overcome the impasse over the CFE Treaty can be seen as a failure by the NRC to function as an effective consultative forum on an issue of major contention. Although the issue was consulted at the NRC, this did not result in significant ameliorative effect. Consultations in the NRC also did not produce an



agreement on missile defense and the issue became an open antagonism in November 2008. Despite major contentious issues, the NRC meeting was held in Bucharest at the level of Heads of State and Government in Bucharest. Putin attended the first NRC meeting in 2008 since its creation in 2002.

This study demonstrated that the phases of NATO-Russia relations between 2008 and 2014 have been bumpy which is similar to the period between 1991 and 2002. At the Bucharest Summit, NATO leaders sent diplomatic signals for a fresh renewal of NATO-Russia cooperation. The NRC leaders enunciated that the NRC “had proven to be a key instrument for political dialogue, consensus-building, cooperation and joint decision-making” and “reaffirmed their determination to continue to work in this constructive spirit in the future.” The main Russian initiative linked with the summit was its offer of land transit support for the ISAF in Afghanistan. Although many expected that Putin would reiterate his strong anti-West stance, there was not ‘second Munich’ in Bucharest.

The relations between Russia and NATO reached the lowest point in a decade after the Georgia crisis in 2008. Russia’s military intervention in Georgia as a response to Georgia’s launch of an aerial bombardment and a ground attack on South Ossetia caused major crisis in Russia-NATO relations. The NRC was shaken by the incursion of Russian troops into Georgian territory. NATO foreign ministers decided that they cannot continue as though nothing happened and suspended the NRC meetings and cooperation in some areas until Russia had satisfied in full the six-point agreement. In addition, the alliance reacted by establishing the NGC. Here, Russia’s military intervention can be seen at least partly as a dramatic warning to NATO members opening the way to Georgian membership to the alliance. Military intervention occurred after NATO allies decided at Bucharest to review Georgia’s MAP application in December 2008. Nevertheless, Russia’s military intervention in Georgia sent a clear message to the alliance; although Russia cooperates with NATO, it is able/ready to undertake actions deemed necessary to protect its interests.

The relations between Russia and NATO had improved slowly since early 2009. As a result, the first informal NRC meeting in June 2009 marked the beginning of the return

to high-level political consultations suspended after Russia's military actions in Georgia. However, this study showed that this was the reflection (result) of the US's 'reset' policy with Russia. In February 2009, the Obama administration announced 'reset' policy with Russia and it brought a significant improvement in NATO-Russia relations. This means "the character of the NATO-Russia relationship was basically dependent on US-Russia relations."

This thesis showed that in Lisbon NATO allies' seeking for a fresh start in relations with Russia and Moscow responded positively to their move. Dmitry Medvedev attended the NRC meeting in Lisbon, making it for the first time the highest level meeting between NATO and Russia since the Georgia crisis. However, it can be argued that in addition to reaching agreement on certain areas of cooperation, Medvedev wanted to carry out a comprehensive modernization of his country and this was reflected in his pragmatic approach to NATO. Putin did not participate in NATO Summit that took place in Chicago in 2012 and this fact can be considered as a significant feature of Russia's relationship with the alliance. The study explored that the main reason for Putin's absence would be Russia's and NATO's failure to make significant process on missile defense.

The most prolonged and deadly crisis in Ukraine began as a protest against the government decision to cancel plans to seek an association agreement with the EU and continued with the ouster of Viktor Yanukovich which resulted in Russian military intervention in Crimea and its incorporation into Russia. Russia's actions in a very short time have led to a Europe's plunge into one of its gravest crisis in the post-Cold War. These events have since spurred escalating tensions between Russia and the West and thus between Russia and NATO.

The study showed that Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea has thrown its relationship with NATO into crisis. NATO allies' most important response to Russia's annexation of Crimea was the suspension of all practical cooperation under NRC, second time they had done so since Russia's military actions in Georgia. Ministers also ordered military commanders to draw up plans for reinforcing NATO's defenses to reassure its members

in Eastern Europe. To this end, the NAC agreed on a package of defensive measures, to reinforce the NATO's collective defense in the wake of the crisis in Ukraine. The new developments in the eastern and the southern part of the Ukraine showed that Ukraine was drifting to deep crisis that might be big obstacle to restore Russia-NATO relations for a long time.

At Wales, the first priority of NATO allies was to respond to Russian aggression in Ukraine. They approved the 'NATO Readiness Action Plan' to respond to the Russian challenges and their strategic implications. It included assurance measures and the adaptation measures. NATO allies also "agreed to reverse the trend of declining defense budgets." More significantly, according to the declaration, their previous "decision to suspend all practical cooperation" under the NRC remained in place as the conditions for more cooperative and constructive relationship with Russia did not exist.

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## APPENDICES

### A. TURKISH SUMMARY NATO-RUSYA KONSEYİ VE RUSYA'NIN NATO'YA YÖNELİK POLİTİKASINDAKİ DEĞİŞİMLER

NATO-Rusya Konseyi'nin (NRK) 2002 yılının Mayıs ayında Roma Zirvesi'nde kurulması Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinde yeni bir sayfa açtı. Bu adım Daimi Ortak Konseyi'nde (DOK) yaşanan hayal kırıklıklarını gidermek için düşünülmüştü. NRK'nin kurulması NATO Genel Sekreteri tarafından 'tarihi' olarak nitelendirildi ve genel anlamda Soğuk Savaş'ın tamamen ortadan kaldırılması olarak gösteriliyordu. Böylece, Rusya ilk kez terörizmle mücadele, nükleer silahsızlanma ve kriz yönetimi gibi önemli konulardaki tartışmalarda ittifakın eşit ortağı olacaktı. Bu mekanizma uzlaşma yoluyla ortak karar verme ve üst düzey hazırlık komitesi tarafından desteklendiği için Rusya'yı memnun ediyordu. Moskova'nın rolü eski düzenlemelerde tamamen istişare düzeyiyle sınırlıyken Roma anlaşması bu konuda ileriye atılmış önemli bir adımdı. NRK'nin kurulması Rusya-NATO ilişkileri açısından önemli bir gelişmeydi ve Rusya'nın Batı'nın amansız bir düşmanı olmaktan ortağı olması yolunda önemli bir işaretti.

#### **Tezin Kapsamı**

Bu tez Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini NRK işbirliği bağlamında incelemektedir. Tez NRK'nin 2002'de kurulması ve kurulmasının arkasındaki sebepleri tartışmaktadır. Ayrıca, belirlenen işbirliği alanlarındaki çalışmalara odaklanarak başarılarını değerlendirmekte ve bunların Rusya-NATO ilişkilerindeki rolünü tartışmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın ana amacı NRK'nin 2002'de oluşturulmasından sonra Rusya'nın NATO'ya yönelik politikalarındaki değişimleri incelemektir. Bu amaçla tez 2002 ve 2014 yılları arasında Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini büyük ölçüde etkilemiş olan önemli sorunları ve olayları

tartışmaktadır. Tezin son kısmı ise Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin Gürcistan krizi sonrası son on beş yıl içinde ikinci kez en kötü noktada olmasına neden olan Ukrayna krizini incelemektedir.

### **Tezin Ana Argümanı**

Bu çalışmanın amacı 2002’de NATO-Rusya Konseyi (NRK) kurulduktan sonra Rusya’nın NATO’ya yönelik politikalarındaki değişimleri incelemektir. Bu çalışma NRK’nin kurumlar aracılığıyla uluslararası işbirliğinin sağlanmasının bir örneği olduğunu savunan liberal görüşe karşı olarak Konsey’in Rusya’nın güç siyaseti veya kaygıları doğrultusunda ve NATO’nun güvenlik önceliklerine göre işlevini yerine getirdiğini savunmaktadır. Rusya’nın Gürcistan’daki askeri harekâtı ve Ukrayna’daki askeri müdahalesini takip eden Kırım’ı ilhakı, Konsey kapsamındaki faaliyetlerin askıya alınmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır. NRK kapsamında birçok pratik faaliyet başlatılmış ve geliştirilmiş olmasına rağmen bu durum Rusya ve NATO arasında daha kapsamlı bir stratejik veya siyasi yakınlaşmanın oluşmasına yol açmamıştır. Dolayısıyla, hem NRK hem de Rusya’nın NATO ile olan ilişkileri siyasal realist uluslararası ilişkiler yaklaşımı ile açıklanabilir.

### **Kavramsal Çerçeve ve Yöntem**

Bu çalışma Rusya’nın NATO’ya yönelik politikasını ve genel olarak Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini anlamak için Uluslararası İlişkiler kavramsal çerçevelerinden Liberalizm/Liberal Kurumsalcılık ile Realizmi ele almıştır. Tez Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini kurumsal ilişki ve işbirliği, 11 Eylül olayları, NATO genişlemesi, füze kalkını krizi, Rusya’nın Gürcistan’daki askeri eylemleri ve Ukrayna krizine odaklanarak bu teorik perspektiflerin potansiyellerini araştırmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu çalışma Rus liberal ve realist teorisyenlerin uluslararası politikayı nasıl gördüklerini ve bu açıdan Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini nasıl yorumladıklarını tartışmaktadır.

Bu tez 2002’de NRK kurulduktan sonra Rusya’nın NATO’ya yönelik politikalarındaki deęişimlerini incelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, tez Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini belirleyici konular ve olaylar ile ayrılmış ardışık evrelere odaklanarak tartışmaktadır. Bu yöntem Rusya’nın NATO’ya karşı politikalarını 2002 ve 2014 yılları arasındaki her evrenin kendi tarihsel özgünlüğü içinde inceleyen kronolojik bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır. Sadece belirli bir evreyi seçmeden NRK’nin kurulmasından sonraki dönemde Rusya’nın NATO’ya karşı politikalarının tüm tarihi gelişimine odaklanılmaktadır. Bu bize hem Rusya-NATO ilişkilerindeki deęişim ve süreklilięi hem de Rusya’nın NATO’ya karşı politika deęişikliklerini anlamamızda yardımcı olur. Bu şekilde konuyu kuramsal bir perspektifinden anlamak daha kolaydır. Bu çalışma hem Rusya ve Batı hem de Rusya ve NATO arasında gerginliklere neden olan 2014’de Ukrayna’da gerçekleşen son olayları çok önemli bulmaktadır. Bu olaylar çalışmanın teorik açıdan argümanının netleştirilmesine yardımcı olmaktadır.

Bu araştırmanın başarılı bir şekilde yapılması için farklı bir yaklaşım kullanılmıştır. Ruslara ait yaklaşımlar da tezin ana amacına ulaşması için çalışma boyunca kullanılmıştır. Gerçek şu ki Rusların yaklaşımları hem Rusya’nın NATO’yla olan ilişkilerinde hem de işbirliği konusunda ihmal edilmekte ve yanlış anlaşılmaktadır. Bunun temel nedenleri ise Rusya’daki yaklaşımlar üzerine Batı’daki mevcut çalışmaların eksikliği ve Rus uzmanlara ulaşma zorluğudur.

Bu tezde birincil ve ikincil kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. NRK ile ilgili resmi belgeler, açıklamalar, beyanlar ve konuşma metinleri NRK ve NATO’nun resmi web sitelerinden alınmıştır. ‘NATO Review’ makalelerine de Rusya-NATO ilişkileriyle ilgili en önemli güvenlik konularını incelemek için bakılmıştır. Tez aynı zamanda çalıştay ve konferanslarda NATO yetkilileri, siyasi analistler ve akademisyenler ile yapılan görüşmelerden elde edilen bilgi ve görüşleri de kullanmaktadır. Birincil kaynaklar arasındaki Rusya Federasyonu Askeri Doktrini, Ulusal Güvenlik Kavramı ve Dış Politika Kavramı gibi resmi belgeler Rusya’nın NATO genişlemesi ve füze savunması hakkındaki görüşlerini tartışırken yaygın olarak kullanılmıştır. Kullanılan diğer bir yöntem ise kitap, akademik dergi ve gazete arşivleri dâhil olma üzere kütüphane kaynaklarının analizi yoluyla veri toplanmasıdır. Çalışma ayrıca kütüphane ve internet

kaynaklarından elde edilmiş Rusça yayınlara da dayanmaktadır. Buna ek olarak çevrimiçi dergi ve kitap, gazete, devlet kurumları ve bakanlıklar ile araştırma merkezlerinin web siteleri kullanılmıştır. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Rusya Çalışmaları Merkezi, İfri Rusya/YBD Merkezi, Stratejik ve Uluslararası Çalışmalar Merkezi ve Güvenlik Çalışmaları Merkezi tarafından hazırlanan yayınlar ve raporlar Rusya-NATO ilişkileri hakkında veri elde etmek için önemli kaynaklar olmuşturlardır.

### **Bölümlerin Özeti ve Bulgular**

Tez dokuz bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünden sonra, ikinci bölüm Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini teorik açıdan açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu bölüm 2002’de NRK kurulduktan sonra Rusya’nın NATO’ya yönelik politika değişimlerini Liberal/Liberal Kurumsalcı ve Realist bakış açılarıyla tartışmaktadır. Liberal ve realist kuramların temel varsayımlarını tartışılmakta ve Rusya-NATO ilişkileri bu kuramlarla açıklanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Ayrıca, Rus liberal ve realist teorisyenlerin uluslararası politika ve Rusya-NATO ilişkilerine bakış açıları incelenmektedir.

Üçüncü bölüm 1991 ve 2002 yılları arasında Rusya’nın NATO ile ilişkilerin gelişimini incelemektedir. Soğuk Savaş sonrası Rusya’nın NATO ile olan ilişkileri yeni bir döneme girmiştir. Bu bölümde 1991’de KAİK ve 1994’de de BİO Programı çerçevesinde başlatılmış resmi ilişkiler incelemektedir. Bununla beraber 1997 yılında Kurucu Yasa’nın imzalanmasıyla Moskova ve Brüksel arasındaki iletişim ve işbirliğini üstlenen DOK kurulmuş ve bundan sonra ortaya koyulan kurumsal ilişkiler tartışılmaktadır. Sonrasında, 1999’da ortaya çıkan ve Rusya-NATO kurumsal ilişkilerini büyük ölçüde etkileyen Kosova krizi irdelenmektedir. Ardından Putin’in Rusya Federasyonu başkanı olduktan sonra Batı’ya yönelik dış politikası ve bu politikanın Rusya’nın ittifakla ilişkilerine yansımaları incelenmektedir. Bu bölümün son kısmı eski Soğuk Savaş düşmanları Rusya ve NATO’yu birbirlerine yaklaştıran 11 Eylül olaylarının Rusya-NATO ilişkilerine etkisini tartışmaktadır.



11 Eylül sonrası Rusya-NATO ilişkileri yeni bir anlam kazanmış ve NRK kurulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, dördüncü bölüm NRK kuruluş sürecini incelemektedir. Bu bölüm Rusya'nın NATO'yla ilişkilerini geliştirme isteği ve buna NATO'nun tepkisini tartışmayla başlamaktadır. Burada Putin'in başkan seçilmesi, 11 Eylül sonrası Rusya-NATO yakınlaşması, Rusya'nın Putin yönetimi altında neden sürekli Rusya ve İttifak arasında yeni bir kurumsal ilişki kurulması fikrini teşvik ettiği kısaca irdelenmektedir. Ardından Blair'in ortak konsey kurma önerisi ve sonrasındaki yoğun pazarlık süreci tartışılmaktadır. NRK Rusya'nın mevcut statüsünü yükseltmek için kurulmuştur. Bundan dolayı bu bölüm NRK'nin kuruluş nedenlerini, Rusya'nın statüsünün yükseltilmesini ve Rusya'nın kazanımlarını ortaya koymaktadır. Sonrasında yeni konseyin işleyişi, yapısı incelenmekte ve DOK'la olan benzerlik ve farklılıkları ortaya koyulmaktadır. Son kısım ise NRK hakkındaki farklı görüş ve eleştirilere yer vermektedir.

Roma Deklarasyonu'nda Rusya ve NATO'nun yapacakları muhtemel işbirliği alanları belirtilmiştir. Bunlar terörizme karşı mücadele, kriz yönetimi, nükleer silahların yayılmasını önleme, silah kontrolü ve güven inşa etme önlemleri, harekât alanı füze savunması, denizde arama ve kurtarma, askeri işbirliği, sivil acil durumlar ve yeni tehdit ve zorluklar üzerine işbirliğidir. 2002'den bu yana, NRK yeni gündem geliştirme konusunda temel mekanizma olmuştur ve ortak ilgi alanlarında bir dizi pratik işbirliği projeleri geliştirmiştir. Bu anlamda, beşinci bölüm NRK kapsamında Rusya ve NATO arasındaki işbirliği düzeyini değerlendirmek için bu alanlardaki başarılarını analiz etmektedir. Buna paralel olarak, bu bölümde ayrıca NRK işbirliğinin Rusya-NATO ilişkilerindeki rolü tartışılmaktadır. Bölüm Rusya ve İttifak tarafından kapsayıcı bir görev üstlenilmesi gerektiği düşünülen ve farklı düzeylerde kapsamlı tepkiler gerektiren teröre karşı mücadele alanının analizi ile başlamaktadır. Tez bu alanda NRK faaliyetlerini tartışırken Terör Eylem Planı ve Afganistan üzerine kurumsal işbirliğini ön plana çıkarmış ve detaylı incelemiştir. Sonraki kısımlar ise diğer alanlardaki işbirliği ile devam etmektedir.

Altıncı ve yedinci bölümler tezin ana hedefi olan NRK kurulduktan sonraki süreçte Rusya'nın NATO'ya yönelik politikalarındaki değişimleri incelemektedirler. Bu

bağlamda, altıncı bölüm 2002 ve 2008 yılları arasındaki Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini değerlendirmektedir. Bölüm öncelikle Putin'in 2000'de iktidara gelmesinden sonra Rusya'nın NATO'ya yönelik politika değişimlerini irdelemektedir. Sonrasında 2002 NATO Prag zirvesinde gündeme alınan genişleme ve Irak krizi konuları üzerine NRK'nin verdiği ilk sınav ve bu konulara Rusya'nın tepkisi tartışılmaktadır. Aynı zamanda 2002 ve 2004 arasındaki NRK'nin başarıları incelenmiştir. Sonraki kısım 2004 ve 2008 yılları arasında Putin'in ikinci başkanlık döneminde Rusya'nın NATO'ya yönelik politikalarını analiz etmektedir. Burada Rusya ve İttifak arasındaki görüş ayrılıklarını arttıran Avrupa Konvansiyonel Kuvvetler Antlaşması üzerindeki anlaşmazlık ve ABD'nin füze savunma planlarına odaklanılmıştır. Son olarak bu bölüm 2004 ve 2008 arasındaki NRK'nin başarılarını incelemektedir.

Yedinci bölüm 2008-2014 yılları arasındaki Rusya-NATO ilişkilerini analiz etmektedir. Bölüm Rusya'nın NATO ile ilişkileri açısından NATO Bükreş Zirve'sinin tartışılması ile başlamaktadır. Daha da önemlisi, bu bölüm Putin'in 2002'den sonra ilk defa katıldığı NRK toplantı çalışmalarını incelemektedir. Ardından Gürcistan krizi ve krizin Rusya-NATO ilişkilerine etkisi tartışılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda NATO'nun Rusya'nın eylemlerine tepkisi ve NRK faaliyetlerinin askıya alınması incelenmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu eylemlerden dolayı İttifakın yeni üyelerinin endişeleri ve krizin genişlemeyle ilişkisi tartışılmaktadır. Bölümün sonraki kısmı ABD'nin Rusya'ya yönelik 'sıfırdan başlama' politikası ve bu politikanın Rusya-NATO ilişkilerine etkisine değindikten sonra Lizbon Deklarasyonu, Yeni Stratejik kavram ve NRK ortak açıklamasına odaklanarak Lizbon Zirve'sini İttifakın Rusya ile gelecekteki ilişkileri açısından tartışmaktadır. Bu bölümün son kısmı ise Şikago Zirve'sinde alınan kararları ve füze savunması konusuna ek olarak NATO'nun Rusya ile ilişkileriyle ilgili konuları incelemektedir.

Son bölüm Ukrayna krizi ve krizin Rusya-NATO ilişkileri üzerindeki etkisini tartışmaktadır. Bölüm krizin nedeni ve sonrasında krizin uluslararası boyut kazanmasına neden olan olayların irdelenmesi ile başlamaktadır. Sonrasında Rusya'nın Kırım'ı ilhaki tartışılmaktadır. Burada Rusya'ya katılma ya da Ukrayna içinde özerk bir cumhuriyet olarak kalma kararını belirleyecek Kırım referandumuna odaklanılmıştır. Aynı zamanda

Kırım parlamentosunun kararıyla kabul edilen Kırım'ın bağımsızlık ilanının referandumla bağlantısı incelenmektedir. Sonraki kısım Rusya'nın Ukrayna'ya yönelik saldırgan tavrına NATO'nun tepkisini tartışmaktadır. Burada Rusya'nın Kırım'ı kendi topraklarına katmasını protesto ederek NATO'nun Rusya ile olan tüm mevcut işbirliğini askıya alma kararı irdelenmektedir. Bu kısım aynı zamanda NATO Dışişleri Bakanları tarafından Rusya'nın saldırganlığı, Ukrayna ve Doğu Avrupa ile ilgili bazı tedbirlerin uygulanması konuları üzerine yayınlanan açıklamayı incelemektedir. Sonrasında Ukrayna'nın doğusu ve güneyinde yeni gelişen ve aynı zamanda ülkeyi derin bir krize sürükleyen olaylar tartışılmaktadır. Bölümün son kısmı NATO müttefiklerinin NATO sınırındaki değişiklikler ve Rusya'nın neden olduğu sorunlara karşı bazı önlemlerin alındığı Galler'deki NATO zirvesini analiz etmektedir.

Bu çalışma önemli sonuç ve bulguları ortaya çıkarmıştır. Çalışma Rusya'nın NATO'ya yönelik politikasını incelerken realizmin liberalizme göre daha açıklayıcı olduğunu savunmaktadır. Liberalizm NRK'nin kurulması dâhil Rusya-NATO ilişkileri ile ilgili çeşitli konularda önemli açıklamalar sunabilmesine rağmen, bu ilişkilerin en önemli yönlerini açıklayamamaktadır. Realizm, uluslararası politika analizlerinde devletler arasında gücün rolünü, çatışma ve rekabetin önemini vurgulayarak, NRK'deki işbirliği sorunu dâhil olmak üzere Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin bütününe açıklayabilmektedir.

Konsey ortak çıkarların olduğu alanlarda Brüksel ve Moskova arasındaki işbirliğini teşvik için kuruldu. NRK'nin kurulması liberal yaklaşımın aktörler hedeflerine çatışma ya da saldırganlıktan ziyade işbirliği yoluyla ulaşırlar varsayımına uygundur. Neoliberal kurumsalcılar kurumsal işbirliğiyle elde edilen ulusal çıkar ve karşılıklı kazanımları vurgulamaktadırlar. Onlara göre bazı kurumsallaşmış güvenlik düzenlemeleri devletlerin birbirlerinin amaçlarını iyi anlamalarına yardımcı olurlar. Konsey 2002'de kurulduğundan bu yana ortak çıkarların olduğu alanlarda birçok pratik işbirliği projeleri geliştirmiştir. Bu liberal yaklaşımın kurumların bencil devlet davranışlarının aşılması için devletleri acil kazanımlarından kalıcı işbirliğinin büyük faydaları için vazgeçmelerini teşvik ettiği varsayımı ile tutarlıdır. Bu aynı zamanda ortak çıkarları olan devletlerin birlikte çalışma istekleri üzerindeki anarşinin engelleyici etkilerini kurumların azaltabildiği yönündeki Neoliberal Kurumsalcı varsayım ile uyumludur.

NRK Brüksel ve Moskova arasındaki bilgi alışverişini kolaylaştırmış, istişare ve işbirliğini teşvik etmiş ve genel olarak ortak tatbikatlar ve projeler ile ilgili işlem maliyetlerini azaltmıştır. Konsey'in bütün bu işleyişi Neoliberal Kurumsalcılığın varsayımları ile büyük ölçüde uyumludur. Neoliberal Kurumsalcılığa göre, kurumlar devletlere bilgi sağlayarak politika oluşturur, istişare yapılması konusunda yardımcı olur, anlaşmaların pazarlık ve uygulaması ile ilgili işlem maliyetlerini azaltırlar. Ancak, bu çalışma liberal yaklaşımın Rusya'nın Gürcistan'daki askeri eylemleri ve aynı zamanda Rusya'nın Kırım'ı ilhakı ile sonuçlanan Ukrayna'daki askeri müdahaleden sonra Konsey'in çalışmalarının askıya alınmasını açıklayamadığını ortaya koymuştur.

Bu çalışma NRK kapsamındaki kurumsal ilişkinin ortak tehditler üzerine işbirliğini teşvik etmesinin neorealizm ile uyumlu olduğunu göstermiştir. Neorealizm Konsey'in kurulmasını NATO ve Rusya'ya yönelik nükleer yaygınlaşma ve terör gibi tehditler açısından açıklayabilmektedir. Rusya'nın Gürcistan'daki askeri harekâtı ve Ukrayna'ya askeri müdahalesi realizmin devletlerin anarşi içinde güç ve güvenlik ile meşgul oldukları ve çatışma ve rekabete eğilimli oldukları varsayımları ile tutarlıdır. Bu tez Rus dış politikasının NATO ile ilişkiler açısından klasik realizmin varsayımlarının çoğunu yansıttığını ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Rusya uluslararası siyasette güç siyasetinin önemini göstermiştir. Klasik realizme göre uluslararası ilişkilerin doğası çatışmalı ve dünya siyaseti güç siyaseti olarak kabul edilmektedir. Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesiyle birlikte genel olarak dünya meselelerindeki etkisini kaybetmesine rağmen, Moskova Rusya'nın 'meşru çıkarlarına' saygı duyulması ve kendisiyle özel şartlarla ilişki kurulması gerektiği beklentisiyle NATO üyelerine Rusya'nın her zaman dünya siyasetinde doğru yere koyulması gerektiğini dile getirmiştir. Buna Kurucu Yasa ve NRK'nin oluşturulmasını örnek olarak verebiliriz. Aynı zamanda Moskova herhangi bir ülkenin özellikle de ABD'nin kendi 'yakın çevresine' müdahale girişiminde bulunmasına karşıdır ve Gürcistan'a yaptığı askeri harekâtın uluslararası sonuçlarına bakmaksızın oradaki etkisini devam ettirmeye kararlı olduğunu göstermiştir.

Bu çalışma NRK'nin kurumlar aracılığıyla uluslararası işbirliğinin sağlanmasının bir örneği olarak gösterilmesine rağmen Konseyin Rusya'nın güç siyaseti veya kaygıları doğrultusunda işlevini yerine getiremediğini savunmaktadır. Rusya'nın Gürcistan'daki askeri harekâtı ve Ukrayna'daki askeri müdahalesini takip eden Kırım'ı ilhakı sonucu Konsey kapsamındaki faaliyetler askıya alınmıştır. Rusya ABD'nin Orta Avrupa'daki füze kalkanı planlarına tepki olarak kendisine bağlı olan Kaliningrad bölgesine balistik füzeler yerleştirmekle tehdit etmişti. Bu da gösteriyor ki Moskova NRK kapsamında NATO ile işbirliği yapmasına rağmen kendi çıkarlarını korumak için gerekli gördüğü önlemleri almaya hazırdır. Rusya'nın eylemleri realizmin devletlerin anarşi içinde güç ve güvenlik ile meşgul oldukları, çatışma ve rekabete eğilimli oldukları ve uluslararası anarşinin ortak çıkarların olduğu durumlarda bile devletlerin işbirliği yapma arzusunu engelleyeceği varsayımları ile tutarlıdır.

Bu çalışma Konsey kapsamında Rusya ve NATO arasındaki işbirliğinin önemli derecede sınırlı olduğunu örnekleriyle göstermiştir. Biz alt siyasi konulardan en üst seviye siyasi konular arasında yayılmaya tanık olmadık. NRK kapsamında birçok pratik faaliyet başlatılmış ve geliştirilmiş olmasına rağmen bu durum Rusya ve NATO arasında kapsamlı bir stratejik ve siyasi yakınlaşmaya yol açmamıştır. Sonuç olarak, Konsey'in başarılarına rağmen, Rusya ve NATO arasındaki ilişkilerin uzun zamandır süre gelen uyuşmazlıklar veya çözülmemiş anlaşmazlıklar sonucu bozulmaya eğilimli olduğu söylenebilir. Bu bağlamda, bu tezde değinilen NRK ile ilgili gelişmeler anarşi içinde uluslararası işbirliğinin mümkün, ancak ulaşılmamasının zor, devam ettirilmesininse çok daha zor olduğu ve devlet gücüne daha da bağımlı olduğunu varsayan genel realist görüş ile uyumludur. Kısacası, NRK çevresindeki gelişmeler realizmin uluslararası işbirliği ihtimali ve uluslararası kurumların yapabildikleri üzerine karamsar analizi ile uyumludur.

Tezde 1991 ve 2002 yılları arasında Rusya'nın NATO ile olan ilişkilerin inişli çıkışlı şekilde geliştiğini gösterilmiştir. 1991 ve 1993 arası 'kırılgan balayı' olarak nitelendirilebilirken 1994 ve 1995 arasında gözle görülür bir bozulma gerçekleşmiştir. Rusya ve NATO'nun 'özel ilişki' oluşturma çabaları 1997'de Kurucu Yasası'nın imzalanması ve DOK'un kurulması ile sonuca varmıştır. Ancak bu ilişki 1999'daki

Kosova krizi sırasında Rusya tarafından durdurulmuştur. Burada Kurucu Yasa'nın Rusya ve NATO için stratejik ve siyasi açıdan yararlı olduğu sürece iyi bir taban oluşturduğu söylenebilir. Ancak Kosova krizi iki taraf arasında önemli anlaşmazlıklar ortaya çıktığı zaman bu siyasi düzenlemelerin ne kadar kırılğan ve eksik olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Krizden sonra iki büyük unsur Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin gelişmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Bunlar Putin'in Batı ile stratejik açıdan beraber saf tutması ve 11 Eylül olaylarıdır. Bu gelişmeler Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin ne kadar karmaşık olduğunu göstermiş ve Soğuk Savaş sonrası ilk 10 yıllık dönemde ikili ilişkilere damgasını vuran temel unsurları anlamamızda yardımcı olmuştur. Bu bağlamda birçok uzman tarafından NRK kurulduktan sonra Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin ilk 10 yılda olduğu gibi bir seyir izleyip izlemeyeceği merak edilmiştir.

DOK'un Kosova krizi sırasında askıya alınması NRK'nin de ileride aynı kaderi paylaşp paylaşmayacağı sorusunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu anlamda NRK'nin geleceği konusunda hem iyimser hem de kötümser görüşler hâkim olmuştur. Kötümser görüşlerden bir tanesi Rusya'ya karar süreçlerinde yer alma imkânı verilen terörle mücadele ve nükleer silahların yayılmasını önleme gibi konuların Avrupa güvenliği açısından temel sorunlar olmadığı ve daha önemli sorunların başka bir masada Rusya'nın katılımı olmadan tartışılacağı şeklindedir. Bir diğeri ise Rusya'nın ilgili sorunlar üzerine ve Yugoslavya gibi çekişmeli konularda karar alma sürecine katılmak istemesinin, aynı fikre sahip olunan konularda anlaşmanın sorun olmadığını savunmuştur. Asıl sorunun üzerinde farkı görüşlerin olduğu konularda anlaşabilme ve konsensüse varabilmek olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Bu çalışma Rusya ve NATO'nun NRK kapsamındaki tüm alanlarda aktif işbirliğini gerçekleştirdiğini ortaya koymuştur. Bu anlamda tarafların işbirliği yapma isteğini anlamak için terörle mücadele alanındaki işbirliği çabalarına bakmak yeterli olacaktır. Bu alanda işbirliği Özel Çalışma grubu, üst düzey konferanslar, ortak tatbikatlar ve benzeri girişimler aracılığıyla yürütülmüştür. Rusya ve NATO üyesi devletler bu alanda işbirliğinin geliştirilmesinde dönüm noktası olan terörle ilgili eylem planını hazırlamak için İstanbul'daki NRK toplantısında anlaşmışlardır. Aynı zamanda Afganistan'a istikrarı kazandırma konusundaki ortak hedefleri doğrultusunda 2008'de imzalanan

transit anlaşması, 2005’de başlatılan NRK Uyuşturucuya Karşı Eğitim Projesi ve 2010’da kurulan NRK Helikopter Bakım Güven Fonu aracılığıyla işbirliği yapmışlardır.

Bu tez Putin’in başkanlığının ilk aylarından bu yana, ilk hedefinin ülkesinin büyüklüğünü ve dünyadaki öncü rolünü onarmak olduğunu saptamıştır. Ancak Putin Rusya ekonomisi ve halkın refahının Rusya’nın ‘büyüklük sendromundan’ daha önemli olduğunu biliyordu. Bu anlamda dış politikadaki amacı gerginliği azaltmak ve dış dünya ile ilişkileri geliştirmeye yoğunlaşarak Rusya’nın kalkınması için elverişli koşullar oluşturmaktı. Putin’in dış politikadaki önceliği Batı idi. Rusya ekonomisini yeniden inşa etmek için Batı ile ortaklık bağı oluşturması gerekiyordu ve bu anlayış Rusya’nın ABD ve Avrupa’ya yönelmesini bir dereceye kadar kaçınılmaz hale getiriyordu. Bu hedefe ulaşmak için Putin’in takip ettiği strateji önemli ölçüde Primakov’un stratejisinden farklıydı. Primakov’un Batı’ya karşı dengeleyici politikasının aksine Putin açıkça Batı’yla aynı safta yer alıyor ve Rusya’nın Avrupa ve Batı kimliğine ait olduğunu vurguluyordu.

11 Eylül olayları Rusya-NATO ilişkileri için tamamen yeni bir ortam oluşturmuştur. Güvensizliğin yerini işbirliği almıştı ve iki tarafta da önemli değişimlerin gerçekleşmesi bekleniyordu. Trajik olaylardan sonra Rusya ve NATO NRK’nin kurulmasına neden olan bir sürece girmişlerdi. Ancak çalışma Putin Rusya başkanı olduktan hemen sonra DOK Mayıs 2000’de çalışmalarını yeniden başlattı ve İttifak Moskova’da enformasyon ofisini açtı. Burada ABD’ye karşı yapılan terör saldırıları ve sonrasında Rusya’nın ABD’nin teröre karşı olan kampanyasına destek vermesinin Rusya-NATO ilişkilerine ivme kazandırmasına rağmen ilişkilerin iyiye gitmesinin köklerinin 11 Eylül öncesine dayandığı söylenebilir. Tezde 11 Eylül sonrası oluşan yeni ortamın zaten önceden başlayan değişime ivme kazandırdığı savunulmaktadır. Yani 11 Eylül bir dönüm noktası değil hızlandırıcı bir faktördür.

Yukarıdaki örneklerle dayanarak, bu çalışma Rusya’nın Putin’in 2000’de iktidara gelmesinden ve 11 Eylül’den sonra NATO’ya veya genel olarak Batı’ya yönelik politikalarındaki değişimlerin devrimci olmaktan ziyade pragmatik olduğunu göstermiştir. Putin’in güvenlik politikası Rus çıkarları için çalışan, Rusya’nın Batılı

devletler ve kurumlarla işbirliğini destekleyen pragmatik bir politikaydı. Bu bağlamda Rusya'nın NATO ile işbirliğinin aslında Rusya'nın ortak çıkarlarının Batılı güvenlik düzenlemelerine yansması olduğu iddia edilebilir.

Çalışmada NRK'nin NATO Prag Zirvesi'nde gündeme getirilen genişleme ve Irak krizi meseleleri üzerine verdiği ilk sınavı etkilenmeden geçtiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Prag'da NATO müttefikleri anlaşarak 'büyük patlama' genişlemesini devam ettirme kararı aldılar ve aralarında Baltık ülkelerinin de olduğu yedi aday ülkeyi NATO'ya katılmaya davet ettiler. Aslında Putin Yeltsin'in 'kırmızı çizgi' politikasını devam ettirerek sadece İttifakın siyasi bir örgüte dönüşmesi halinde Rusya'nın bir sonraki NATO genişlemesine karşı çıkmayacaktı. Ancak 11 Eylül sonrası yaşanan gelişmeler Rusya'nın genişleme konusuna yönelik tavrında yumuşamaya neden olmuştur. Rusya genişlemeyi desteklemese de, tavrındaki değişiklik 'büyük patlama' genişlemesinin Rusya ve NATO arasında büyük bir çatışmaya neden olma riskini ortadan kaldırmıştır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda Rusların Irak krizi üzerine yapıcı ve katılımcı tavır sergilediğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Rusya Irak'a silahsızlanma yükümlülüklerini yerine getirmesi için son bir fırsat veren BM Güvenlik Konseyi Kararı lehine oy kullanmıştır. Rus liderler Irak karara uymadığı takdirde güç kullanılmasının kaçınılmaz olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bu da Kosova krizi sırasında Rusya'nın tutumuna karşı olduğunu gösterir. Rusya NATO üyelerinin olası güç kullanılması görüşüne karşı çıkıyordu. NATO Genel Sekreteri NRK'nin varlığının Irak üzerine farklı görüşlerin krize dönüşmesini önlediğini belirtmiştir. Şu belirtilmelidir ki, NATO üyelerinin aralarındaki farklı görüşlerden dolayı Irak krizi NRK'de tartışılmamıştır. Buna rağmen kuruluşundan sonra ilk iki yıl Konsey aktif bir şekilde çalışmış ve bu mekanizma kapsamında yapılan ilerlemeler hem Rus hem de NATO liderleri tarafından övülmüştür.

Putin'in ikinci başkanlık döneminde Rusya'nın Batı ile olan ilişkilerinde gerileme yaşanmış ve bu da Rusya'nın İttifakla olan ilişkilerine yansımıştır. Bu dönemde Avrupa Konvansiyonel Kuvvetler Antlaşması üzerindeki anlaşmazlıklar ve ABD'nin füze savunma planları gibi bir kaç önemli konu Rusya ve NATO ilişkilerini etkilemiştir. Tezde Avrupa Konvansiyonel Kuvvetler Antlaşması'na ilişkin çıkmazı aşmak için sarf edilen çabalardaki başarısızlık NRK'nin çekişmeli konulardaki başarısızlığı olarak



gösterilmiştir. Konu Konsey’de istişare edilmiş olmasına rağmen önemli bir sonuca varılamamıştır. Konsey’de füze savunması üzerine yapılan istişareler de anlaşmayla sonuçlanmamıştır. Büyük çekişmeli konulara rağmen Bükreş’te Devlet ve Hükümet Başkanları düzeyinde NRK toplantısı yapılmıştır. Putin de kurulduğundan bu yana ilk kez Konsey toplantısına 2008 yılında Bükreş’te katıldı.

Bu çalışma 2008 ve 2014 yılları arasında Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin 1991 ve 2002 dönemindeki gibi inişli çıkışlı olduğunu göstermiştir. Bükreş’te NATO liderleri Rusya-NATO işbirliğinin yenilenmesi konusunda diplomatik sinyaller verdiler. Rus tarafı ise Afganistan’daki UYG’ye Rus toprakları üzerinden geçiş desteğini teklif etti. Birçok uzman Putin’in güçlü Batı karşıtı tutumunu tekrarlayacağını düşünürken Bükreş’te ‘ikinci Münih’ yaşanmadı. Rusya-NATO ilişkileri 2008 yılındaki Gürcistan krizinden dolayı en düşük seviyeye geriledi. Rusya’nın Gürcistan’ın Güney Osetya’ya hava ve karadan saldırmasına tepki olarak Gürcistan’a askeri harekât yapması Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinde büyük bir krize neden oldu. NATO Dışişleri Bakanları hiçbir şey olmamış gibi devam edemeyeceklerini ve Rusya altı maddeli anlaşmayı yerine getirene kadar NRK toplantılarını ve bazı alanlardaki işbirliğini askıya alma kararı aldılar. Buna ek olarak, İttifak NGK kurarak tepkisini gösterdi. Burada Rusya’nın askeri eylemlerinin NATO üyelerinin Gürcistan üyeliğine kapıları açmalarına kısmen de olsa uyarı olarak yapıldığı görülebilir. Rusya’nın askeri eylemleri NATO müttefiklerinin Bükreş’te Gürcistan’ın üyelik hareket planını 2008 Aralık’ta tekrar gözden geçirmeye karar vermelerinden sonra gerçekleşmişti. Her şeye rağmen, askeri harekât İttifaka açık bir mesaj gönderdi: Rusya İttifak ile işbirliği yapmasına rağmen kendi çıkarlarını korumak için gerekli gördüğü önlemleri alabileceğini gösterdi.

Rusya-NATO ilişkileri 2009’un başında tekrardan rayına oturmaya başladı. Haziran’daki ilk gayri resmi Konsey toplantısı Rusya’nın Gürcistan’a askeri harekâtından sonraki üst düzey siyasi istişare dönüştürme başlangıcıydı. Ancak, bu çalışma bu gelişmelerin ABD’nin Rusya ile ‘sıfırdan başlama’ politikasının yansıması olduğunu göstermektedir. 2009 yılı Şubat ayında Obama yönetimi Rusya ile ‘sıfırdan başlama’ politikasını açıkladı ve bu politika Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinde önemli gelişmelere neden

oldu. Bu durum Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin aslında ABD-Rusya ilişkilerine bağlı olduğu anlamına gelmektedir.

Bu tez NATO müttefiklerinin Lizbon'da Rusya ile ilişkilerinde yeni bir başlangıç yapmak istediklerini ve Moskova'nın buna olumlu tepki verdiğini göstermiştir. Dimitri Medvedev Gürcistan krizinden sonra ilk kez Rusya ile NATO arasındaki Lizbon'daki üst düzey Konsey toplantısına katıldı. Ancak, belli işbirliği alanlarında anlaşmaya varmanın yanı sıra Medvedev ülkesinin kapsamlı bir modernizasyon geçirmesini istemiş ve bu da İttifaka yönelik pragmatik yaklaşımına yansımıştır. Putin Şikago Zirvesi'ne katılmadı ve bu gerçeğin Rusya'nın İttifak ile ilişkilerinin seviyesinin gerilediğini gösterdiği düşünülebilir. Bu çalışma Putin'in Zirveye katılmamasının ana nedeninin Rusya ve İttifakın füze savunması üzerinde önemli ilerleme yapamaması olduğunu saptamıştır.

Ukrayna'daki uzun süreli ve ölümcül kriz AB ile ortaklık anlaşması planlarının iptal edilmesiyle başlamış, Rusya'nın Kırım'a askeri müdahalesini ve Kırım'ın Rusya'ya katılmasını tetikleyen Viktor Yanukoviç'in devrilmesi olayıyla devam etmiştir. Rusya'nın eylemleri sonucu çok kısa bir sürede Avrupa Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesinden bu yana en ciddi krizlerden birisiyle karşılaştı. Bu olaylar Rusya ve Batı arasında ve dolayısıyla Rusya ve NATO arasındaki gerginliğin tırmanmasına neden oldu.

Bu çalışma Rusya'nın Kırım'ı yasadışı olarak ilhak etmesiyle NATO ile ilişkilerini krize götürdüğünü göstermiştir. NATO müttefiklerinin Rusya'nın Kırım ilhakına en ciddi tepkisi ise Rusya'nın Gürcistan'a askeri eylemlerinden sonrasında olduğu gibi NATO Dışişleri Bakanlarının ikinci kez NRK kapsamındaki pratik işbirliğini askıya alma kararı olmuştur. Bakanlar aynı zamanda askeri komutanlarına Doğu Avrupa'daki üyelerine güvence vermek için İttifakın savunmasına takviye yapmak konusunda planlar hazırlamalarını emretti. Bu amaçla, KAK İttifakın kolektif savunmasını güçlendirmek için savunma amaçlı ekstra önlemler paketi üzerinde anlaştı. Sonrasında Ukrayna'nın doğu ve güney bölgelerinde gelişen yeni olaylar Ukrayna'nın Rusya-NATO ilişkilerinin düzelmesine uzun süre engel olacak derin bir krize doğru sürüklendiğini göstermiştir.

Galler'de, NATO müttefiklerinin birinci önceliđi Ukrayna'daki Rus saldırganlıđına karşılık vermektir. Bu bağlamda Rusya'nın meydan okuması ve stratejik etkilerine karşılık vermek için Hazırlık Eylem Planı'nı onayladılar. Bu plan hem müttefiklerin sürekli ihtiyaç duydukları güvence önlemleri hem de NATO'nun askeri stratejik uyum önlemlerini içeriyordu. NATO müttefikleri aynı zamanda azalan savunma bütçeleri eğilimini tersine çevirmek için anlaştılar. Daha da önemlisi Rusya ile olan ilişkilerde işbirliğine dayalı ve yapıcı koşullar olmadığı için NRK kapsamındaki tüm pratik işbirliğini dondurmaya yönelik önceki kararı devam ettirme konusunda anlaştılar.

## B. CURRICULUM VITAE

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

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Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU International Relations	2007
BS	IAAU International Relations	2004
High School	Naryn Kyrgyz-Turkish College	2000

### WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2005-2012	METU International Relations	Research Assistant

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### PUBLICATIONS

“NATO-Russia Council and Its Relevance to Afghanistan's Security before and after 2014”, *Caucasus International*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Autumn 2013, pp. 115-116

## C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

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Adı : BEISHENBEK  
Bölümü : ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : THE NATO-RUSSIA COUNCIL AND CHANGES IN  
RUSSIA'S POLICY TOWARDS NATO

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

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