

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Writing Objective

There is no eternal enemy and partnership in politics, but there is an eternal of interest. This aphorism looks precise to depict the harmonization of NATO-Russia relation because since the World War II, Cold War and the post Cold War, the relation between NATO-Russia is fluctuated. By the dynamic of these relations, the writer is interested in carrying out further analysis.

After the end of the World War II, there was a dispute appeared between the US and Soviet Union. A great distinction about ideology and different vision about the world made the two giants fought for position of superpower. This circumstance made the international constellation shocked under the two different polar. Both the US and Soviet Union were making endeavor to spread their influences, thus looked for alliances to sustain their power.

To strengthen and to defend Western Europe against possible attack by communist nations led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), in April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1949, regional defense alliance led by the United States pledged North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) at the beginning of the Cold War. The original members of NATO were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States. Greece and Turkey were admitted to the alliance in 1952.

West Germany in 1955. Then to counter NATO, in 1955 the communist military alliance established Warsaw Pact.

By this condition the strained situation caused by both military alliances along the cold war resulted in the possible war to happen. Moreover, both NATO and Warsaw Pact were supported by high-technology of nuclear weapon. To perpetuate the power, either NATO or Warsaw Pact was always involved in the international conflicts. Korean war, Vietnam war and Cuba crisis exhibited interventionist of both military forces. Either the United Nations or non-block states felt as if they had been a viewer watching the struggle of United States and Soviet Union.

The dispersed of Warsaw Pact and the collapsed of USSR in 1991 made the world community felt relief, because the possibility of the World War III could be significantly avoided. After the Cold War, Russia as one of the major power made a new phase of NATO-Russia relation that could decrease the tension.

Slowly but sure, in 2002 the relation between NATO-Russia reached the top. The relation was 180° different from what had happened in the Cold War. Surely, it made the relation between NATO-Russia got better, while at the same time, it raised the big question. How could the two old rival enemies unify?

Judging this phenomenon, the writer tries to focus the research on the process of NATO-Russia Council establishment and to figure out the root of this problem, thus flattening the purpose of its establishments. This case is interesting

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II. Having viewed the above phenomenon the writer determines the topic, entitled "Russian's mission on NATO-Russia Council".

### **B. Writing Purpose**

The research aims to:

1. Give explanation through analysis, why Russia committed to build NRC (NATO Russia Council);
2. Uncover the motives behind the NRC establishment;
3. Implement the theories to understand the problem between Russia and NATO.

### **C. Problem Background**

The Cold War rite was grave over. The Rome Declaration in the summit conference of NATO-Russia in Pratica, Italy, conducted in May 2002, constituted a pillar history of NATO-Russia relation which pointed out the persistence of faith: that the Cold War was over thus confirming that currently NATO-Russia were significantly dissolved. Two old rivals which had been enemies for 50 years then integrated into a forum to synchronize their vision over security problems.

In the Rome Agreement, followed by 19 western leaders including the US President George W. Bush, they had reached an agreement and declared a new

In the next conference held in Moscow, Russia obtained collateral to receive a new status as a market economy. By acknowledgment from the conference, it means Russia had been considered as the main partner of the European Union in commerce. Whereas in the conference, NATO-Russia obtained the same right to several important issues even though it was not equal with the Veto right owned by Russia in the Security Council of the United Nations.

On the other side, in the forum, Vladimir Putin Russian President admitted that he never thought about the collective council before. Actually, Putin's idea was reasonable because in 1999 Russia had frozen the relation with NATO when NATO's Air Force shattered Yugoslavia by bombing it in order to stem the dissension of Kosovo Province from Yugoslavia. Either NATO or Russia admitted on the relation that frequently there were a lot of differences in opinion, such as invasions to Iraq. But on the other hand, Putin admitted that NATO-Russia Council made the tradition of the Cold War had been over.

The relation between NATO and Russia experienced evolution. In December 2002, for example; Minister of Defense and NATO's Foreign Ministers met their partners from Russia, namely; Igor Sergeyev (the Minister of Defense) and Igor Ivanov as the Foreign Minister.<sup>1</sup> This meeting was conducted on a session of Joint Permanent Council in the NATO's headquarter. This meeting focused on priority in the defense and military area, they agreed to work closely together on searching and rescue mission, they also discussed about reform of

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<sup>1</sup> Kompas, May 28 2002, accessed on <http://www.kompas.com> on September 11 2004

defense and restructured each of the military army. Cordially, they accepted the progress from the dialog between NATO and Russia since the previous conference in May 2000.

The meeting in May 2002 was the first formal meeting from the Joint Permanent Council of NATO-Russia that was discussed on the Ministerial level. This meeting was aimed to normalizing the relation between NATO-Russia because after allied forces attacked Yugoslavia, either NATO or Russia had different point of views and attitudes.

After the meeting, both Minister of Defense and Foreign Minister strengthened their commitment to build a strong partnership through Joint Permanent Council, based on the founding act of NATO-Russia in 1997. NATO's Secretary General, Lord Robertson emphasized on the NATO's conference that Joint Permanent Council was the most important institutional agreement which emerged after the end of the Cold War.

Ira L. Strauss from George Washington University gave opinion about the relation between NATO and Russia; she explained that the relation was always in square off position since NATO was established in 1949. According to Strauss, the emergence of NATO was motivated by the threat from Soviet Union. So, basically the essence of NATO was to oppose Soviet Union. But this condition was over in 1991 when the Warsaw Pact and Soviet Union collapsed.<sup>2</sup>

Actually in 1990, Russian former President, Boris Yeltsin had proposed to NATO about the possibility to join as the member. But NATO did not respond it

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<sup>2</sup> *ibid*

seriously, and it made Yeltsin change his statement; Yeltsin said that he did not propose the question about NATO membership but the possibility to join NATO.

So how would the prospect and the future of NATO-Russia relation be? This question immediately emerged in 1996 when NATO had a desire to enlarge the membership, while at the same time NATO had negotiation to make relation with Russia. Formal contact between NATO and Russia actually had begun in the frame of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, and then the name was changed into Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in 1991.

While Russia regularly attended the forum, the relation between NATO and Russia started to formalize since the founding act had been signed in May 1997. The US former President, Bill Clinton attended the meeting accompanied by NATO's Secretary General, Javier Solana and Russian former President, Boris Yeltsin and thus other NATO's members. This historical document became the basic foundation of a new relation between NATO's alliances and Russia.

In the Helsinki conference in March 1997, Clinton and Yeltsin had the same opinion on the importance of creating a cooperative relation between NATO and Russia even though there were still some different opinions about the NATO's enlargement. Finally, the intensive negotiation resulted in a founding act as a basis for lasting and strong partnership between Russia and alliance. Both sides were ready to face the common threat such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation and to support the security in Europe.

The NATO Russia Council that was initiated in May 2002 gave an authority to Moscow to take collective decision on handling the security matters

with NATO alliance. This idea was actually urged by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair in November 2001, addressed to Russian President, Vladimir Putin, NATO's Secretary General, George Robertson and other NATO's leaders. Blair viewed that NATO Russia relation should be more tightened.<sup>3</sup>

Russian government gladly accepted the initiative from Blair, and it gained the support from other NATO's member. In this press conference in December 2001, NATO's Secretary General explained about the possibility of the new NATO-Russia institution and expressed his optimism about this idea.

Finally, the dream came true in May 2002; the establishment of NATO Russia Council became reality. This concession illustrated that the Cold War stage was secured. This development constituted a new era to work closely together on security and to create the world peace.

#### **D. Research Question**

By giving the illustration above, the main problem of analysis is "Why Russia committed to build NATO-Russia Council?"

#### **E. Theoretical Framework**

To justify this research, the writer tries to adopt the decision making of foreign political theory from William D. Coplin and also rational actor model to view the reasons of its establishments from Russia's point of view, thus clarify the

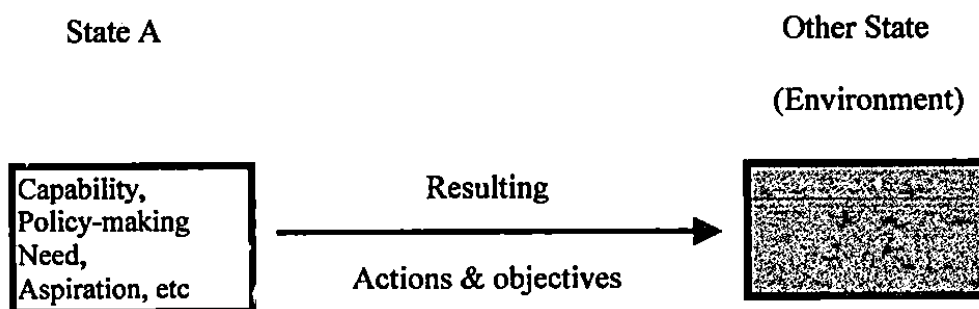
definition of foreign politic. According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Alton, the definition of foreign politic is

*“ a strategy or planned course of action developed by decision makers of a state vis á vis other state or international entities aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest. ”*<sup>4</sup>

The definition tickles the writer’s mind to raise a question related to the specific goal of Russia. Firstly, to analyze from Russia’s decision the writer will use decision making theory. According to William D. Coplin, a process of decision making can be viewed from the three (3) main factors: 1) domestic politic; 2) military economic capability; and 3) international context.

Schematically, the writer will explain the definition and the factors of foreign politic. The following scheme can clarify the position and factors of foreign politic.

#### **Scheme I: Illustration of Foreign Politic<sup>5</sup>**

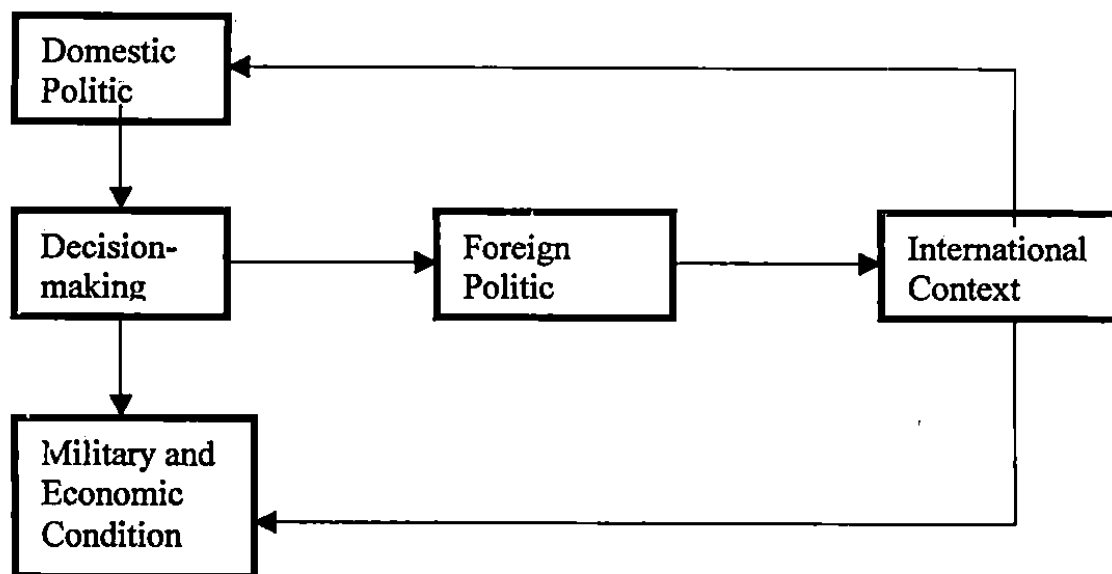


<sup>4</sup> Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, *The International Relation Dictionary*. Western Michigan University, Third Edition, (California: ABC-CLIA), page 9.

<sup>5</sup> K. J. Mahat, *International Relations - A Framework for analysis*. New Delhi: Pratibha Hall of India



## Scheme II: The Main Factors' Influence on the Form of Foreign Politic<sup>6</sup>



Based on the theoretical framework above, it can be presented the main factors related to the emergence of NATO Russia Council.

### Domestic Factors

To determining the way foreign policy works, it can be observed from the domestic situation of a country. Due to the importance of this element, the writer will try to capture it by highlighting Russia and NATO.

Russia had many strikes after Soviet Union collapsed. Russia stood in the apprehensive position either military or economically. More threats from ex-Soviet Union made the strike came repeatedly. And nowadays, the contemporary separatist movements are one of the most dangerous threats to Russian national security and territorial integrity.

<sup>6</sup> William D. Coplin, *Introduction to International Politic : a theoretical overview*, translated by ...

This is particularly the case in the north Caucasus, where separatist forces often act under the guise of ethnic or religious movements. Although the Russian federal authorities have been attempting to fight separatism by political means, in Dagestan and Chechnya they resorted to the use of force in 1999 in order to defeat the Chechen-led armed rebellion. By the end of the year the federal forces had re-established their control over most parts of Chechnya lost in the previous war, in 1994-1996, but they failed to achieve a decisive military victory over the separatists, nor was there any political resolution of the conflict. As the conflict in Chechnya caused numerous casualties and a massive refugee problem among its civilian population, the Russian government came under strong criticism from the West on humanitarian grounds. These disagreements, although a major irritant in relation between Russian and the West, were unlikely to affect the central issues of their relationship, such as their interaction on global security issues.<sup>7</sup>

On the side of NATO, providing greater security to all European states has become the vision to stabilize the situation and reduce regional conflicts. Bosnia and Herzegovina had shown NATO's entanglement, thus conflict in Kosovo and Yugoslavia in 1999. NATO calls all European countries, encompassing Russia to support the regional security.

### **Military and Economic Capability**

Military and Economic capability of a country plays an important role to determine and formulate foreign politic. The power of military and economic can

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<sup>7</sup> Russia: separatism and conflict in the north Caucasus\* (chapter summary from the SIPRI year book 2000: Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security). Oxford, university press, 2000.  
retrieved on <http://www.sipri.org> on September 11, 2004

clarify the orientation of foreign policy. To understand this point clearly, the writer tries to compare the condition of both NATO and Russia in the terms of military and economy.

Since Russia took over the position of Soviet Union, Russian and military capability have been in apprehensive condition. Russia has knotty economic crisis from Soviet Union. Even Russia's economy remained precarious after the August 1998 financial collapse. Gross Domestic Product fell by 4.6 percent in the previous year and might fall by another percentage point in 1999. Except for 1997, GDP had decreased every year for the past decade, with an accumulated decline since 1991 of 40 percent. The inflation rose to 84 percent in 1998 and remained high.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, Russia was like a lying duck and needed economic supports from European countries and NATO. The financial support from European countries and NATO were expected to recover and increase Russian's economy.<sup>9</sup> The following result from economic crisis made the government cutback the budget for military. Surely, it brought significant impact to the power of Russian's military. The frailty of military power may threaten the Russian security, because what Russia afraid of was unexpectedly attack from NATO or other Russian's enemies. The possible sudden attack may make the chaotic condition in Russia, because Russia has less power to defend the territory. Thus the military weapons owned by Russia are not significant and sophisticated as Western countries.

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<sup>8</sup> Foreign Affairs, September / October 1999, *Russia's Collapse* by Ander Aslund ( Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

<sup>9</sup> Foreign Affairs, September / October 1999, *Russia's Collapse* by Ander Aslund ( Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

However, Russia keeps maintaining nuclear development as the effort to defend her security. This situation frightens NATO and the US alliances, because it can threaten regional security and increase the tension of nuclear proliferation. The matter on Russia-Iran nuclear program also makes the US perceives negatively on the production of weapon mass destruction, though Russia has convinced the US on the mission of this program that Iran would use nuclear for electric power station only.<sup>10</sup> Somehow, the apprehensive about nuclear developing program between Russia-Iran still exists.

Concerning the Russian problem, NATO was endeavoring to lock arms with Russia. Militarily, NATO has more power than Russia; therefore NATO has strength to bargain with Russia in order to create stability and world peace. Regarding to the Russian nuclear development, NATO also asks Russia to reduce the tension and joint together by making treaty or agreement.

### **International Context**

International Context refers to the global system beyond latest phenomenon. It means, the relation copes with the interdependence between one element to another. The changing of one element will influence another one. Therefore, the international context is often considered as the prominent cause of nation-state behavior in the International Relation. The attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> made clear that the new danger of our age are threatening all nations, including

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<sup>10</sup> Susan Mendelsohn, February 25, 2005, <http://www.iaea.org/newsroom/news/2005/05020501.html>

Russia. In months it has become clear that by working together against these threat, NATO and Russia are able to multiply the effectiveness.<sup>11</sup>

Regarding to the George W. Bush's speech that focuses on the aftermath of September 11, the governments around the world were told that they must decide whether to stand with the United States in this anti terrorist effort or to face the US wrath.<sup>12</sup> Even, Bush stated that every nation in every region should have decision to make, either 'you are with us or you are with the terrorists'.<sup>13</sup>

At a glance, the sentences above are quite deviated from the topic of NATO-Russia. But as a Superpower country, the US has power over NATO, so it is logical to make a link between the US policy and NATO's actions. After September 11<sup>th</sup>, terrorism became a hot issue that should be prioritized. The US asked NATO and the alliances to join together in a war against terrorism. And regarding to the war against terrorism, the US through NATO is also concern about nuclear proliferation and Weapon Mass Destruction, since terrorism linked to the proliferation of Weapon of Mass Destruction Weapon.<sup>14</sup>

Coinciding with the tragedy happened in the US, Vladimir Putin also had initiated to work closely together because terrorism also threatened Russian security. Apparently the Cold War era is really over, because both major power are now committed to face the new challenge of world security, which is called "terrorist".

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<sup>11</sup> George W. Bush Remarks at the opening session of the NATO Russia Council meeting in Rome, weekly compilation of presidential documents, 05114187, march 6, 2002, vol 38, issue 22. accessed on <http://www.ebsco.com> on September 11, 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Encarta Encyclopedia 2004

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*

<sup>14</sup> Colin Powell, *A Strategy of Partnership*, Foreign Affairs, January-February 2004, page 22

Secondly, to justify this research the writer will use the model of rational actor to explain the changing of Russia's behavior. According to Graham T. Allison, model of rational actor views foreign politic as a rational action of government or leader to determine the state behavior or to reach the goals.<sup>15</sup> Simply, the main consideration of this model is about win and loss. The root of rational theory would underline why Russia turns the policy side to the West. The changing of Russia's behavior from totalitarianism to democracy made western felt relieved upon Russia though the policy is still often dominated by Supreme Soviet. Since Yeltsin was elected as the Russian top leader in 1992, he had tried to democratize his country and made policies which disposed to corporate with the West.

Simply, in the early 1990s Russian policy was based on the understanding that Russia's influence in the world arena depended on its ability to corporate constructively with leading Western states, and above all, with the United States.<sup>16</sup> This idea was taken by Russia to solve the domestic challenge of Russia such as security, economic crisis and political instability. By cooperating with the West, Russia fully expected that Western countries could give assistances to Russia. To gain the support from the West, Russia has to cooperate with the West in responding many issues. The climax was when Putin was elected as Russian President replacing Yeitsin; Putin has been successfully achieved trustiness from world society. Today, many in both the West and Russia have applauded Putin for dramatically reorienting Moscow's foreign policy. In the last two years, the

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<sup>15</sup> Mohtar Mas' oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi*, page.234

President quietly accepted the U.S. abrogation of the Anti Ballistic Missiles treaty and agreed with Washington to cut nuclear arsenals by two-thirds.<sup>17</sup> He deepened Russian participation in NATO and softened opposition to NATO expansion into the Baltic. After September 11<sup>th</sup>, Putin was quick to express solidarity with the United States, and he raised no objection to the temporary stationing of American troops in the former Soviet states of central Asia. In the words of the well known reformer Anatoli Chubais, Putin “has turned Russian foreign policy around 180 degrees and there may never been a change on a similar scale in all the history of Russian statehood.”<sup>18</sup>

More importantly, the action taken by Putin after September 11<sup>th</sup> made the US and its alliances in NATO perceive Russia differently. It increased the confidence and trust that Russia could be a constructive institutional partner in working toward security matters.

#### **F. Hypothesis;**

By illustration and theory implemented above, the writer will reverse a statement to answer why Russia was committed to build NRC (NATO Russia Council): Russia’s commitment to build NRC can be viewed from 3 major factors,

1. Domestic Factor : Russia wants to preserve the national security.
2. Military & Economic Capability : Russia wants to enhance the military capability as well as economic by rejuvenating the relation with NATO.

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<sup>17</sup> Daniel Treisman, *Russia and the World*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000)

3. International Context : Russia wants to participate in respond to World's hottest security issues, such as terrorism, weapon of mass destruction and nuclear proliferation.

### **G. Range of Research**

In this research, the writer will make limitation related to the cases from 1991 up to 2004. The limitation will facilitate the writer to explore and analyze the data, thus keeping the research focuses on the track. The reason why the data is taken from 1991 is to depict when the game is over, and why it is up to 2004 is only to show the dynamic of its relations, thus showing the cooperative mission made by NATO Russia Council.

After all, it does not cover the possibility; the writer will enroll another data beyond the time and explain other phenomenon that have strong relation with this case. It is strongly recommended to sustain the completeness and the clearness of information.

### **H. Method of Research**

This simple research will use a common method to sustain and arrange the data. By collecting the data from library research, Internet media, newspaper, magazines, scripts, electronic journals such EBSCO and etc, the writer tries to elaborate with the real facts happening in the world today, thus implementing the theory related to the case. The hypothesis will be taken from the empirical data



## **I. System of Writing**

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- C. Problem Background
- D. Research Question
- E. Theoretical Framework
- F. Hypothesis
- G. Range of Research
- H. Method of Research
- I. System of Writing

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    - b. The Fundamental of NATO's Security Task
    - c. Warsaw Pact as a Counter Alliance
    - d. US Domination
  - A.2. The Battle of The Cold War Era
  - A.3. Détente
- B. The End of The Cold War Era
  - B.1. The Dispersed of Warsaw Pact

## **B.2. The Collapsed of Soviet Union**

## **B.3. The Emergence of CIS**

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##### **A.2. The Anxiety of Russia Toward The Enlargement**

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#### **B. The Big bang of 9 / 11**

#### **C. NATO Russia Council**

##### **C.1. The Emergence of NATO Russia Council**

##### **C.2. The Aim of NATO Russia Council**

##### **C.3. The Key Areas of NATO Russia Council**

##### **C.4. The Basic Foundation of NATO Russia Council**

##### **C.5. The Member of NATO Russia Council**

##### **C.6. The Mechanism of Consultation in NATO Russia Council**

### **Chapter IV. The Missions of Russia in NATO Russia Council**

#### **A. Preserving The National Security of Russia**

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