NATO
Russia relations in light of the Ukraine Crisis
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Model NATO

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1 NATO - USSR

In 1955 West Germany became a member of NATO. This led to the formation of the Warsaw Pact\(^1\) in the same year by the USSR. The Pact was a treaty establishing a mutual-defense organization among the Eastern bloc countries.\(^2\) As opposed to NATO, there were even offensive plans including nuclear missiles prepared in Poland and aiming to Western Europe.\(^3\)

Twenty years later the NATO members and Soviet Union were among the states that signed the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. One of the most important declared statements was the one concerning territorial integrity of states and non-intervention in internal affairs. It also stated the willingness to respect the fundamental freedom of their citizens (including the freedom of thought, conscience and religion) and also attached more importance to the Western recognition of the Soviet role in Eastern Europe. The Helsinki Final Act was signed by 35 state representatives (15 of those were NATO member countries by that time).\(^4\)

Until the drop of the Iron Curtain, things were as clear as they could be: the Soviet Union was NATO’s biggest rival. With the downfall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, a completely new era started on many levels. The regimes were changing in the Eastern part of Europe and the Soviet relations with NATO were changing too.\(^5\)

In 1990 some experts suggested that both the Warsaw Pact and NATO would dissolve or that they would basically end up existing only on paper with having no actual function. The opinion was that NATO would lose its purpose with the end of the Cold War.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance
While the Warsaw Pact really did cease to exist in July 1991, NATO did not seem to be about to do the same. The reason why the Warsaw Pact was dissolved is because the Eastern European members cut themselves loose from Moscow one by one.  

In the same year, NATO started forming first hesitant steps towards cooperation with its former rival; a thing no one would expect to happen during the Cold War.

In 1991, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) was established as a political organization within NATO and former Warsaw Pact members (including the former Soviet republics that were established after the Soviet Union broke apart in December 1991). It was meant to serve as a forum for dialogue and cooperation between those two groups.

2 NATO – Russia in the 90s

On December 1991 Russian president Boris Yeltsin sent a message to NATO suggesting that Russia might be joining the organization as a member: “Today we are raising a question of Russia’s membership in NATO, but we are prepared to regard this as a long-term objective.”

NATO officials seemed to be taken aback by the Russian letter too much to be able to give any coherent response. Manfred Worner (by that time the NATO’s Secretary General) said: “I have seen the letter. He [president Yeltsin] did not apply for membership; he just raises a question, and then says he regards that as a long-term political aim. My reaction is that nothing is excluded, and we will have time enough to develop relations.”

When there came no official answer from NATO, Russia changed its mind within days and announced that the meaning of previous message was mistranslated and was supposed to mean: “Today we are not raising a question of Russia’s membership in NATO (...), which was stated by president Yeltsin.

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Western analysts narrated this statement to have two very different possible meanings – either as a recall of a suggestion that was never meant seriously or as a withdrawal from a risky position that Russia put itself into when not getting a proper response from NATO or any of its members.\textsuperscript{12}

Two months later, Yeltsin’s foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev met with NATO Secretary General and announced Russia’s intention not to press for NATO membership, because: “effective mechanism of international cooperation seem now to be more important than breath taking ideas like Russia’s quick incorporation into NATO.” \textsuperscript{13}

From that moment on it was obvious that Russia would hardly become a member country in the near future and the relations started to alter as another important task appeared for NATO. Former members of the Warsaw Pact started to knock on NATO’s door. In 1991, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) was established.

In May 1992 the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) was created. The treaty was signed by the representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Russia and Tajikistan (and other countries followed later\textsuperscript{14}) and is working to this day. Its declared purpose is mainly to coordinate and deepen the military-political cooperation between member countries. \textsuperscript{15}

Three years after, in January 1994, the Partnership for Peace\textsuperscript{16} was adopted by the Alliance. It was a compromised deal that was aiming for including Russia on equal terms as a partner and creating the base for membership for any future willing partner countries at the same time. The accompanying declarations established, for the first time, the goal of enlargement of NATO membership in a way that would consider Russia’s opinion. This was received with quite a lot of criticism in the West by proponents of NATO expansion being called an abandonment of expansion plan, a betrayal of the small Eastern European countries and a way of capitulation to Russia.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} Azerbaijan, Belarus and Uzbekistan in 1993
Eleven months later, in December 1994, the “Study on NATO Enlargement” was presented with the goal of supporting and simplifying the integration process for future member states.\(^{18}\) On its basis, in December 1995, the Allied Foreign Ministers decided that the next phase of the enlargement process would consist of three elements: intensified, individual dialogue with interested Partners; further consideration of what NATO must do internally to ensure that enlargement preserves the effectiveness of the Alliance; and further enhancement of the Partnership for Peace to help those interested Partners to prepare to assume the responsibilities of membership and to strengthen long-term partnership with others. In this latter regard, Ministers also expressed a particular interest in developing the Alliance’s relations with Russia and Ukraine.

During 1996 and 1997 a series of individual dialogue sessions were conducted by the NATO Staff team and were based on principles included in the Study on NATO Enlargement.\(^{19}\) Russia’s special relationship with NATO was certified by the “NATO-Russia Founding Act,”\(^ {20}\) that was signed in May 1997 and led to the creation of the Permanent Joint Council\(^ {21}\) – a place allowing Russian officials and NATO members to discuss a variety of security issues. As a return service, Yeltsin officially blessed\(^ {22}\) the first round of NATO enlargement resulting in an offer of NATO membership for Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary in 1997.\(^ {23}\) All these Central European countries then joined the Alliance in 1999. Russia was well aware that this act was going to be very important for shaping the future way of cooperation, so it affirmed its ‘respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all states and their inherent right to choose the means to ensure their own security’. It also renounced ‘spheres of influence’.\(^ {24}\)


Despite the efforts, negotiations about closer cooperation were not going as smoothly as the long Cold War marked both sides with prejudice and large differences as well as lack of understanding since they used to be rivals. NATO expert James Sherr defined the relations as almost doomed to disappointment as even though steps were made, both sides felt that the cooperation lacked harmony. According to Sherr, NATO was always maybe too precautionous towards Russia; hence Russia lacked equality which for them means “co-management.”

3 NATO-Russia relations in the beginning of 21st century

In 2002 NATO-Russia Council\(^26\) was established (it replaced the Permanent Joint Council\(^27\)) in order to give Russia chance to be taken as an equal partner to the (by that time) 19 members. The ministers met twice a year and ambassadors did so every month.

An important moment was another one of NATO’s enlargements when seven countries that used to be in the Warsaw Pact joined the Alliance.\(^28\) Vladimir Putin expressed a strong hope that NATO and Russia will strengthen their cooperation and work more closely together.\(^29\)

There are topics on which the cooperation within the Council was tremendously useful and appreciated on both sides but the situation has been far from being stable. Yet no one would state that Russia is not important to NATO anymore. When Anders Fogh Rasmussen was having his first major public speech as the new Secretary General of NATO in September 2009, he chose to speak about the NATO-Russia relationship and explained this choice by saying: “I believe that of all of NATO’s relationships with Partner countries, none holds greater potential than the NATO-Russia relationship.” \(^30\) Later on he explained Russia’s importance as an ally, not an enemy. He looked into the past and marked some ideas from the beginning of the 90s as unrealistic (especially the ones expecting Russia to suddenly see things “the western way”, cooperate across the board and support the NATO membership of former Warsaw Pact countries), offered a positive view to the future where Russia’s interests would definitely be

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\(^{28}\) Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia


taken into account and emphasized the open door policy for Russia to continue only if both sides would agree and respect territorial integrity of every sovereign state.

4 Specific situations of cooperation and disputes

4.1 Bosnia

The first time when NATO and Russia found a way to work together successfully was in Bosnia. NATO conducted air strikes against Bosnian-Serbs in 1995 and Russian policymakers replied with a series of verbal attacks. However, in the following year Russia sent troops to Bosnia in order to participate in the Implementation Force (peace enforcement force led by NATO)31 and in the end Russia showed the ability to be a valuable partner.32

4.2 Yugoslavia and Kosovo

When the Permanent Joint Council met for the first time, Russia took an opportunity to warn NATO against using force without having an authorization of the United Nations.33 In March 1999, NATO launched the Operation34 against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Russia reacted the same day by officially suspending ties with NATO and withdrawing its representatives from the NATO headquarters. Even though Russians showed their disagreement, they were very cautious with their moves in order to not to devastate the relationship with NATO entirely.

Yeltsin with other Russian leaders knew that there might have come time when this would be seen as a debt and would motivate NATO not to defend its possible future position so resolutely.35

Just four months later a new agenda was defined: Kosovo and Russians got a chance to play an important role again; Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin became a lead negotiator and deployed peacekeepers to support NATO’s Kosovo force in the summer of 1999 (firstly he

31 Official site: http://www.nato.int/ifor/ifor.htm
was appointed by Yeltsin as a special envoy to the Balkans\textsuperscript{36}. His work had its challenges (for example negotiations with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in April 1999) but Russians send a message saying that they were prepared to help stabilize the Balkan.

In December 31, 1999 Yeltsin resigned. Behind his resignation there were various reasons - his continuing illnesses, economic problems or the war in Chechnya\textsuperscript{37}, which was considered a huge debacle; tens of thousands of civilians were killed, Chechnya's major towns were razed. Russia was defeated and by a forced withdrawal.\textsuperscript{38} In his official statement he stated: “I have realized that I have to do this. Russia must enter the new millennium with new politicians, new faces, new intelligent, strong and energetic people. As for those of us who have been in power for many years, we must go,” \textsuperscript{39} and Vladimir Putin (until that moment Prime Minister\textsuperscript{40}) took his function. At the beginning he promised to rebuild the relations with NATO. Surprisingly he even came back to the thought of Russia one day joining NATO as a member when he stated: "Why not? I do not rule out such a possibility." \textsuperscript{41} Not long after that the first full meeting of the PJC since the Kosovo crisis about the Kosovo crisis was called by Russia.\textsuperscript{42}

\section*{4.3 Afghanistan}

One of the biggest milestones for NATO and Russia was of course September 11, 2001. Putin and US President Bush agreed that Russia would assist the USA in Afghanistan with several key points such as allowing the US to operate in the Central Asian air space (which Russia considered to be in its area of influence), supporting the Afghan Armed Forces, co-training of Afghan counter-narcotics forces, offering to close espionage centres in Cuba, Louders (southern part of France) and naval base in Vietnam. Subsequently, Russia also openly shared

\textsuperscript{36} FRONTLINE. A Kosovo Chronology [online]. [cit. 2. 9. 2015]. Available from: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/kosovo/etc/cron.html


\textsuperscript{38} EKE, Steven for the BBC. Yeltsin's Chechen nightmare [online]. [cit. 29. 10. 2015]. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6588221.stm


\textsuperscript{40} Chernomyrdin became Russia's special Balkan envoy. Andrew Harding, BBC. Yeltsin and his generals [online]. [cit. 23. 9. 2015]. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/371755.stm

\textsuperscript{41} Experts from BBC interview with acting president Vladimir Putin (Vremya ORT sunday Program, 21:00, March 5, 2000) [online]. [cit. 8. 9. 2015]. Available from: www.russiast.org/archives/4152.html#1

\textsuperscript{42} The Council discussed the situation in and around Kosovo and exchanged views on NATO-Russia cooperation: http://www.nato.int/cps/eu/natolive/official_texts_18230.htm?selectedLocale=en
relevant intelligence.\textsuperscript{43} For Putin this was a successful way of strengthening relations with the West.\textsuperscript{44}

### 4.4 The Russian-Georgian War

The Russo-Georgian War was a five days long conflict between those two countries. Russia has its long-term interest in Transcaucasia which is a region that forms a “buffer zone” between its area and the Middle East. It is also an area with presence of transportation of oil.\textsuperscript{45} South Ossetia and Abkhazia have been parts of Georgia since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Neither of them had any international recognition as separate states until the war. Both gained very little of it afterwards but generally they are still considered being parts of Georgia.

In the NATO summit in Bucharest in April 2008 it was discussed whether Georgia (and Ukraine) would be allowed to join the Membership Action Plan (MAP). It was decided not to offer this to them because several countries were afraid that it would anger Russia. In the final declaration both countries were assured that their application for the MAP was supported and that a period of intensive engagement with both at a high political level would begin.\textsuperscript{46} Russia stated that even a planned membership would pose a direct threat to its security and endanger the fragile balance of forces in Europe.\textsuperscript{47}

In the end of April 2008 Russia increased the number of its troops near the region of Abkhazia. A statement posted on the ministry’s website said the increase of what it called peacekeepers was in response to a Georgian troop build-up.\textsuperscript{48}

Two months later Russia sent several hundred unarmed troops to Abkhazia saying they were needed for railway repairs. Georgia accused Russia of planning a military intervention.\textsuperscript{49}

On 7th August 2008 the secessionists in South Ossetia started bombing Georgian villages and received an answer from Georgia that launched military offensive. Russia, which had already supported the government of South Ossetia for more than ten years, came with a full-scale invasion, sent an aircraft and targeted key military and transport centers inside the Georgian area.

Moscow was later blamed for invasion of a sovereign state and threatening democracy. American president George Bush stated: "Russia has invaded a sovereign neighbouring state and threatens a democratic government elected by its people. Such an action is unacceptable in the 21st century." This of course had a bad influence on the Russia-NATO relationship. The Alliance suspended the cooperation with Russia and accusations of returning to the Cold War tactics followed from both sides.

Whether Russia did or did not intervene before the bombardment is not clear, though the steps Russia had made towards a sovereign state were enough to invoke several reactions among the former USSR states. Among them being also Ukrainian president Viktor Yushchenko who stated that he wanted to increase the rent for the Russian naval base in Sevastopol in Crimea as a response.

Ukraine's position throughout the war was in favor of Georgia's territorial integrity. When Russian warships were dispatched to the Georgian coast, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry stated: "Ukraine (...) reserves the right to bar warships and vessels which could take part in the action (conflict with Georgia) when returning to Ukrainian territory until the conflict is solved."

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51 The Telegraph, Adrian Blomfield: Georgia: Russia enters into 'war' in South Ossetia [online]. [cit. 27. 9. 2015]. Available from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/georgia/2525400/Georgia-Russia-enters-into-war-in-South-Ossetia.html
5 NATO-Ukraine relations

5.1 Before the Ukraine crisis\textsuperscript{57}

Since the 1991, when Ukraine became an independent country after the break-up of the Soviet Union, NATO and Ukraine have been cooperating on various levels. In 1991 Ukraine joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC – in 1991 replaced by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council\textsuperscript{58}), three years later joined the Partnership for Peace (a programme of practical\textsuperscript{59} bilateral cooperation between individual Euro-Atlantic partner countries and NATO) and continued to deepen the cooperation later on as well.

Ukraine has helped NATO, for example when Ukrainian soldiers were deployed as part of the NATO-led peacekeeping force in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996, Afghanistan in 2001, Iraq in 2006 and 2010.

5.2 NATO-Ukraine relations since the crisis

The positions of NATO members towards the situation in Ukraine have been quite clear since March 2013, when the Allies stated that they did not and would not recognize Russia’s illegal and illegitimate “annexation of Crimea” and when Ukraine invoked Article 14 of the NATO-Ukraine Charter\textsuperscript{60} and requested a meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission\textsuperscript{61} that took place on 2 March 2014. The Allies condemned Russia’s military action against Ukraine as a breach of international law, which also contravened the principles of the NATO-Russia Council and the Partnership for Peace.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{57} The current crisis is described here: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/11/ukraine-russia-crimea-sanctions-us-eu-guide-explainer


\textsuperscript{60} Activities on offer under the PfP programme touch on virtually every field of NATO activity, including defence-related work, defence form, defence policy and planning, civil-military relations, education and training, military-to-military cooperation and exercises, civil emergency planning and disaster response, and cooperation on science and environmental issues. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50349.htm

\textsuperscript{61} A decision-making body responsible for developing the NATO-Ukraine relationship and for directing cooperative activities.http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50319.htm

\textsuperscript{62} NATO. NATO’s relations with Ukraine. [online]. [cit. 11. 11. 2015]. Available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_37750.htm
At the beginning of June 2014, NATO Defence Ministers agreed to continue and further reinforce NATO’s reassurance measures in the wake of the Russia-Ukraine crisis. NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said: „This is a time for all allies to play a part and all allies are doing so. Every single ally is committing resources to our collective defence.”

When it comes to the members themselves, especially the United States expressed the willingness to use this situation to reassure Europe of its own commitment and not just the one through NATO. USA announced to use 1 billion dollars to boost military presence in former Eastern bloc states in order not only to reassure anxious allies but also check Russia’s encroachment into the region. Together with the European Union, the US also supported the interim government formed in late February 2014 and the acting head of state Oleksandr Turchynov and then newly elected President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko.

6 Nowadays

The work of the NATO-Russia Council, that is crucial for these two partners to communicate and cooperate, has been suspended since April 1, 2014. The officials stated that breaking international law (by entering another state with military equipment like it was done by Russia in Ukraine) from Russia cannot be accepted which greatly violated the trust that is, for this relationship to work, necessary.

In June, 2015 Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Alexey Meshkov said: "None of the Russia-NATO programs that used to be at work are functioning at a working level,” and added that a proposal to restore the relations should come from a country that has broken them.

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For more information about the Ukraine crisis follow this link: Vox topics. Everything you need to know about the Ukraine crisis: http://www.vox.com/cards/ukraine-everything-you-need-to-know/what-is-the-ukraine-crisis


Possible future studying material for the delegates:

Videos that made history: [http://www.nato.int/history/nato-history-videos.html](http://www.nato.int/history/nato-history-videos.html) - great fun source not only for the purpose of this topic with verified information.


NATO-Russia; A pragmatic partnership: [https://scoalanato.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/nato-russia-2.pdf](https://scoalanato.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/nato-russia-2.pdf) - easy to understand publication that gives deeper insight into the uneasy relationship throughout the history.

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