NATO and the Russian Federation
Thematic Bibliography no. 5/15

L’OTAN et la Fédération de Russie
Bibliographie thématique no. 5/15
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2014

Title: Great Power Politics and the Ukrainian Crisis: NATO, EU and Russia after 2014
Author: Larsen, Henrik Boesen Lindbo
Published: Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2014
Institution: Danish Institute for International Studies (DK)
Series: Report; 2014:18

Notes: This report assesses the relationship between Europe and Russia as the sum of great power reactions to the Ukrainian crisis and Russia’s annexation of Crimea. Despite agreement on a no business-as-usual principle, important national nuances have arisen stemming from different historical bonds to eastern Europe and Russia (Germany, Poland, United States) or different interests in the region (France, United Kingdom). The report calls for a recalibration of the Europe-Russia relations along three dimensions based on the great power pattern: imposing moderate sanctions and thus letting markets punish Russia, given its vulnerability to international investors; placing the EU at the forefront of implementing the Association Agreement already in place to assist Ukraine in painful but needed reforms; and getting NATO to reinforce its eastern posture to incentivize de-escalation. The Ukrainian crisis must be recognized and managed as a predominantly political-economic rivalry involving relatively strong Russian interests in this common neighborhood with the EU.

Notes: Bibliography: p. 40-44.
Subject: CRIMEA (UKRAINE)--ANNEXATION TO RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: UKRAINE--HISTORY--CRISIS, 2014-
ISBN: 9788776056964
Call Number: 441 /00256
Item ID: 80025535
Media: Book

* This list contains material received as of August 21st, 2015.— Cette liste est arrêtée au 21 août 2015.
2011

Title: NATO-Russia Relations under Putin: Emergence and Decay of a Security Community?: An Analysis of the Russian Discourse on NATO (2000-2008)
Author: Conrad, Matthias
Published: Berlin: Lit, 2011
Physical Description: 98 p.; 21 cm.
In: Forschungsberichte internationale Politik; 42
Notes: Bibliography: p. 86-97. 'Identifying conditions under which peaceful cooperation emerges and erodes represents one of the great challenges for policymakers and scholars of International Relations. To address this question, the author analyzes the Russian discourse on NATO to understand the heavily oscillating curve of NATO-Russian relations under Putin. Drawing on the constructivist approach of security communities, the present study shows how the lack of a common identity undermined the nascent security community that had developed on the surface in the early years of Putin's presidency. This, in turn, enabled rhetorical brinkmanship and political actions that brought both sides to the verge of war in August 2008.'
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 9783643800909
Call Number: 495.3 /00153
Item ID: 80024102
Media: Book

2010

Title: International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy
Author: Pouliot, Vincent, 1979-
Published: Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010
Physical Description: xv, 282 p.; 24 cm.
In: Cambridge Studies in International Relations; 113
Notes: Bibliography: p. 251-274. Includes index. 'How do once bitter enemies move beyond entrenched rivalry at the diplomatic level? In one of the first attempts to apply practice theory to the study of International Relations, the author builds on Pierre Bourdieu's sociology to devise a theory of practice of security communities and applies it to post-Cold War security relations between NATO and Russia. Based on dozens of interviews and a thorough analysis of recent history, the author demonstrates that diplomacy has become a normal, though not a self-evident, practice between the two former enemies. He argues that this limited pacification is due to the intense symbolic power struggles that have plagued the relationship ever since NATO began its process of enlargement at the geographical and functional levels. So long as Russia and NATO do not cast each other in the roles that they actually play together, security community development is bound to remain limited.'
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 9780521199162
Call Number: 495.3 /00144
Item ID: 80023156
Media: Book

Title: Towards a NATO-Russia Strategic Concept: Ending Cold War Legacies; Facing New Threats Together
Additional Author: Institute of Contemporary Development (RU)
Institution: International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)
Published: London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2010
Physical Description: 24 p.: ill.; 30 cm.
Notes: 'This report includes recommendations for NATO Lisbon summit at which the Alliance will adopt the new Strategic Concept. The authors view the Summit not as the end but as the beginning of the gradual integration of NATO and Russia into a common security space free of mutual threat perceptions and open for cooperation at all levels.'
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--STRATEGIC ASPECTS--NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT, 2010
Call Number: 495.3 /00149
Item ID: 80023545
Media: Book
2009

Title: Time to Reassess the European Security Architecture? The NATO-EU-Russia Security Triangle
Author: Dias Fernandes, Sandra
Institution: Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)
Institution: European Policy Institutes Network
Published: Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies, 2009
Physical Description: 13 p.; 30 cm.
In: EPIN Working Paper ; 22
Notes: Bibliography: p. 12-13. 'This paper analyses Russian pressures on security issues and the way the EU and NATO have been addressing them. It is argued that tensions over missile defence are closely related to NATO's enlargement to Ukraine and Georgia and to arms control, and that these issues are poorly tackled at the multilateral level. Aside from the positive moves already undertaken by the Obama administration towards Russia, it is difficult to foresee any rapprochement in the existing incompatibility of view on the legitimacy of NATO. In this context, the role of the EU in improving the security dialogue with Moscow is substantial.'
Subject: EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Call Number: 355.4 /01603
Item ID: 80022635
Media: Book

2008

Title: NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century
Additional Author: Braun, Aurel, 1947-, ed.
Published: Abingdon, UK : Routledge, 2008
Physical Description: xiii, 204 p.; 25 cm.
In: Routledge Contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe Series ; 13
Notes: Includes index. 'Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has redefined its raison d'etre : extending its membership, broadening its political goals and widening its zone of operation. It has also sought to enhance its cooperation with Russia, for example through the NATO-Russia Council, though moves here have coincided with factors which make cooperation more difficult, such as growing uncertainty about the transition to democracy in Russia, a feeling among some people in Russia that NATO enlargement, and the simultaneous diminution of Russia's influence were related, and, more recently, Russia's attempts to reassert its influence over its neighbouring states. This book analyzes the current state of relations between NATO and Russia, examining a number of key areas, and assesses the prospects for future development. It concludes that all parties have a powerful interest in building and maintaining security, and that cooperation and the growth of the zone of democracy hold out the best hope for solving some of Russia's most seminal security concerns.'
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 9780415453196
Call Number: 495.3 /00136
Item ID: 80021883
Media: Book

Title: The NATO-Russia Relationship : Defining Moment or Deja Vu?
Author: Smith, Julianne
Institution: Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)
Institution: Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (FR)
Published: Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2008
Physical Description: iv, 16 p.; 28 cm.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 9780892065592
Call Number: 495.3 /00139
Item ID: 80022365
Media: Book
2007

**Title:** Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security : Bridging the Gap  
**Author:** Ponsard, Lionel  
**Published:** Abingdon, UK : Routledge, 2007  
**Physical Description:** ix, 213 p.; 24 cm.  
**In:** Contemporary Security Studies  
**Notes:** Bibliography: p. 190-207. Includes index. 'This book explores the common ground between Russia and NATO and the potential to move beyond cultural differences. The author demonstrates how cooperative security could serve as a means to bridge the gap between two supposedly antagonistic entities : NATO and Russia. He shows that by building confidence between the two parties about each other's intentions, cooperative security can regulate attitudes that might otherwise lead to misperception. The author focuses on the peculiarity of NATO-Russia relations and emphasises the Russian approach to analyse them. Three parts articulate his work : the definition of the Russian identity, Russia's attitude to NATO, and the question of cooperation in Russia-NATO relations. The analysis of the Russian identity sheds some light on what happened to this relationship in the past several years and offers some appropriate lessons for consideration. Difficulties that arose after the demise of the Soviet Union up until the creation of the NATO-Russia Council in 2002 are also stressed and interpreted. Last but not least, the importance of cooperation between Russia and NATO is highlighted and the author puts forward some ideas for easing major points of friction between the two parties.'  
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Subject:** COOPERATIVE SECURITY  
**ISBN:** 0415407230  
**Call Number:** 495.3 /00132  
**Item ID:** 80021080  
**Media:** Book

2006

**Title:** The NATO-Russia Partnership : A Marriage of Convenience or a Troubled Relationship ?  
**Author:** Blank, Stephen, 1950-  
**Institution:** US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)  
**Published:** Carlisle, PA : US Army War College, 2006  
**Physical Description:** x, 92 p.; 23 cm.  
**Notes:** 'This monograph focuses on the Russian side of the relationship and seeks to uncover, as well as analyze, the reasons for Russia's growing ambivalence toward NATO and the growing sense of estrangement between these two key actors in Eurasian security.'  
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**ISBN:** 1584872594  
**Call Number:** 495.3 /00134  
**Item ID:** 80020990  
**Media:** Book

**Title:** Putin's Russia and the Enlarged Europe  
**Author:** Allison, Roy  
**Additional Author:** Royal Institute of International Affairs (GB)  
**Additional Author:** Light, Margot  
**Additional Author:** White, Stephen, 1945-  
**Published:** Malden, MA : Blackwell, 2006  
**Physical Description:** vi, 229 p.; 24 cm.  
**In:** Chatham House Papers  
**Notes:** Includes index. 'Russia's policy towards the enlarged European Union and NATO is changing in ways that reflect its growing self-reliance under President Putin. But Russia continues to seek engagement in Europe. There are serious choices to be made on both sides about the obstacles to good relations and the policies to enable a form of Russian 'inclusion without membership'. In this book, which draws on extensive interviews with Russian decision-makers as well as a body of new survey evidence, official sources and recent published debates, the authors examine recent changes in Russia's relations with the EU and NATO and explore the patterns of support for these various orientations among its own elites and public. A final chapter anticipates the issues that will become increasingly
prominent, including competition in the 'common neighbourhood' and controversy over the role of values in shaping Russia's future position in Europe.

Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
Subject: EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 1405126485
Call Number: 327 /01344
Item ID: 80021018
Media: Book

Title: Russia and NATO since 1991: From Cold War through Cold Peace to Partnership?
Author: Smith, Martin A.
Published: New York: Routledge, 2006
Physical Description: 163 p.; 23 cm.
Notes: Includes index. 'Since the re-emergence of Russia as an independent state in December 1991, debates and controversies surrounding its evolving relations with NATO have been a prominent feature of the European security scene. This is the first detailed and comprehensive book-length analysis of Russia-NATO relations, covering the years 1991-2005. This new volume investigates the nature and substance of the 'partnership' relations that have developed between Russia and NATO during this time. It looks at the impact that the Kosovo crisis, September 11th, the Iraq war and the creation of the NATO-Russia Council have had on this complex relationship. The author concludes that Russia and NATO have, so far, developed a pragmatic partnership, but one that may potentially develop into a more significant strategic partnership.'
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 0415363004
Call Number: 495.3 /00120
Item ID: 80020461
Media: Book

2005

Title: Long-Term Possibilities for NATO-Russia Naval Security Cooperation
Author: Tarasenko, Igor
Institution: NATO Defence College (IT)
Published: Rome: NATO Defense College, 2005
Physical Description: 70 p.; 21 cm.
In: NDC Occasional Paper; 7
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--NAVY
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--NAVY
Call Number: 495.3 /00116
Item ID: 80020201
Media: Book
2004

Title: Engaging Russia as Partner and Participant: The Next Stage of NATO-Russia Relations
Author: Hunter, Robert Edwards, 1940-
Additional Author: Rand Corporation (US)
Additional Author: Rogov, Sergey M.
Published: Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation, 2004
Physical Description: xii, 70 p.; 28 cm.
Notes: 'This report singles out a few particularly important areas in which cooperation could be enhanced. These are centered around three subjects: the completion of the 20th century security agenda in Europe; the opening of the 21st century security agenda beyond Europe (especially as defined functionally by terrorism and weapons of mass destruction and geographically as the region between the Mediterranean and Central Asia); and the (unresolved) issue of the long-term future of Russia's relationship with, and potentially within NATO.'
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 0833037056
Call Number: 495.3 /00117
Item ID: 80020391
Link: http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/CF203.html
Media: Book

2003

Title: The Debate on NATO's Evolution: A Guide
Author: Assenova, Margarita
Institution: Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)
Published: Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2003
Physical Description: viii, 66 p.; 28 cm.
In: CSIS Report
Notes: 'The CSIS Eastern Europe Project is engaged in the transformation process in several parts of Central and Southeast Europe. The project is additionally engaged in an ongoing analysis of broader political trends encompassing 20 states and aspiring states in Eastern Europe, including the political and security impact of NATO and European Union enlargement. The Eastern Europe Project launched an innovative initiative on the extensive debate on NATO's evolution. The initiative began shortly after NATO's Washington summit in April 1999, which was held at a critical time, in the middle of NATO's first military campaign against Serbia, and in the midst of major decisions on alliance enlargement and NATO's evolving mission in a new security environment. The CSIS initiative on NATO's evolution was designed to address the question of enlargement and institutional adaptation by promoting dialogue and informed decisionmaking on issues essential to US national interests and European security. This guide provides an overview of the ongoing debate through condensed descriptions outlining the key factors in NATO's evolution since the early 1990s. It serves as a general guide to the various texts, positions, and arguments contained in the voluminous materials that are systematically compiled in the CSIS NATO Debate Database. The guide helps to frame many of the issues that have confronted the alliance.'
Subject: NATO
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--EUROPE, EASTERN
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 0892064285
Call Number: 49 /00142
Item ID: 80018878
Media: Book
The Future of Transcaspian Security

Author: Blank, Stephen, 1950-
Institution: US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
Published: Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 2002
Physical Description: vii, 40 p.; 23 cm.
Notes: "The new agreements between NATO and Russia and between the United States and Russia create opportunities for strengthening bilateral and multilateral military activities throughout the former Soviet Union. These could embrace all the militaries of the former Soviet Union and not only enhance military security in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), but also foster military-political integration with the West and possibly defense reform in all or at least some of the CIS regimes. Most importantly, Russia is pledged to cooperate in these activities. This monograph explores the unprecedented opportunities that are now before the United States and recommends actions that the Government and armed forces, especially, but not only the US Army, should undertake to consolidate and extend the newly emerging military partnership and cooperative security regime that are now developing. Because the opportunities being presented to the United States and NATO were never possible before to this degree, the proper way to exploit them will become a subject of debate."
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
Subject: USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
Subject: FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
Subject: CASPIAN SEA REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: CAUCASUS, SOUTH--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: NATO--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
ISBN: 1584870958
Call Number: 495.3 /00089
Item ID: 80018163
Link: http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=111
Media: Book

NATO and Russia : Bridge-Building for the 21st Century

Author: Hunter, Robert E.
Additional Author: Rand Corporation (US)
Additional Author: Rogov, Sergey M.
Additional Author: Oliker, Olga
Published: Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation, 2002
Physical Description: 37 p. : ill; 30 cm.
In: White Paper ; WP-128-NSRD/RC
Notes: Report of the Working Group on NATO-Russia Relations. 'The new NATO-Russia Council - and the broader relationship - can and should be organized to promote greater stability, take into account other European states' interests, promote joint decisionmaking, and pursue a practical agenda of common tasks both in Europe and beyond."
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 0833031910
Call Number: 495.3 /00086
Item ID: 80018076
Media: Book
Title: Russia Faces NATO Expansion: Bearing Gifts or Bearing Arms?
Author: Black, J. L.
Published: Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000
Physical Description: xi, 263 p.; 24 cm.
Notes: Bibliography: p. 245-251. Includes index. 'The immediate and long-term importance of Russian thinking about NATO expansion eastward has been badly underestimated in the West. Indeed, most Western analysis has striven to provide justification for the West’s policy of enlarging the alliance rather than examining its potential drawbacks. Although the NATO issue has been articulated primarily by the Russian elite, it has manifested itself in a rising reservoir of ill-will toward the West that cannot be ignored. In this book the author seeks to remedy that oversight by a thorough examination of Russian official statements, expert analysis, party platforms, and media commentary. Taken together, they show the degree to which NATO expansion has brought a rare unity to the otherwise fragmented and volatile Russian political arena. The author first provides a detailed account of Russian reactions to NATO’s plans since the early 1990s. He then analyzes how the NATO question shapes Russian strategic thinking, military reforms, and election campaigning, and how it affects Moscow’s relationship with Ukraine, the Baltic States, China, and the CIS. Crises in Yugoslavia and Iraq are used as case studies. Based entirely on Russian-language sources, this timely study provides invaluable insights into current Russian thinking on NATO expansion and projects the significance of such thinking for the Western Alliance into the future.'
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
ISBN: 0847698661
Call Number: 495.3 /00066
Item ID: 80022812
Media: Book

1999

Title: The First Anniversary of the NATO-Russia Founding Act: Appraisal and Outlook
Additional Author: Russian Academy of Sciences (SU)
Additional Author: Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences (SU)
Additional Author: NATO Office of Information and Press
Published: Moscow, 1999
Physical Description: 257 p.; 21 cm.
Notes: 'An international conference was held in Moscow on June 1998 to mark the first anniversary of the NATO-Russia Founding Act. The Conference was jointly organized by the INION RAN and the NATO Office of Information and Press; it was a part of the 1998 Working Plan of the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council. Civilian and military experts and academics from NATO countries and Russia reviewed during this conference the achievements of the first year of NATO-Russia cooperation and discussed such important problems like putting the Founding Act into practice, formation of a new European security system, peacekeeping, civilian emergency planning and other non-military aspects of cooperation, perspectives for the development of relations between NATO and Russia.'
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 5248013291
Call Number: 495.3 /00067
Item ID: 80016873
Media: Book
1997

Title: NATO Enlargement and the Baltic States : What Can the Great Powers Do?
Author: Blank, Stephen, 1950-
Institution: US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
Published: Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1997
Physical Description: viii, 69 p.; 23 cm.
Notes: 'NATO's enlargement has brought it to the borders of the Baltic States who covet membership in NATO. However, admitting them into NATO is one of the most difficult problems for the Alliance because of Russia's unconditional opposition to such action and because of NATO's own internal divisions on this issue. Nonetheless, a new regime or system of security for the entire Baltic region must now be on the US and European agenda. The key players in such a process are Russia, Germany, and the United States. Their actions will determine the limits of the possible in constructing Baltic security for the foreseeable future. In this study, Dr. Blank presents a detailed and extensive analysis of these three governments' views on Baltic and European security. Their views on regional security are materially shaped by and influence their larger views on their mutual relations and policy towards Europe. Their views also demonstrate the complexity of the issues involved in constructing Baltic, not to mention European, security. But because NATO enlargement is the most serious foreign policy and defense issue before Congress now, such an analysis can illuminate much of what is happening in the NATO enlargement process and why it has taken its current shape.'
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--BALTIC STATES
Subject: BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Call Number: 495.3 /00040
Item ID: 80014529
Link: http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=146
Media: Book

Title: Russland und die Osterweiterung der NATO : Herausforderung fur die russische Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik
Author: Wenger, Andreas
Additional Author: Perovic, Jeronim
Institution: Forschungsstelle fur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktanalyse (CH)
Published: Zurich : Forschungsstelle fur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktanalyse, 1997
Physical Description: 130 p.; 30 cm.
In: Zurcher Beitrage zur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktforschung ; 43
Notes: Bibliography: p. 121-130.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 3905641526
Call Number: 495.3 /00037
Item ID: 80014356
Media: Book

1996

Title: Russian-NATO Relations in the European Security Environment
Additional Author: Mazing, Valeri, ed.
Published: Moscow : [s.n.], 1996
Physical Description: 114 p.; 21 cm.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Call Number: 495.3 /00036
Item ID: 80014224
Media: Book
2015

**Title:** Facing Reality : Getting NATO Ready for a New Cold War  
**Author:** Kroenig, Matthew  
**In:** SURVIVAL, vol. 57, no. 1, February - March 2015, p. 49-70.  
**Notes:** If Russia were to rerun its playbook from Ukraine against a NATO member, how would the West respond ?  
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Subject:** NATO--STRATEGIC ASPECTS  
**Subject:** CRIMEA (UKRAINE)--ANNEXATION TO RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID:** JA030838  
**Link:** [http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2015.1008295](http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2015.1008295)  
**Media:** Article

**Title:** NATO and Russia  
**In:** SURVIVAL, vol. 57, no. 2, April - May 2015, p. 119-144.  
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID:** JA030950  
**Link:** [http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2015.1026090](http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2015.1026090)  
**Media:** Article

**Title:** Detente Plus  
**Author:** Gelb, Leslie H.  
**In:** NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 138, July - August 2015, p. 9-21.  
**Notes:** It is totally unrealistic to think that the West can gain desired Russian restraint and cooperation without dealing with Moscow as a great power that possesses real and legitimate interests. Recognizing these interests in the short run is the only way to help Russia's neighboring states acquire more freedom and independence over time.  
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Subject:** USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Subject:** RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA  
**Subject:** EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Subject:** RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE  
**Item ID:** JA031136  
**Media:** Article

* This list contains material received as of August 21st, 2015.— Cette liste est arrêtée au 21 août 2015.
2014

Title: Assessing NATO’s Eastern European ‘Flank’
Author: Simon, Luis
Notes: Russia’s annexation of Crimea and ongoing efforts to destabilize Eastern Ukraine have led NATO and the US to adopt a number of initiatives aimed at ‘reassuring’ Eastern and Central European allies. This article assesses the implications of those initiatives for NATO’s evolving position in Eastern Europe. It also appraises the Alliance’s renewed focus on defense and deterrence with respect to European and transatlantic capabilities.
Subject: NATO--EUROPE, EASTERN
Subject: NATO--SUMMITS--WALES, 2014
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA030720
Media: Article

2013

Title: The Russia-NATO Mistrust : Ethnophobia and the Double Expansion to Contain ‘the Russian Bear’
Author: Tsygankov, Andrei P.
Notes: This paper argues that Russian-Western mistrust persists due to historical and cultural developments with roots in the Cold War. The post-Cold War imbalance of power served to exacerbate the problem. The United States emerged as the world’s superpower acting on perceived fears of Russia, whereas Russia’s undermined capabilities dictated a defensive, rather than a hegemonic response. The paper analyzes the decision to expand NATO by excluding Russia from the process. It also asks why the process suddenly stopped in 2008. What changed the West’s mind about the expansion was not a revised perception of Russia, but rather concern with its growing power and assertiveness as revealed by the Kremlin’s use of force during the Caucasus’ war.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA029259
Media: Article

Title: Conventional Arms Control 2.0
Author: Kuhn, Ulrich
Notes: For more than a decade Europe’s once unique arms control acquis is in decline. This pertains foremost to conventional arms control. An assessment of current political North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-Russia problems and military insecurities on the continent shows that a modern approach to conventional arms control could positively contribute to security and stability. In times of financial austerity, a new framework has to focus on mutual military reassurances, transparency, conflict prevention, and the links to nuclear arms control. To achieve such a goal, US leadership, as well as Europeanization of the Reset policy, is needed.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--NATO
Subject: ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--EUROPE
Item ID: JA029525
Link: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13518046.2013.779859
Media: Article
Notes: This article provides an analysis of the 'reset' policy toward Russia, which was inaugurated in 2008 by the Obama administration and soon embraced by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It argues that, rather than being prompted by domestic dynamics in the United States, the 'reset' was a response to systemic pressures. More specifically, the West's relative decline on the international system, the retrenchment of expeditionary NATO, and the rise of potentially revisionist powers. Although prompting an improvement in the relationship, these pressures failed to bring about Russia's full integration into the post-Cold War Western international settlement. In the immediate aftermath of the 2008 Russian-Georgian War, NATO's relations with Moscow experienced an initial revitalization through a resumption of the works of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), the signing of a New Start Treaty between the United States and Russia in 2010, and an expansion of supply lines to Afghanistan through Russian territory. However, there was no real incentive for both sides to truly 'reset' the relationship. The alliance never treated Russia equally, preferring instead to dictate conditions. Any discussion of Russian-NATO relations was couched in this context; the 'reset' was also conceived as a small gift to Moscow. For its part, the Kremlin never accepted a junior partner status, making it clear that its preferred option remains the alliance's dissolution and the creation of a different, new pan-European organization that would incorporate the Russian Federation as a full member. This article concludes that, despite the mixed achievements of the 'reset', the alliance retains a systemic incentive to seek durable cooperation with Russia.

Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA029524
Link: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13518046.2013.779845
Media: Article

2012

Title: Deception and Farce in Post-Soviet Russian Policy vis-a-vis NATO's Expansion
Author: Surovell, Jeffrey
Notes: Of all the assumptions pervading the conventional wisdom about Russian foreign policy few have been more universally accepted than Russia's supposed opposition to NATO expansion. Because Russia's principal source of profit has come from rental value of natural resources from the world market, Russia's foreign policy has largely been conducted in the interests of the exporters of those resources. Compliance with NATO expansion, Moscow's decision-makers apparently believe, can only promote the pecuniary interests of that group. Given this dynamic, and confirmed by an examination of the historical record, the author concludes that Moscow's leaders have acquiesced to and even supported NATO expansion.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
Item ID: JA028679
Link: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13518046.2012.676486
Media: Article
Title: Russia-NATO Relations in the Context of NATO's Strategic Concept of 2010
Author: Orlov, Alexander
In: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 57, no. 3, 2011, p. 75-83.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--STRATEGIC ASPECTS--NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT, 2010
Item ID: JA028035
Link: http://dlib.eastview.com/browse/doc/43186989
Media: Article

Title: Russia's Uncertain Rapprochement with NATO
Author: Kulhanek, Jakub
Notes: Russia's intervention in Georgia in 2008 proved a military and diplomatic overstretch, leading to the suspension of the NATO-Russia Council and a frosty period with the North Atlantic Alliance. Moscow's recent cooperative efforts were rewarded with a 'reset' with the US and renewed strategic dialogue at the NATO Lisbon summit in 2010, but is this really a new Russia? The author argues that the much-lauded rapprochement may achieve very little progress while heralding the potential return of distrust and suspicion in NATO-Russian relations.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA027547
Link: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2011.559977
Media: Article

Title: A 'Reset' of NATO-Russia Relations: Real or Imaginary?
Author: Rachwald, Arthur R.
Notes: This article discusses Russian perceptions of and attitudes toward the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Russia has historically disliked and mistrusted NATO, seeing it as the primary threat to its international aspirations; in practice Russia pursues a dual policy. Its harsh condemnations of NATO has not stopped it from cooperating in selected areas of mutual interest. The most important among them is support for NATO's military operations in Afghanistan. The recent rejuvenation of relations between the west and Moscow is known as the strategic 'reset', meaning a return to diplomatic contacts and limited cooperation regardless of disagreements over the invasion of Georgia and Moscow's other recent international transgressions. The reset in NATO-Russia relations has only tactical significance, however. Cooperation will take place on a limited basis, but a genuine reset in mutual relations must wait for a reset in Russia's political and strategic priorities.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA027606
Link: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2011.557366
Media: Article

Title: Russia-NATO Cooperative Missile Defense
Author: Trubnikov, Vyacheslav
In: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 57, no. 5, 2011, p. 16-19.
Subject: BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES--NATO
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA028141
Link: http://dlib.eastview.com/browse/doc/43186966
Media: Article
**Title:** L'OTAN et la Russie après le sommet de Lisbonne : un improbable 'partenariat stratégique' entre adversaires-partenaires  
**Author:** Mongrenier, Jean-Sylvestre  
**In:** SECURITE GLOBALE, no. 17, automne 2011, p. 51-63.  
**Notes:** Au fil de la décennie 2000, les relations entre la Russie et l'OTAN n'ont cessé de se dégrader, jusqu'à ce que la guerre russo-georgienne d'août 2008 provoque la suspension d'un certain nombre de coopérations. Amorcée après la mise en place d'une nouvelle administration à Washington, la politique de relance entre les États-Unis et la Russie (le reset) a connu des prolongements dans le cadre de l'OTAN, une instance où s'exprime la solidarité géopolitique des puissances occidentales. Le Conseil OTAN-Russie (COR) s'est de nouveau réuni et la présence de Dmitri Medvedev à Lisbonne, lors du dernier sommet atlantique (19-20 novembre 2010), est censée ouvrir une nouvelle ère. Si les marges de manœuvre existent, la politique d'engagement de l'OTAN se heurte aux logiques qui sont celles d'une 'Russie-Eurasie' dont un grand nombre de dirigeants pensent l'avenir en opposition à l'Ouest.

**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID:** JA028084  
**Media:** Article

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**Title:** Limited Partnership: Despite Fundamental Disagreements, NATO Seeks to Pull Russia Closer  
**Author:** Monaghan, Andrew  
**In:** INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 12, May - June 2011, p. 22-26.  
**Notes:** In recognizing Russia's critical role in its new Concept, NATO seeks to repair a damaged relationship. A common Russia-NATO agenda was endorsed, from antiterrorism to counterpiracy. But progress on central strategic objectives continues to be hindered by differences that are left unresolved by ambiguities in the concept.

**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Subject:** NATO--STRATEGIC ASPECTS--NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT, 2010  
**Item ID:** JA027705  
**Media:** Article

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**Title:** NATO-Russland-Kooperation, aber wie weit ?  
**Author:** Gloeckner, Eduard  
**In:** EUROPÄISCHE SICHERHEIT, 60. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 2011, S. 76-77.  
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID:** JA027728  
**Media:** Article

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**Title:** Wie sieht Russland die NATO ? Teil 2  
**Author:** Schneider, Eberhard  
**In:** EUROPÄISCHE SICHERHEIT, 59. Jg., Nr. 8, August 2010, S.11-14.  
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID:** JA027036  
**Media:** Article

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**Title:** NATO-Russian Relations in the New International Security Environment  
**Author:** Jankowski, Dominik  
**Additional Author:** Kowalik, Tomasz  
**In:** INTERNATIONAL ISSUES & SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 19, no. 2, 2010, p. 76-98.  
**Notes:** The aim of this article is to present both perspectives on the NATO-Russian relationship through the lens of recent events as well as some official documents. Indeed, NATO-Russian relations still undergo the recalibrating process. There are, therefore, three crucial issues to be analyzed. Firstly, one should present how the international security paradigm has evolved in the last decade and changed NATO-Russian relations. Secondly, the authors try to answer the question whether Russia is ready to face together with NATO the new type of ever-evolving challenges and threats. Thirdly, a final crucial question arises : is NATO prepared to forge a long-lasting consensus on a common stance towards Russia, which could be labeled in short as engagement and reassurance, or will internal divisions within the Alliance remain or even grow ?

**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID:** JA027014
Title: Wie sieht Russland die EU und die NATO? Teil 1
Author: Schneider, Eberhard
Subject: EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JAO26932

Title: Illusive Visions and Practical Realities: Russia, NATO and Missile Defence
Author: Weitz, Richard
In: SURVIVAL, vol. 52, no. 4, August-September 2010, p. 99-120.
Subject: BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES--NATO
Subject: BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES--USA
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JAO26948

Title: NATO's Final Frontier
Author: Kupchan, Charles A.
Notes: This article explains why Russia should join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The author explains how the European Union and NATO have essentially shut Russia out of their organization. He discusses the costs of excluding Russia from the Euro-Atlantic and explains that their inclusion would make NATO the primary security institution of the Euro-Atlantic region. The essay also addresses the history of NATO.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JAO26767

Title: A Strategy Based on Doubt: Russia Courts Southeast Europe
Author: Fatic, Aleksandar
Notes: Russia’s role in the Balkans waned in the post-Cold War period until President Dmitry Medvedev’s Serbia visit in October 2009. The visit marked a sharp turn in Russia’s approach in the region, with the new and more assertive rhetoric suggesting Russia’s willingness to engage in ‘infighting’ the western military and energy security interests. Revived Russian interest in a new security mechanism for Europe to replace NATO, talk of establishing a Russian base in the Serbian town of Nis, and the likelihood that the entire length of the Southern Stream gas pipeline through Serbia will be guarded by the Russian Army, show that Russia is serious about countering NATO in the Balkans. The article examines the strategic reasons for the shift in Russian policy, specifically with a focus on why it is in Russia’s vital interest to prevent a future expansion of NATO. The author briefly explores the consequences of the renewed Russian strategic interest for the region on the processes of policy- and identity-formation in Southeastern Europe. He relates the specific strategic concerns that led to Russian proposal for a new security mechanism for Europe to collectively identify problems of the Balkans. Russia's attempted strategic marriage, it is argued here, with Serbia is based out of convenience. Russia’s opposition to further NATO expansion is grounded in rational security concerns; yet the sparseness of Russia’s genuine strategic partners in Europe makes efforts to dissipate escalation of animosities between Russia and NATO less effective. Hence the paradox: the less successful Russia is in galvanizing opposition among the small countries in Europe against further NATO enlargement, the more likely it is that its new security policy will escalate to more drastic and antagonistic postures towards NATO.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--SERBIA
Subject: SERBIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALKAN PENINSULA
Subject: BALKAN PENINSULA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JAO27444
**Title**: Towards a NATO-Russia Strategic Concept  
**Author**: Antonenko, Oksana  
**Additional Author**: Yurgens, Igor  
**In**: SURVIVAL, vol. 52, no. 6, December 2010 - January 2011, p. 5-11.  
**Subject**: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID**: JA027355  
**Media**: Article

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**2009**

**Title**: NATO and Russia : Partnership or Peril ?  
**Author**: Trenin, Dmitri  
**Notes**: The Atlantic alliance and Russia need to decide, and soon, whether they want to build security with or against each other. Partnership would be far better for both sides.  
**Subject**: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID**: JA026258  
**Media**: Article

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**Title**: The Myth of a No-NATO Enlargement Pledge to Russia  
**Author**: Kramer, Mark  
**Notes**: Recently declassified evidence undermines the contention that top-level assurances were provided to Gorbachev in 1990 not to enlarge NATO either eastward or to former Soviet states. No such assurances were ever given or sought.  
**Subject**: NATO--ENLARGEMENT  
**Subject**: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Subject**: NATO--EUROPE, EASTERN  
**Subject**: GERMANY--HISTORY--UNIFICATION, 1990  
**Item ID**: JA025782  
**Media**: Article

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**Title**: On Our Terms  
**Author**: Rogozin, Dmitri  
**In**: WORLD TODAY, vol. 65, no. 4, April 2009, p. 22-23.  
**Notes**: The Russia-NATO crisis last August over Georgia did a lot of good for our relationship; from now on there will be no place for empty rhetoric and promises. A solid, integrated, comprehensive security system is needed for the nations of Europe. To achieve this, there must be a return to the 2002 principles that set up the NATO-Russia Council.  
**Subject**: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
**Item ID**: JA025750  
**Media**: Article
Title: From Pristina to Tskhinvali: The Legacy of Operation Allied Force in Russia's Relations with the West
Author: Averre, Derek
Notes: This article reviews the main developments in the Kosovo crisis in the context of relations between Russia and NATO/the West. For Moscow, Operation Allied Force constituted a flagrant breach of international law, a threat to post-Cold War European security governance and a challenge to Russia's status in the international order. Official Russian interpretations, heavily influenced by domestic politics, reflect a perception among Russia's political elite that, rather than upholding liberal democratic values, NATO's intervention constituted a selective defence of the interests of the leading western powers. Such views have influenced Moscow's position on the thorny question of Kosovo's independence and Russia's more assertive foreign and security policy in the recent period, not least in the conflict over South Ossetia in August 2008. Ultimately, Operation Allied Force resulted in the Russian governing elite reassessing its views on statehood, the international order and the norms underpinning international society.
Subject: KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
Item ID: JA025933
Media: Article

Title: L'OTAN et la Russie : vu de Moscou
Author: Rogov, Sergei
In: POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 74eme annee, no. 4, 2009, p. 829-844.
Notes: L'elargissement a l'Est de l'OTAN s'inscrit dans une memoire russe qui decompte les tentatives de l'Ouest pour detruire ou marginaliser la Russie. Le dialogue ouvert avec Moscou par la nouvelle Administration americaine, les declarations et propositions du president Dmitri Medvedev permettent pourtant de penser qu'une nouvelle ere de cooperation pourrait s'engager : sur l'Afghanistan, sur les defenses antimissiles, sur le desarmement, et meme sur le prochain concept strategique de l'OTAN.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--USSR
Item ID: JA026504
Media: Article

Title: OTAN-Russie : 'la question russe' est-elle europeenne ?
Author: Gomart, Thomas
In: POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 74eme annee, no. 4, 2009, p. 845-858.
Notes: La relation Russie/OTAN a herite des elargissements de l'Alliance, ou du Kosovo de 1999, une image et des perceptions croisees complexes. Mais elle ne peut désormais se penser dans un strict cadre de securite europeen : le nouveau potentiel et les ambitions russes obligent a la resituer a un niveau plus general. Le triangle Etats-Unis/Europe/Russie est dorenavant au centre de la securite globale, et c'est dans ce cadre que peuvent etre penses les futurs rapports Russie/OTAN.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA026505
Media: Article

Title: Rebooting NATO-Russia Relations
Author: Antonenko, Oksana
Additional Author: Giegerich, Bastian
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA025755
Media: Article
Title: Back to the Future? International Relations Theory and NATO-Russia Relations since the End of the Cold War  
Author: Ratti, Luca  
In: INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 64, no. 2, Spring 2009, p. 399-422.  
Notes: This article evaluates different theoretical frameworks for understanding both the nature of the NATO alliance and the evolution of NATO-Russia relations since the end of the Cold War. It argues that the evolution of relations between the alliance and Moscow is best accounted for by the realist analytical perspective, while liberal and social-constructivist perspectives fail to capture the most important aspects of the alliance.  
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
Item ID: JA026050  
Media: Article

2008

Title: La relation Russie-OTAN : moment de verite ou deja-vu ?  
Author: Smith, Julianne  
In: POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 73e annee, no. 4, 2008, p. 759-773.  
Notes: Since the collapse of the USSR, NATO/Russia relationship is based on a long lasting misunderstanding. Yeltsin, as well as Putin, tried to establish close links with NATO and secondly, to co-operate in practical terms. The Russians consider that NATO has never taken seriously its demands for a partnership. The Russia/NATO relationship must be rebuilt from the start. Given the current challenges, it is necessary and even possible.  
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
Item ID: JA025409  
Media: Article

2007

Title: Frozen Conflict  
Author: Kamp, Karl-Heinz  
Notes: Russia was not explicitly on the agenda at the NATO summit in Bucharest. But Moscow's views informed the debates on missile defense, NATO enlargement, and the Balkans. With the next summit in spring 2009, NATO must decide what kind of relationship it wants with its difficult, indispensable partner.  
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
Item ID: JA024816  
Media: Article
Notes: Relations between Russia, Ukraine and Belarus and NATO have placed more emphasis on cooperation than confrontation since the Cold War, and Ukraine has begun to move towards membership. At the popular level, on the evidence of national surveys in 2004 and 2005, NATO continues to be perceived as a significant threat, but in Russia and Ukraine it comes behind the United States (in Belarus the numbers are similar). There are few socioeconomic predictors of support for NATO membership that are significant across all three countries, but there are wide differences by region, and by attitudinal variables such as support for a market economy and for EU membership. The relationship between popular attitudes and foreign policy is normally a distant one; but in Ukraine NATO membership will require public support in a referendum, and in all three cases public attitudes and foreign policy issues can influence foreign policy in other ways, including the composition of parliamentary committees. In newly independent states whose international allegiances are still evolving, the associations between public opinion and foreign and security policy may often be closer than in the established democracies.

Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--UKRAINE
Subject: NATO--BELARUS
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA022963
Media: Article

2005

Title: Russia-NATO : Toward a New Stage of Interaction ?
Author: Kelin, Andrey
In: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 51, no. 1, 2005, p. 34-42.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA021554
Media: Article

Title: NATO-Russia Military Cooperation : From Dialogue to Interoperability ?
Author: Williams, Peter
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA021925
Media: Article

Title: Russia's Relationship with NATO : A Qualitative Change or Old Wine in New Bottles ?
Author: Forsberg, Tuomas
Notes: Since the establishment of the NATO-Russia Council in 2002, new opportunities have arisen for developing a different relationship from what existed in the past. Are NATO and Russia now partners in fighting common threats like global terrorism ? There is a common view that the relationship has improved but no detailed analysis of how the relationship has changed and no agreement on whether the change is going to be fundamental. Because previous attempts by NATO to engage Russia have failed, scepticism is widespread. In fact, Russia' current view of NATO consists of contradictory elements and shows puzzlement about NATO's role and transformation in the post-Cold War world. Although the partnership is not always going to be smooth, Russia will prefer collaboration over confrontation.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA021931
Media: Article
2004

Title: Attitude to NATO Expansion : Calmly Negative.
Author: Kelin, Andrei
In: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 50, no. 1, 2004, p. 17-25.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Title: A NATO-Russia Contingency Command.
Author: Zwack, Peter B.
Notes: The author advocates the establishment of a combined NATO and Russian military force to meet the challenges of the post-9/11 world. He cites the continuing threat of transnational terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to call for a NATO-Russian force based on the 'NATO-Russia Contingency Command' first suggested in 1996. The author analyzes and refutes each of the many arguments against the establishment of such a force and determines that now is the time for NATO and Russia to take the next major military step in their maturing relationship: the establishment of a NATO-Russia Contingency Command based in Russia.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Title: NATO-Russia Relations : Present and Future
Author: Polikanov, Dmitry
Notes: NATO relations with Russia have seemed to develop in ups and downs throughout their entire history. But even at the stages of cooperation they have followed the 'one step forward, two steps back' formula. Moscow's relations with the alliance have always been hostage to inner processes of transformation of both parties, the micro-vectors of which have not necessarily coincided all the time. This article analyses the principal differences between Russia and NATO in the recent past and lessons learnt from these contradictions. It then characterizes the current status of relations and the impediments to deeper cooperation, including lack of trust and interoperability. As for the future, the author maintains that NATO-Russia relations have reached a certain ceiling and may stay like this for years, unless the parties break through this roof of inherited insults, lack of confidence, complacency and obsession with their own inner developments. Only this will help them to meet together the security challenges of the twenty-first century.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Title: NATO : New Anti-Terrorist Organization ?
Author: Kuznetsova, Ekaterina
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Media: Article
**2003**

**Title:** NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September.
**Author:** Hunter, Robert E.
**In:** JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 3, no. 3, September 2003, p. 28-54.
**Notes:** 11 September 2001. This date has already entered international parlance as a single set of numbers that needs no further explanation: '9-11'. The shock to the United States was also a shock to the international system, to a degree and in a way that is still not entirely apparent. One immediate result of 11 September was a change in Russian policy toward the United States and - eventually - to NATO. This change, which is described and analyzed in this article, may prove to be only tactical - a set of moves by Russian President Vladimir Putin to take advantage of circumstances; or it may prove to be of strategic significance: presaging a more lasting Russian engagement with the West, its powers, and its institutions. To assess the possibility of such a more lasting engagement, it is first necessary to understand what has happened in Russia's relationship with the West and - in particular for this article - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Item ID:** JA019957
**Media:** Article

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**Title:** NATO: The Only West That Russia Has?
**Author:** Straus, Ira
**In:** DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 11, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 229-269.
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Subject:** RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
**Item ID:** JA019379
**Media:** Article

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**Title:** A Bumpy Road to an Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002.
**Author:** Smith, Martin A.
**In:** EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 4, Winter 2002, p. 59-77.
**Notes:** Relations between NATO and Russia have evolved through six distinct phases since December 1991. An initial 'honeymoon' in 1991-93 was followed by deterioration. This was temporarily arrested in 1996-97 by NATO upgrading its institutional links with Russia. The relationship was severely tested during the Kosovo crisis in early 1999. Relations were not severed, however, and a gradual rebuilding occurred from the summer of 1999. The impact of 11 September 2001, finally, has been limited. Since 1991, the development of NATO-Russia relations has been uneven. Overall objectives have not been identified by either side. Nevertheless, an underlying stability has become apparent in the relationship.
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Item ID:** JA019609
**Media:** Article

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**Title:** U-Turns in Russia-NATO Relations.
**Author:** Polikanov, Dimitrij
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Subject:** NATO--ENLARGEMENT
**Item ID:** JA017769
**Media:** Article
Le rôle de la Russie dans la sécurité européenne.

Notes: Comment associer la Russie à l'architecture de la sécurité européenne ? Si, durant toute la décennie 1990, cette question est restée en suspens, notamment en raison des tensions entre Moscou et l'OTAN et des reticences de l'UE à étendre le champ du dialogue au domaine sécuritaire, elle a pris un certain relief avec l'arrivée au pouvoir de V. Poutine et, plus encore, avec les événements du 11 septembre. Après avoir tenté de contenir l'influence de l'Alliance atlantique en proposant d'abord de faire de l'OSCE le pivot d'une sécurité paneuropéenne, puis en manifestant un intérêt croissant pour la construction de la Politique européenne de sécurité et de défense (PESD), la Russie a pris conscience qu'une attitude plus amène à l'égard de l'OTAN servirait mieux ses intérêts. De leur côté, les pays occidentaux s'accordent à la reconnaître, depuis les attentats contre les États-Unis, comme un partenaire majeur dans la prévention des nouvelles menaces pesant sur la planète. De nouveaux mécanismes de coopération ont été mis en place, comme des réunions mensuelles entre Moscou et l'UE et le 'Conseil à 20', OTAN-Russie. Même si la véritable portée de ces changements institutionnels suscite un certain scepticisme dans ce pays, il n'en reste pas moins qu'ils lui permettent de s'ancrer plus solidement dans le jeu de la sécurité européenne et, partant, sur la scène internationale.
Title: Rusland, de NAVO en het Westen : nieuwe verwachtingen, oude illusies.
Author: Gerrits, Andre
Notes: The author analyses merits and drawbacks of the creation of the new NATO-Russia Council at the Rome Summit in May 2002 and compares new expectations of relations between Russia, NATO and the West with old illusions. He gives attention to the main features of the declaration as to peacekeeping, counter proliferation and a common approach to terrorism. Due to the powerful forces of revisionism in Russia both Putin and the West have to reckon with uncertainty and insecurity.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA018405
Media: Article

Title: Russia in NATO ?
Author: Baker, James A.
Notes: The former U.S. secretary of state argues that Russia should be eligible to apply for NATO admission, with a firm commitment to membership if and when Russia has substantially satisfied five explicit criteria.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA017525
Media: Article

Title: The Agenda Before NATO and Russia.
Author: Valasek, Tomas
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA018610
Media: Article

Title: A New Quality in the NATO-Russia Relationship.
Author: Robertson, George
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA017721
Media: Article

Title: On the New Quality of Russia-NATO Relations.
Author: Grushko, A.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA018523
Media: Article
L'élargissement de l'OTAN vu de Moscou.

**Author:** Trenin, Dimitri

**In:** POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e année, no. 2, avril - juin 2002, p. 377-393.

**Notes:** En se rangeant aux cotés des États-Unis dans la lutte antiterroriste au lendemain des attentats du 11 septembre, le président Poutine a modifié la donne en ce qui concerne l'avenir de l'OTAN. Certes, le premier élargissement de l'Alliance, qui a accueilli la Pologne, la Hongrie et la République tchèque, avait eu un impact négatif sur les relations de la Russie et l'Occident, ouvrant la voie à un désaccord profond, proche de la confrontation, à propos de la crise du Kosovo. Mais dans les deux cas, Moscou n'a pas eu gain de cause. Tirant les leçons de cet échec, la Russie, sans être favorable à la poursuite de l'élargissement de l'OTAN, a concentré ses efforts sur la candidature des trois États baltes. Poutine a voulu éviter que cette question n'affecte sa politique de rapprochement à l'Ouest, compensant la perspective d'une avancée de l'Alliance vers la Baltique par des succès politiques en Ukraine, en Moldavie et dans d'autres pays de l'CEI. Mais, dans le nouveau contexte stratégique ouvert par le 11 septembre, l'enjeu pourrait bien être de faire de la Russie un véritable allié de l'Occident en achevant son intégration dans les structures de sécurité de l'après-guerre froide.

**Subject:** NATO -- ENLARGEMENT

**Subject:** NATO -- RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

**Item ID:** JAO18057

**Media:** Article

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Title: Russia and the Conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia.

**Author:** Simic, Predrag

**In:** JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 1, no. 3, September 2001, p. 95-114.

**Notes:** Moscow's efforts to redefine its national interests and relations with the West in the post-Cold War era has directed the country's stance towards the conflicts in former Yugoslavia. Russia's intention to present itself as an influential power in the international efforts to manage the crises following the dissolution of Yugoslavia largely explains Moscow's frequently contradictory stances, not only towards the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo, but also in its intention to play the role of an effective mediator in the region. At the same time, Russia's strategic concern to sustain its international standing and influence through its membership in international organizations, such as the UN and OSCE, has rendered Moscow as the state that considers the weakening of those organizations as one of its external security threats.

**Subject:** YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995 -- BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA -- RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

**Subject:** KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999 -- RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

**Subject:** NATO -- RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

**Item ID:** JAO17686

**Media:** Article

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Title: Western Common Homes and Russian National Identities : How Far East Can the EU and NATO Go, and Where Does That Leave Russia ?

**Author:** Straus, Ira

**In:** EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 1-44.

**Notes:** This article examines the dual problem of Russia's international identity and its integration with the West, looking at it from first the Eastern then the Western side. It argues that a Westernist state identity would be sustainable for Russia only if accompanied by integration with the Euro-Atlantic institutions, and that in some respects the prospects for this are not as bad as usually thought : Russia is in fact in the process of entering most of the minor institutions of the Atlantic system. However, NATO and the EU are the decisive institutions, and here Russia has fared poorly. Neither side conceptualizes NATO in a way that would lead to Russian entry. NATO affirms that Russia is eligible to join when it meets the conditions, but few people on either side believe it : the conditions were conceptualized for including only small countries, not Russia. The inertia of mutual counter-position remains strong. Many in NATO circles have raised a series of objections to ever including Russia, ranging from a visceral belief that NATO needs to have Russia as its external enemy to a more specific fear of a Russian veto power; and NATO has yet to undertake to make its decision-making arrangements more flexible, as would be necessary in order to address the fear of vetoes. In theory the obstacles could be overcome in the present period; in practice this does not seem likely. Presently Russia is instead speaking mainly of uniting with the EU, yet this has even fewer prospects : the EU is too small to take in a large Russia. The failure to find a substantial Western institutional home for Russia has meant, and is likely to continue to mean, undermining the viability of the recurrent attempts at a Westernist identity for Russia.

**Subject:** RUSSIA (FEDERATION) -- FOREIGN RELATIONS

**Subject:** NATO -- RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

**Item ID:** JAO18057

**Media:** Article
In the rapidly changing arena of post-Wall geopolitics, NATO has proved to be the most dynamic actor, claiming for itself a significant role in regional security throughout Europe. Regardless of how one might judge NATO in terms of legitimacy, legality and international norms and laws, it has unmistakably overshadowed the OSCE, the UN and the EU in terms of its capacity for assertive action, as witnessed in the Balkans. However, this newly forefronted efficacy is at odds with the nascent post-Cold War security identity of the Russian Federation. Indeed, the new prominence of NATO only underscores its inadequacies as an anchoring-point for Western security architecture. The change in NATO’s world prominence has even led to an impoverished awareness of the changing state of Russia. This article presents the new NATO-Russian security picture, analyses its dynamics and presents proposals for reform of the institutional structures concerned. It argues that NATO’s ability to fulfil a regionwide security role is questionable under current arrangements. In particular, its exclusive membership policy not only leads to an explicit marginalizing of the Russian Federation, but also puts into question the Alliance’s legitimacy as a regional security institution.

Title: Russia and NATO: Implacable Partners.
Author: Polikanov, Dimitry

2000

Title: The Kremlin and NATO: Prospects for Interaction.
Author: Kozin, V.
In: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 3, 2000, p. 12-20.

Title: Geopolitics vs. Idealism: International Political Communication in the NATO Enlargement Debate.
Author: Tchantouridze, Lasha
Notes: In this paper the author tries to demonstrate how and why political communication between NATO and Russia should be so strained today.
Title: The New NATO and Relations with Russia.
Author: Frye, Alton
Notes: The promise of constructive NATO-Russia relations remains in jeopardy, prejudiced by friction over the alliance's expansion, its intervention in the Balkans, and Moscow's perception that its interests are being disregarded. On a host of issues, from stability in Europe to the maintenance of effective arms control regimes and management of regional crises beyond the Continent, cooperative working arrangements with Russia are vital. To assure such cooperation NATO should make clear that it is open to Russian membership, priority should go to EU expansion, and the US should pursue joint defenses with Russia against potential ballistic missile threats.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA015851
Media: Article

Title: From Alliance to Security Community : NATO, Russia, and the Power of Identity.
Author: Williams, Michael C.
Additional Author: Neumann, Iver B.
Notes: Focusing on relations between NATO and Russia surrounding the Alliance's decision to enlarge, this paper develops a theory of symbolic power that highlights the relationship between identities, narrative structures, institutions, and legitimate action in the construction of security policy. The authors demonstrate that such a theory provides a significant contribution to analysing the role of NATO in post-Cold War security, to understanding the evolution of NATO-Russia relations, to assessing the 'promise' of international institutions as a means of structuring security relations, as well as highlighting forms of power at work in the social construction of 'security communities'.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA015667
Media: Article

Title: NATO's Triple Challenge.
Notes: NATO's future is again the subject of speculation and debate despite its having fought a recent and apparently successful war in Kosovo. This article proposes that there are three aspects to this challenge. First, NATO is facing a series of dilemmas in its relations with non-members : how should it manage relations with Russia, and with the applicants for membership ? The authors argue that NATO should seek to develop a consolidationist posture. The second challenge is that of developing an EU-NATO partnership in the light of the Helsinki Headline Goals. This, it is proposed, can be developed through a division of labour. The third task, that of military restructuring, is overshadowed by the complexities of processing a working European military structure. In conclusion, the authors suggest that a strategy for the alliance, a key component of the Cold War, but subsequently lost, can be refashioned from the above elements.
Subject: NATO
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA016163
Media: Article

Title: Solving Russia : Final Piece in NATO's Puzzle.
Author: Hunter, Robert
Notes: Long-term hopes for Russia's, and ultimately Europe's, success rest on crafting an overall set of policies, approaches, and engagements with public and private sectors in Russia - not just on its relationships with NATO.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA014974
Media: Article

28
1999

**Title:** Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russian Relations.
**Author:** Dannreuther, Roland
**Notes:** In 1999, the Atlantic Alliance asserted its absolute primacy in European security affairs, successfully reversing ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, admitting three new members from Central Europe and unveiling a New Strategic Doctrine. Yet the challenge of Russia's unremitting opposition to NATO remains. This situation is serious not so much because Russia can threaten Western interests directly, but because of the negative impact that continued confrontation with NATO has on Russia's domestic political evolution. For the West to construct a more cooperative and constructive political and security relationship with Russia, other organisations ought to assume greater prominence - most notably the European Union, but also the UN and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is also the UN and the West's nor in Russia's interests for NATO to enlarge further eastwards.
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Subject:** NATO--ENLARGEMENT
**Subject:** EU--ENLARGEMENT
**Item ID:** JA014744
**Media:** Article

**Title:** Russia and NATO Expansion Eastward : Re-lining the Baltic States.
**Author:** Black, J. L.
**In:** INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 249-266.
**Subject:** NATO--BALTIC STATES
**Subject:** NATO--ENLARGEMENT
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Item ID:** JA014284
**Media:** Article

**Title:** Russia, NATO and European Security after Kosovo.
**Author:** Antonenko, Oksana
**In:** SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 124-144.
**Notes:** NATO's air campaign against Yugoslavia precipitated the most dangerous turn in Russian-Western relations since the early 1980s. Although tensions have eased since the end of the Kosovo war, the anger and suspicion engendered on the Russian side will not easily dissipate. The anger will endure not least because the Russian reaction had little to do with the Serb-Kosovar conflict itself, and much more to do with Russia's growing unease about NATO's post-Cold War transformation : its enlargement and pretensions to act beyond the territory of its members without an explicit UN mandate. Repairing relations will require political realism in Russia, the absence of a major new crisis in Kosovo, and restraint from NATO.
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Subject:** KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
**Item ID:** JA014743
**Media:** Article

**Title:** Russia's Changing View of NATO.
**Author:** Isakova, Irina
**In:** RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 1, February - March 1999, p. 29-31.
**Subject:** NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
**Subject:** NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
**Item ID:** JA013841
**Media:** Article
Title: Dialogues of Manoeuvre and Entanglement : NATO, Russia, and the CEECs.
Author: Fierke, K. M.
Notes: Dialogue has become a central feature of post-Cold War NATO discourse as well as a concept for theoretical exploration in International Relations. This article explores the role of NATO's dialogue with its former adversaries in constructing post-Cold War security relations in Europe. The theoretical argument builds on two concepts: a 'language of manoeuvre', as used by Hollis and Smith, and the Wittgensteinian notion of being 'entangled' in our language. These insights are applied to an analysis of interactions between NATO, Russia, and the Central Eastern European countries over a six-year period. While accepting that NATO may have had an instrumental goal in encouraging dialogue, once engaged in the process, Alliance manoeuvres, including the decision to expand, were circumscribed and shaped at any given point in time by its entanglement in conflicting promises to others.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--EUROPE, CENTRAL
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA014099
Media: Article

Title: NATO and the Russian Federation in the New Europe : The Founding Act on Mutual Relations.
Author: Carr, Fergus
Additional Author: Flenley, Paul
Notes: The end of the cold war led to a new European order in which a new security agenda has emerged embracing issues wider than the old military perspectives. NATO has sought to respond to the new order by moving towards concepts of dialogue and cooperation with former opponents in the form of such programmes as Partnership for Peace. The countries of central and eastern Europe, however, have sought full NATO membership as a more concrete guarantee of future security. NATO enlargement became official NATO policy, justified by the idea of promoting stability in central and eastern Europe and as a reflection of NATO's new perception of itself within a post-cold war security architecture. Russian opposition to NATO enlargement has been motivated by fears of NATO exploitation of Russian weakness, loss of strategic positions to NATO and exclusion from Europe. The Founding Act on Mutual Relations was proposed by NATO to overcome Russian concerns and create a new partnership with Russia. Debate has continued within Russia about whether this has actually strengthened Russia's position in its dealings with the West. Fears remain about a further round of NATO expansion into the former Soviet Union which, it is said, would put an end to any existing partnership. Russia is not only redefining its own security agenda in the post-Soviet period but also defining its own broader identity and foreign-policy interests. Western policy makers should not always simply assume that Russia will continue to support a security architecture that primarily accords with the West's agenda.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA014620
Media: Article

Title: Russia-NATO Relations after the Kosovo Crisis : Strategic Implications.
Author: Gobarev, Viktor
Notes: This essay explores the strategic (geopolitical, geostrategic, political-military, military, international, theater security, and military-technical) aspects of Russian-NATO relations. Within this context, it focuses primarily on the Russian perspective and policy on the matter and, where relevant, highlights the different views and attitudes toward NATO of the Russian government, parliament (Duma), opposition political parties and forces, the military establishment, and the general public.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA014731
Media: Article
Title: Russia and NATO Expansion : The Uneasy Basis of the Founding Act.
Author: Hanson, Marianne
Notes: Russia’s signature to the Founding Act, which paved the way for NATO expansion, was accompanied by continuing misgivings about Western intentions. Russia, which for decades had pursued the idea of a pan-European security organisation, continues to view NATO expansion as unnecessary and seeks instead to strengthen the OSCE.
Reinforcing stability and democracy within its new member states is one of the motivations for NATO expansion, but it is the OSCE which is better designed to encourage stability in these particular states. NATO continues to be seen by Russia as a military organisation, and its expansion may have damaging consequences for future Russian-Western relations.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA013293
Media: Article

Title: The Disquieting Voice of Russian Resentment.
Author: Hammersen, Frederick P. A.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA012915
Media: Article

Title: Gesicherte Partnerschaft ? : das Verhaltnis NATO-Russland.
Author: Vogel, Heinrich
Notes: Russland hat sich der Offnung der NATO fur neue Mitglieder aus Mittel- und Osteuropa lange Zeit hartnackig wiedersetzt; auch nach der Unterzeichnung der Grundakte zwischen der NATO und Russland gehen die erbitterten Diskussionen uber die Aufgaben des sich erweiternden Bundnisses und russische Mitspracherechte weiter. Nach Ansicht Vogels muss Russland noch einen langen Weg zurucklegen vom Verzicht auf Konfrontation hin zu einer vorbehaltlosen Partnerschaft mit der Atlantischen Allianz.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA013191
Media: Article

Title: Russia’s Several Seats at the Table.
Author: Odom, William E.
Notes: In his reply to Jonathan Haslam’s article published in the January 1998 issue of this review, the author outlines his vision of NATO and its origins and purpose, and discusses the American strategic view of the post-Cold War world against which the decision to expand NATO should be seen. Russia will, he maintains, remain a problem for the West, but its importance and power should not be overemphasized. The danger facing the Western security order is not one of Russia’s exclusion but of US power ebbing out of Europe - a distinct probability unless NATO expands.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
Subject: EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
Subject: USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
Item ID: JA013384
Media: Article
Relations between Russia and NATO have been normalised since the signing of the Founding Act between NATO-Russia last year. This opened the way for a permanent Russian mission to NATO, the posting of a military Russian delegation to NATO and a NATO information centre has opened in Moscow. This comes at the same time as NATO is expanding to include some of the states of the former Warsaw Pact. Here, the author looks at how the Russia-NATO relationship can develop in the coming months and years. Although a rapprochement has taken place between the two, their aspirations still differ substantially: while NATO is set on a process of enlargement, the Russians still hope to either persuade NATO to reconsider its 'open door' policy or to stretch the principle to include Russia as well. It is clearly a difficult stage which the relationship has entered. Dr. Isakova argues that the best way forward is to build on existing security arrangements and, if possible, to prolong the period between the first and second waves of enlargement.

The article compares the results of two model analyses on the implications of NATO enlargement for Russia’s security in six regions: North-West, West, South-West, Caucasus, Central Asia, and Far-East. One was done by Vitali Tsygichko using his 'Modes of Defense Sufficiency' (MDS), the other one by these authors using Tsygichko's data as input to the 'Generalized Force Ratio Model' (GEFRAM). While agreeing with regard to the general trend in the development of Russia's security situation, the results differ significantly as to whether these trends indicate a reduction of security below Russia's stated requirements. The results are preliminary and meant as an input to a continued debate on the subject among analysts.

Equivocation by Western governments about the place of Russia in Europe in the context of the enlargement of NATO and the EU leaves a critical issue unresolved. In effect, Russia has been excluded from the Euro-American ambit. Russia's present weakness has enabled its own reservations about these developments to be sidelined; but an economically rejuvenated Russia could pose a threat of dominance in eastern and central Europe every bit as substantial as the military dominance of former times. A way needs to be found to incorporate Russia into a modified European system to avoid its retreating into a potentially dangerous isolation.

Title: The NATO-Russian Relationship One Year After: Next Steps After First Enlargement?
Author: Isakova, Irina

Notes: Relations between Russia and NATO have been normalised since the signing of the Founding Act between NATO-Russia last year. This opened the way for a permanent Russian mission to NATO, the posting of a military Russian delegation to NATO and a NATO information centre has opened in Moscow. This comes at the same time as NATO is expanding to include some of the states of the former Warsaw Pact. Here, the author looks at how the Russia-NATO relationship can develop in the coming months and years. Although a rapprochement has taken place between the two, their aspirations still differ substantially: while NATO is set on a process of enlargement, the Russians still hope to either persuade NATO to reconsider its 'open door' policy or to stretch the principle to include Russia as well. It is clearly a difficult stage which the relationship has entered. Dr. Isakova argues that the best way forward is to build on existing security arrangements and, if possible, to prolong the period between the first and second waves of enlargement.

Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA013385
Media: Article

Title: NATO Enlargement and Russia Security: A Comparison of Findings from Two Analytical Approaches.
Author: Huber, Reiner K.
Additional Author: Friedrich, Gernot

Notes: The article compares the results of two model analyses on the implications of NATO enlargement for Russia's security in six regions: North-West, West, South-West, Caucasus, Central Asia, and Far-East. One was done by Vitali Tsygichko using his 'Modes of Defense Sufficiency' (MDS), the other one by these authors using Tsygichko's data as input to the 'Generalized Force Ratio Model' (GEFRAM). While agreeing with regard to the general trend in the development of Russia's security situation, the results differ significantly as to whether these trends indicate a reduction of security below Russia's stated requirements. The results are preliminary and meant as an input to a continued debate on the subject among analysts.

Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA013709
Media: Article

Title: Russia's Seat at the Table: A Place Denied or a Place Delayed?
Author: Haslam, Jonathan

Notes: Equivocation by Western governments about the place of Russia in Europe in the context of the enlargement of NATO and the EU leaves a critical issue unresolved. In effect, Russia has been excluded from the Euro-American ambit. Russia's present weakness has enabled its own reservations about these developments to be sidelined; but an economically rejuvenated Russia could pose a threat of dominance in eastern and central Europe every bit as substantial as the military dominance of former times. A way needs to be found to incorporate Russia into a modified European system to avoid its retreating into a potentially dangerous isolation.

Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
Subject: EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA012578
Media: Article
Title: NATO Expansion and Russian National Interests.
Author: Averre, Derek
Notes: The article centres on the debate in Russia about NATO expansion into Central and Eastern Europe and how expansion affects reemergent Russian national interests post-Madrid. The author examines official Russian arguments against expansion as well as the views of policy-makers and political commentators, assesses the impact of NATO’s plans on Russian-Western security and disarmament arrangements and analyses Russia’s relations with her neighbours in CEE, the CIS and Asia.
Subject: NATO—ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
Item ID: JA013221
Media: Article

1997

Title: La question russe après l’accord avec l’OTAN.
Author: Delpech, Therese, 1948-2012
Notes: L’Acte fondateur entre l’OTAN et la Russie, signé à Paris le 27 mai 1997 est le texte le plus symbolique de la fin de la guerre froide. L’avenir dira la portée réelle de cet accord pour la sécurité de l’Europe. Elle dépendra à la fois de la volonté occidentale de tirer parti des consultations et des coopérations qu’il prévoit et de la perception que la Russie se fait de ses intérêts de sécurité au prochain siècle. Moscou cherchera probablement tout à la fois à coopérer avec l’Ouest et à transformer l’OTAN en une organisation de sécurité collective de type OSCE. Tels ne sont pas les objectifs des membres de l’OTAN. C’est pourquoi l’ouverture à la Russie doit se faire avec autant de discernement que de détermination, surtout au moment ou le désarmement marque le pas à la Douma.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA012511
Media: Article

Title: Mag Rusland ooit lid van de NAVO worden ?
Author: Siccama, J. G.
Notes: The author blames the present objections of Russia to NATO enlargement on the delay in Western decision-making after the end of the Cold War. He prefers gradual enlargement, doing justice to the wish of the Central Europeans to become integrated militarily, to a division of Europe in spheres of influence. While it is not advisable to exclude Russia from NATO membership, the envisaged Charter between Moscow and the Alliance should not be allowed to undermine the political and military effectiveness of the West.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA011840
Media: Article

Title: Russlands mögliche Reaktionen auf die Osterweiterung der NATO.
Author: Frenkin, Anatoli
Notes: In Russia there is very little sympathy for NATO’s eastward enlargement. Everybody is against it and considers it as a threat to Russia. But there are very diverse views about the questions how big such a threat really is and of what it consists, what consequences it could have for Russia and how Moscow should react to NATO’s eastward enlargement. All political forces, the general public, the military experts and the political scientists intensively discuss this subject and seek a constructive solution, also taking the ideas of a strategic partnership with NATO into consideration. What would be useful for Russia and what would better serve the national interests? As to this, there are completely opposing opinions: an extension of NATO to the East would be a threat or would not be a threat at all; Russia would have to react absolutely strongly to this or, on the contrary, would not have to react at all; Moscow’s relations to NATO should be suspended or Russia should request NATO membership.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA011536
La Russie et l'OTAN : une nouvelle etape ?
Roubinski, Youri
L'auteur décrit, du point de vue russe, le processus qui a abouti à la conclusion de l'Acte fondateur entre la Russie et l'OTAN avec pour toile de fond la question de l'élargissement de l'Alliance atlantique en direction de l'Est et le refus russe d'envisager une telle perspective. Pour lui, l'opposition officielle russe a été plus rhétorique que réelle. Moscou s'est efforcée d'effectuer une pression sur les Occidentaux en vue d'obtenir des compensations lors des négociations. Or, les garanties occidentales inclues dans l'Acte fondateur semblent bien floues et, en tout cas, bien éloignées du souhait russe de voir se constituer un système de sécurité collective européen autour de l'OSCE et en dehors de la 'tutelle' américaine.

Notes:

Subject:
NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Item ID:
JA012721

Media:
Article

Title: Russia and NATO: Expansion and Coexistence?
Lynch, Allen C.
The author analyzes Russia's discourse and attitude toward NATO and its prospective enlargement, providing a critical assessment of NATO's enlargement policy.

Subject:
NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Item ID:
JA011849

Media:
Article

Title: Russian Domestic Debate on NATO Enlargement: From Phobia to Damage Limitation.
Sergounin, Alexander A.
This study examines how different Russian foreign policy schools and political groups perceived NATO enlargement. Its purpose is threefold: first, to describe Russian arguments against NATO enlargement circulated in the Russian mass media and research literature. Second, to explain why there was surprising unanimity among the Russian foreign policy schools and political parties as regards NATO extension. Third, to examine specialities of particular schools and parties concerning NATO enlargement.

Subject:
NATO--ENLARGEMENT
NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Item ID:
JA012839

Media:
Article

Title: La Russie, l'OTAN et l'avenir de la sécurité européenne.
Facon, Isabelle
La position intransigeante de la Russie face à la perspective de l'élargissement de l'OTAN a conforté de nombreux observateurs dans leur conviction que Moscou reste prisonnier de ses représentations stratégiques traditionnelles. Dans le même temps, le gouvernement russe, favorisant la participation et la coopération dans ses relations avec l'Ocident, reévaluant sensiblement ses rapports avec ses anciens satellites, semble signifier qu'il n'envisage pas pour son pays un destin coupé de l'Europe. En étendant leur espace stratégique sans considération démesurée pour la fragilité des équilibres internes en Russie, les Occidentaux ne risquent-ils pas de voir resurgir la logique de confrontation ?

Subject:
NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Item ID:
JA012512

Media:
Article
At its July 1997 summit meeting, NATO plans to invite several countries to begin negotiations leading to their membership within a few years. To enlarge the Alliance without a parallel improvement in NATO-Russian relations could lead to a major and unnecessary deterioration in West-East relations. It could empower anti-Western and nationalist elements in Russia; provoke a retrograde Russian defence policy, including emphasis on tactical and strategic nuclear weapons; cause Moscow to feel un constrained by the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty; and kill the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) II Treaty. It would be preferable to engage Moscow in a serious and substantive NATO-Russian charter - a package of measures including institutionalised political consultations, modernisation of the CFE Treaty, formal reassurances concerning the non-deployment of nuclear weapons and foreign forces in new NATO member-states, enhanced Russian participation in Partnership for Peace (PfP), and a coordinated response to the Baltic States. The engagement of Russia would make enlargement politically acceptable.

Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA011850
Media: Article
Title: Partnership with Russia.
Author: Bonsor, Nicholas
Notes: The author discusses here the ways and means by which the UK can contribute to Russia's integration into economic and security structures, in particular NATO, the OSCE and the Council of Europe. He concludes that Russia has a central role in the future of a secure Europe and although the West must maintain its vigilance in these times of uncertainty, we must also continue to build towards the fundamental success of Russian renewal.
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN
Subject: GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA011275
Media: Article

Title: Russia and NATO Expansion.
Author: Kortunov, Andrei
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA011180
Media: Article

Title: If not NATO Enlargement: What Does Russia Want?
Author: Borawski, John
Notes: The purpose here is to examine whether a plausible Russian alternative, or at least necessary complement, to NATO enlargement exists that the West should seriously consider so as to minimize the risks of a 'cold peace' and enhance the prospects for a functional non-exclusionary security regime whose time, despite a discouraging history, perhaps might have come.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA011509
Media: Article

Title: NATO Enlargement and Russia.
Author: Cimbala, Stephen J.
Notes: The conditions that made NATO a successful Cold War alliance have now disappeared, leading some to argue that NATO should expand eastward, serving as the focal point for post-Cold War European security. But this optimism may be out of place. The predicted transformation of NATO from a military to a political alliance has not occurred. More importantly, since NATO's strategy has a nuclear component, NATO expansion would presumably include extending the nuclear umbrella to new members in Central Europe. Such a move might be perceived as unnecessarily provocative to Russia. The implications and potential consequences of NATO expansion must be fully taken into account by NATO's leadership.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA010865
Media: Article
Title: Partnership or Cold Peace?
Author: Kozyrev, Andrei
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
Item ID: JA010206
Media: Article

1995

Title: NATO and Russia.
Author: Arbatov, Alexei
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA010243
Media: Article

Title: Vom Kalten Krieg zum Kalten Frieden?
Author: Rose, Jurgen
Notes: Die NATO-Osterweiterung und die Zukunft der Aussen-und Sicherheitspolitik der Russischen Federation.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
Subject: RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA010127
Media: Article

Title: Russian Oppositions to NATO Expansion.
Author: Lieven, Anatol
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA010436
Media: Article

Title: Russia and NATO.
Author: Moltke, Gebhardt von
Notes: In this article Ambassador Gebhardt von Moltke addresses the importance of NATO's role in attempting to establish a cooperative partnership with Russia, through such initiatives as the Partnership for Peace programme. He concludes on a note of optimism on the future prospects for cooperation within Europe and between Russia and NATO asserting that a return to the conditions of the Cold War is advantageous to no-one.
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA009894
Media: Article

Title: Rusia y la ampliacion de la OTAN.
Author: Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA009904
Media: Article
Title: Loosing Russia or Keeping NATO : Must We Choose?
Author: Dean, Jonathan
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA010227
Media: Article

1994

Title: Entwicklungen der russischen Haltung zur NATO.
Author: Wettig, Gerhard
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA009180
Media: Article

Title: Why an Expanded NATO Must Include Russia.
Author: Bell, Coral
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Item ID: JA009985
Media: Article

Title: Moscow's Perception of NATO's Role.
Author: Wettig, Gerhard
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA009102
Media: Article

1993

Title: Russia and NATO : A Vital Partnership for European Security.
Author: Stepashin, Serguey
Subject: NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Item ID: JA008604
Media: Article
NATO LibGuides

NATO-Russia [electronic resource]
Published: Brussels : NATO, 2011-
Subject: NATO–RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Notes: This LibGuide is intended to provide a few starting points to assist with research on issues related to NATO-Russia relations.
Item ID: ER000021
Media: Website
Link: http://www.natolibguides.info/nato-russia
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