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NATO-Russia in the 2010 Alliance Strategic Concept

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Contents

- Current rapprochement between Russia and NATO
- Energy as the new power tool
- Russia: a resurgent superpower?
- Russian security policy in the future
- What should be written in the new Strategic Concept?
- Statements on Russia in the 19 Nov 2010 Strategic Concept



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Rapprochement between Russia and NATO (1)

- 27 March 2009 Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) conference in Moscow on Afghanistan - with EU and NATO:
 - RF MFA Lavrov offered West cooperation on Afghanistan
 - Russia & USA intend jointly developing energy transport systems in Afghanistan
- Spring 2009: Obama's Afghan strategy: cooperation of NATO, Central Asian states, Russia, China, Iran
- 24-25 June 09: NATO's EAPC Security Forum in Kazakhstan
 - >> attended by Bolat Nurgaliev, Secretary-General SCO

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Rapprochement between Russia and NATO (2)

- 17 September 2009: US President Obama annuls missile shield in Poland & Czech Republic
- 18 September 09: NATO's new SG Rasmussen's first major speech on relations with Russia:
 - Reinforce practical cooperation
 - Rejuvenate NATO-Russia Council
 - Joint review of 21st century security challenges
 - "Russia will realize that a more cooperative relationship with NATO is very much in its own self-interest"



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Energy as the new power tool

- Energy security is a military task of Russia and NATO
- Lavrov & Medvedev aware of energy as power instrument:
 - Repeatedly use of energy weapon (cut-offs) since 2005
 - Energy mentioned as power tool in RF security strategy (May 09)
- Rivalry between Russia & the West in acquiring energy resources from Caucasus and Central Asia:
 - The West breaks Russia's energy dominance by creating alternative pipeline routes (BTC, BTE, Nabucco)
 - Russia (Gazprom) binds Kazakhstan & Turkmenistan with long-lasting contracts and creates Nord and South Stream



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Russia: a resurgent superpower?

CONDITIONS:

Internal/Social:

- Achilles heel of North Caucasus stabilised
- Social-economic improvements (e.g. Decline in population)

Economic:

- Diversification and continued growth of RF economy
- Real member of G-8 upon economic power

Military:

- Radical modernisation of the Armed Forces
- Capable of modern warfare & global power projection



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Future Russian security policy

EXPECT: *a Failing & Assertive Russia*.

- Social problems can cause unrest endangering power base
- Vulnerability of Russia's energy-driven economy
- Moscow loses its grip on the North Caucasus and on Far East
- CSTO & SCO do not integrate nor become anti-West structure
- Further economically/politically rising China & India
- Duumvirate prolongs assertive course in foreign security policy
- Social-economic set-backs limit military reform
- Losing power at home/abroad might induce 'Georgia 08' actions
- Prominence of energy in security issues/clashes



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7

What to include in the new Strategic Concept (1)

- Accept that Russia is 'back-in –business' in the international arena and rightfully demands influence
- Political differences will continue: e.g. WMD proliferation (Iran), terrorism, missile shield, Eur. security architecture
- Policy of steadfastness & cooperation – of stick & carrot:
 - Tough stance: make clear to Russia a line drawn (Georgia)
 - Cooperation: international isolation radicalises Russia; offer Moscow cooperation and treat it as an equal partner



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8

What to include in the new Strategic Concept (2)

- In cooperation with Russia concentrate on mutual beneficial, non-political sensitive and practical projects:
 - Exchange of students, (cadet) officers and veterans to promote trust
 - Intensify military-operational cooperation: e.g. Theatre Missile Defence; *Active Endeavour*; CFE, anti-piracy operations
 - NATO cooperation with Russian-led SCO/CSTO in Afghanistan against narcotics and Taliban
- Recognize that energy policy towards Russia has two sides:
 - CONFRONTATION: in the Black Sea /Caspian /Arctic regions
 - COOPERATION: Against pirates (Somalia); Afghanistan (Lavrov); joint (RF/CSTO) security of energy infrastructure against terrorists

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9

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What to include in the new Strategic Concept (3)

- Diversity of energy supplies is a security priority: Less dependence on Russia means more policy options
- In eastward actions avoid unnecessary conflicts with Russia whilst securing NATO's interests:
 - NATO should replace its air protection over the Baltic states: train/equip Baltic States to perform this task themselves
 - Do not give in to Russian pressure against bringing Georgia closer to NATO
 - Cooperate with East Europe in GUAM & EU/Eastern Partnership - even though Russia opposes this
 - Article 5: applied if RUS 'protects' its minorities in NATO states



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10

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2010 Strategic Concept: on Russia (1)

- Actively seek cooperation on missile defence with Russia and other Euro-Atlantic partners
- Future reductions aimed to increase Russian transparency on its nuclear weapons in Europe and relocate these weapons away from NATO territory
- Further reductions considering disparity of greater Russian stockpiles of short-range nuclear weapons
- NATO-Russia cooperation is of strategic importance for a common space of peace, stability and security

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11

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2010 Strategic Concept: on Russia (2)

- NATO poses no threat to Russia
- On the contrary: strive for a true strategic partnership with Russian reciprocity expected
- Even with differences on particular issues, convinced that the security of NATO and Russia is intertwined
- A strong and constructive partnership based on mutual confidence, transparency and predictability can best serve our security

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12

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2010 Strategic Concept: on Russia (3)

- NATO is determined to:
 - enhance cooperation with Russia in areas of shared interests: missile defence, counter-terrorism, counter-narcotics, counter-piracy and the promotion of wider international security;
 - Use the full potential of the NATO-Russia Council for dialogue and joint action with Russia



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