

UGAMUNC XXV



NATO

Delegates,

We eagerly await your arrival at UGAMUNC. We are overly excited for you to participate in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation with us this year. We hope that we meet your expectations as Chair and Co-chair. We also hope this guide can provide you with an excellent place to start your research as you prepare for this conference. We understand the immense work and dedication (We were in your shoes not so long ago) that you have put into your research prior to our committee and we cannot wait to see the fruits of your handwork.

I, Griffin Smith, am your chair for this committee this year. I was born in Hamilton, Ontario, but I now reside in Milton, Georgia. I am an International Affairs major with a French/German minor. I have substantial Model United Nations experience in High School, but this is my first year at the collegiate level. I am particularly interested in the conflict in Syria and comparative politics, especially authoritarian regimes. I hope that I can meet your expectations as a Chair in this year's NATO committee.

Your co-chair will be Adam Orr. He was born and raised in Valdosta, Georgia and my major is Applied Biotechnology with a focus on Animal Science. He has two years of High School in Model United Nations and this is also his first time participating at the collegiate level as he is a Freshmen. He is interested in history and international politics, specifically with that of the Classical Era in human history, and he looks forward to meeting you all and hope that we can meet your expectations as Co-Chair.

We both are extremely excited and honoured to be participating in this alongside you. Thank you for attending and thank you for this opportunity.

If you, for any reason, need to contact the chair of the committee for inquiries, I will be supplying my email. I can answer any questions you have about content that you find particularly pressing and I can also share with you some advice, as I, not too long ago, was in your shoes as a High School Model United Nations delegate. In any stage of the process, if you need assistance and you think I could help, do not hesitate to email me. I will respond forthwith.

I look forward to reading your position papers which are due on the 1st of February 2019. I hope your papers will succinctly detail your position as both a country on the given three topics, but also, what you hope the NATO alliance can do together to confront these issues in a united manner. I hope that your paper will accurately reflect the careful geopolitical balance necessary to approach these issues, in that they are nuanced and detailed. I expect nothing less. Of course, position papers are yours to design, but an award will come to the best written one.

In conclusion, I am very excited to be your chair this year and I look forward to this conference. I hope I and my co-chair can meet your expectations and provide you with an excellent UGAMUNC experience.

Griffin Smith

-Chair

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Adam Orr

-Co-chair

A Short History of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

After the Second World War, the world had irreversibly changed. The Soviet Union and United States replaced the United Kingdom and France as the world's preeminent powers. Decolonisation and national self-determination began at a rapid pace as the Colonies, which had previously been the centre of Empires, became gradually independent at the behest of national and international forces. One of the key new organisations in the operations of the post-Second World War world order is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Formed on 4 April 1949¹ by the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, NATO would go on to be a primary actor in the series of geopolitical conflicts that became known as the Cold War. The original members were the United States of America, United Kingdom, France, Portugal, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Luxembourg, Denmark, Canada, and Iceland.² These nations would begin to create the intergovernmental and military structures for the defence of Western European nations from a perceived Soviet threat. Shortly after the creation of the organisation as a bulwark against Communist expansion into Western Europe, Greece, who had been through a Civil War between forces loyal to the pro-Western Kingdom and Communist forces, and Turkey, who faced Soviet disputes over their mutual border, joined the organisation.³ The Federal Republic of Germany, which made up the Western part of modern Germany, would later join under Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in 1955, a very controversial move to the Soviet Union, who wanted a neutral Germany. In response to the remilitarisation of West Germany and to solidify the Soviet-led Communist bloc, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, or informally, the Warsaw Pact, was formed the same year.⁴

NATO and Warsaw Pact members, throughout the Cold War, would have many indirect confrontations such as the Vietnam War and the Bay of Pigs incident.⁵ In 1982, after the death of long-term Spanish *Generalissimo* Francisco Franco in 1975, whose nationalist government of Spain was established after the Spanish Civil War, Spain's new democratic government ascended to NATO. The Cold War would slowly come to an end after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact governments. The Soviet Union itself would collapse on 25 December 1991. This post-Cold War era extends into today. NATO still serves a very large purpose internationally, despite the end of the Cold War era tensions that marked its first 52 years of existence. As the Warsaw Pact nations collapsed, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while itself not a Warsaw Pact member, also faced collapse. In 1991, Yugoslavia had broken out into many wars. NATO decided it would act in an unprecedented manner. NATO aircraft bombed Bosnian Serb forces in 1995, who were ethnically cleansing many of the Bosniak and Croat citizens from the areas they claimed.⁶ Many, at the time, praised the intervention, but others, such as the Russian Federation, found it heavy-handed and biased. Croat and Bosniak forces had committed ethnic cleansing acts but were not bombed by

1 NATO. n.d. "A Short History of NATO." NATO. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Accessed October 9, 2018. https://www.nato.int/cps/ie/natohq/declassified_139339.htm.

2 Ibid.

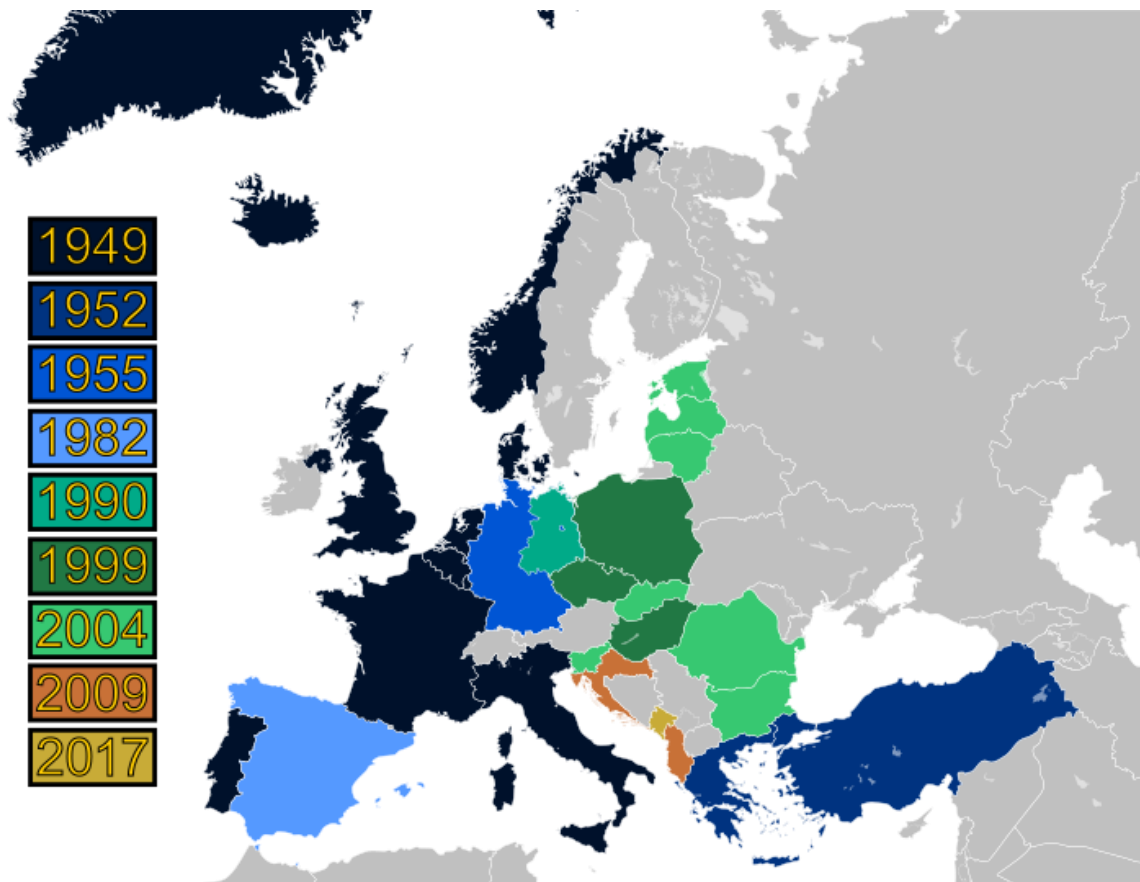
3 NATO. "NATO Review - Greece and Turkey: 60 Years in NATO." NATO. Accessed October 09, 2018. <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2012/turkey-greece/EN/index.htm>.

4 Pike, John E. "Formation of the Warsaw Pact." Global Security. Accessed October 09, 2018. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/int/warsaw-pact-03.htm>.

5 Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Cold War." Encyclopaedia Britannica. July 27, 2018. Accessed October 09, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Cold-War>

6 Nato Review. October 2005. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/issue3/english/history.html>

NATO. After the Dayton Agreement halted fighting in most of Yugoslavia⁷, NATO forces took a peacekeeping role in the area that would end in the early 2000s. NATO forces also took part in bombing Serbia after Serb forces began a campaign to end an insurgency in the region of Kosovo. This action was very controversial, especially after the Chinese embassy in Belgrade was bombed, which received widespread condemnation⁸. NATO, as an alliance, was also involved in the Libyan Civil War. A joint force of mostly French and American aircraft operated above Libya as rebels against the government of Muammar Gaddafi fought loyalist forces successfully. Prior to this, formerly Communist states joined NATO, specifically Czechia, Poland, and Hungary in 1999. In 2004, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined. Croatia and Albania followed in 2009. NATO's newest member is Montenegro, who joined in 2017.⁹



Above: A map of NATO expansion

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/45/History_of_NATO_enlargement.svg/680px-History_of_NATO_enlargement.svg.png)

7 "Dayton Peace Agreement." Dayton Peace Agreement | OSCE. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.osce.org/bih/126173>.

8 Myers, Steven Lee. "Chinese Embassy Bombing: A Wide Net of Blame." The New York Times. April 17, 2000. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/04/17/world/chinese-embassy-bombing-a-wide-net-of-blame.html>.

9 NATO. n.d. "A Short History of NATO." NATO. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Accessed October 12, 2018. https://www.nato.int/cps/ie/natohq/declassified_139339.htm.

Topic I: Situation in the Syrian Arab Republic

A Brief History of Syria

The history of Syria in the 20th Century is complex, yet key in understanding the current situation in the country. At the beginning of the 20th century, Syria was a part of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ The First World War erupted in 1914 and soon after, the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers along with the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires. This led to the Middle Eastern Campaign by Anglo-French forces against the Ottomans and their German allies. The British, under commanders like Lawrence of Arabia, used mass resentment against imperial Ottoman rule and Arab nationalism to recruit much of the population to join the Entente's cause.¹¹ The key figure in this would be Emir Faisal, who, in October of 1918, with British forces, seized Damascus from the Ottoman Empire.¹² Despite Entente rhetoric of self-determination and independence, the San Remo Conference, after the Treaty of Versailles that ended the war, placed Syria under a French mandate along with Lebanon, forming the French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon in 1920. This new government, however, was not well accepted amongst the Syrian people. Anti-French nationalists led a revolt against French rule in Damascus, however, it was quickly suppressed by the French Army.¹³ French rule would continue throughout the 1920s and 1930s with gradual moves towards independence and increased autonomy, however, the Second World War that began in 1939 would change the history of the World and Syria.¹⁴

After the Fall of France in 1940, Vichy French (collaborators with the German occupiers) forces initially occupied Syria and maintained the colonial government, however, a combined army of Free French and British troops invaded Syria and Lebanon, but to quell popular discontent, leader of the Free French, Charles de Gaulle, promised an end to French rule at the end of the War.¹⁵ Unlike in the First World War, Allied forces kept their promise and Syria gained independence, alongside Lebanon, in 1946.¹⁶ Soon after independence, the party that currently rules Syria was founded by Michel Aflaq and Salah-al-Din al-Bitar, the Arab Socialist Baath Party. Independence, however, did not go so smoothly. Syria's first president was a civilian named Shukri al-Kuwatli.¹⁷ He led a relatively democratic government. This government did not last long however. Syria quickly became plagued with a series of military coups, the first in 1949. The Syrian *coup d'état* of 1949 installed a military government, but it was eventually overthrown in another coup. This instability marred the period from 1949 until 1954. At this point, the first President, al-Kuwatli, returned to power.¹⁸ He started a pro-Nasserist Egypt

10 "Syria Profile - Timeline." BBC News. April 24, 2018. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14703995>.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18. Ibid

policy.¹⁹ Gamal Abdel Nasser, at this point, had been the major Arab nationalist leader who represented, to many Arabs, nationalism, independence, and unification. This pro-Egyptian policy created the United Arab Republic, a union of Syria and Egypt, in 1958.²⁰ This union was very short-lived however. Cairo centralised authority in itself and gave Syria, in this union, extraordinarily little autonomy, leading to Syrian military officers launching another *coup d'état* in 1961.²¹ Two years later, Army officers loyal to the Syrian branch of the Arab Socialist Baa'th Party seized power in another *coup d'état* in 1963.²² The Syrian Baa'th Party, however, became divided into two factions, one of the military and one, the old guard civilian leadership of the Party. In 1966, Salah Jadid, de facto leader of the military faction, overthrew the civilian faction in an internal coup in 1966.²³ A young Air Force officer named Hafez al-Assad in the Jadid government was appointed Minister of Defence. Soon after this, the Six-Day War between Syria and Egypt against Israel broke out, ending in a severe rout for Syrian and Egyptian forces.²⁴ Israeli forces occupied the Golan Heights, the occupation of which continues to this day. This defeat marred the Jadid government until its fall.

In 1970, Hafez al-Assad launched the "Corrective Revolution"²⁵ which overthrew Jadid and placed himself in power. Hafez al-Assad launched a program of modernisation and secularisation, which made his government popular among many religious minorities, but when he dropped the constitutional requirement of the Syrian president to be Muslim, riots erupted in the country.²⁶ Soon after the rise of Hafez al-Assad, another war with Israel broke out. Egypt and Syria fought Israeli forces, however, Syrian forces were unable to retake all the Golan Heights. This defeat would blemish the Syrian government and be a point of contention to this day. Syria, after the Yom Kippur War, would be relatively stable until the beginning of 1980s. In 1980, following the momentum provided by the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, Islamist groups rioted against the secular government.²⁷ This came to a head in early 1982 in the city of Hama. Syrian Army units cracked down hard on Islamist rebels, leading to the Hama massacre.²⁸ This would suppress much of the political opposition to Hafez al-Assad for rest of his rule. In the same year, Israeli forces invaded Lebanon. Syria, seeing Lebanon as a part of its sphere of influence, sent forces to oppose the Israeli presence. Active conflict would continue until 1983, but Syrian forces would stay in Lebanon afterwards.²⁹

In 1990, Baa'thist Iraq, who was a rival of the Syrian Baa'thist government, invaded Kuwait. Syria joined the coalition of forces that liberated Kuwait from Iraqi occupation¹⁹. During this time, Hafez al-Assad had been grooming his oldest son, Basil al-Assad to be his successor. Basil, however, died in a car crash in 1994.³⁰ His younger son, Bashar al-Assad, the current

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 "Profile: Syria's Ruling Baath Party." BBC News. July 09, 2012. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-18582755>.

24 "Syria Profile - Timeline." BBC News. April 24, 2018. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14703995>.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

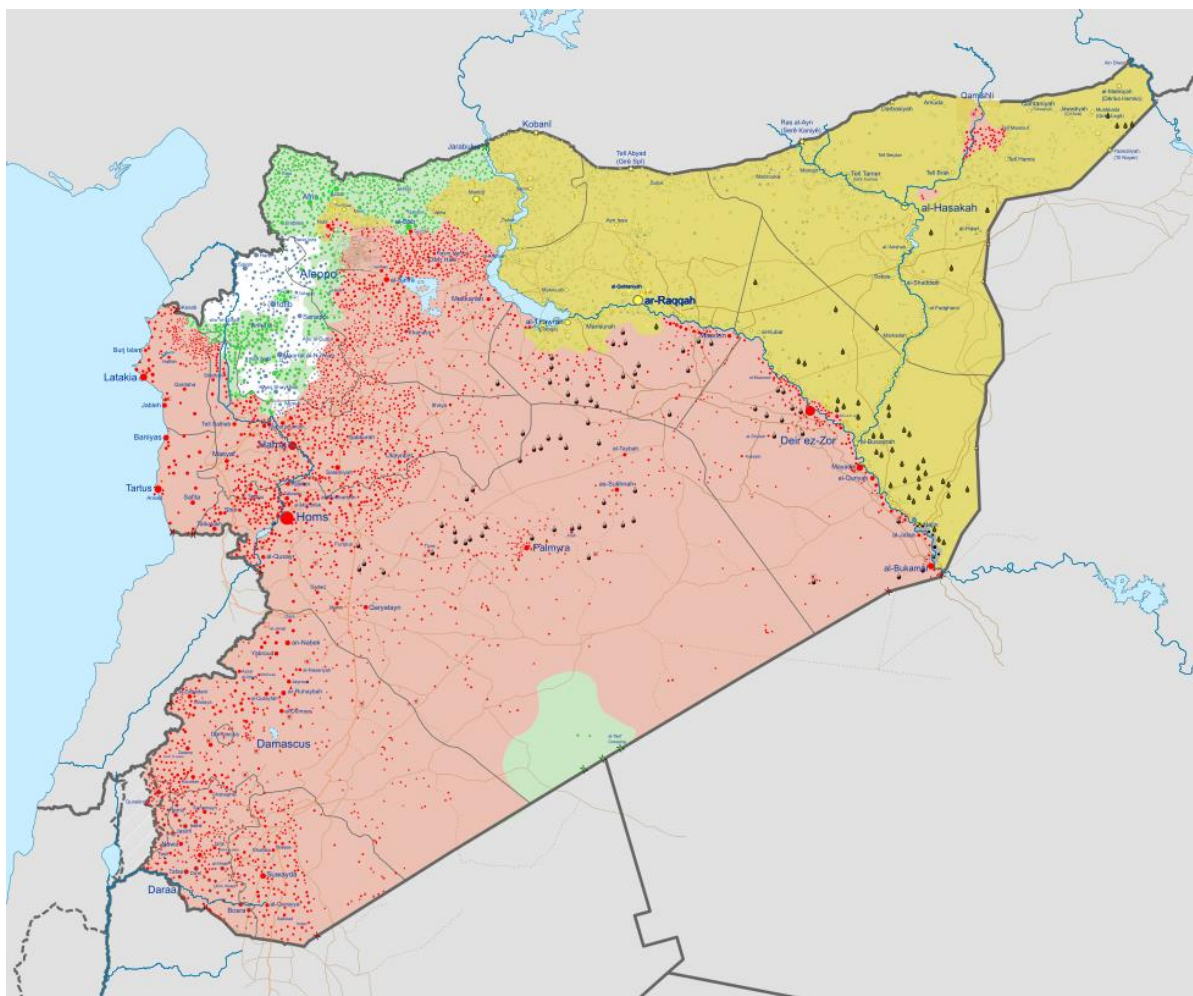
Syrian president, took over the role of heir apparent to Hafez al-Assad. Hafez al-Assad died in 2000. Bashar al-Assad immediately took over. He began a moderate liberalisation in the early part of his presidency.³¹ This became known as the Damascus Spring. Syria, under the Bush administration, faced tensions with the United States after the 2003 invasion of Iraq³² Syrian forces fully withdrew from Lebanon in 2005.³³ The Arab Spring began in 2011, and with that, came the Syrian Civil War.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

A Brief History of the Syrian Civil War



Source: (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/68/Syrian_Civil_War_map.svg/983px-Syrian_Civil_War_map.svg.png)

Red: Syrian Government Control

Yellow: Syrian Democratic Forces

Green: Syrian Opposition

Grey: Islamic State of the Levant and Syria/Da'esh

White: Hayhat Tahrir al-Sham

In 2011, the Arab Spring started to sweep across all Arab speaking countries. Authoritarian governments across the Middle East and North Africa faced mass protests, organised by modern technology, unprecedented in scale in recent history. Peaceful protests broke out into violence in many cases, especially in the cities of Daraa, Aleppo, and the outskirts

of Damascus.³⁴ The violent response by Syrian government forces, rather than quelling protests, caused them to inflame. By March 2011, open conflict began in Daraa between anti-government protestors and military/police units.³⁵ From this point, conflict spread slowly to other Syrian cities. On 18 July 2012, a bombing killed the Syrian Minister of Defence and other government officials.³⁶ Conflict began in Aleppo in July of 2012³⁷, the largest city in Syria. Lines began to be drawn as various rebel groups, including the Free Syrian Army and Al-Nusra Front (later Hayat Tahrir al-Sham), clashed with the Syrian Arab Army and other militias loyal to the government as 2012 continued on. President Obama announced on 20 August 2013 that chemical weapons presented a “red line”, in which, if it was crossed, US forces would attack the Syrian government just as they did Libya in 2011.³⁸ Government forces were losing ground in many cities during this time. On 19 March, 2013, a nerve gas attack hit the town of Khan al-Assal in the northern part of Syria.³⁹ The United States blamed the government, however, the United Nations report on the matter later found no conclusive perpetrator.

Hezbollah (Party of God), a Lebanese group that had fought alongside Syrian forces in Lebanon, joined the war on the side of the government to strengthen their allies in Damascus.⁴⁰ On 21 August 2013, another large gas attack kills scores of people in Eastern Ghouta.⁴¹ American unilateral intervention seemed imminent until a deal was struck between Moscow and Washington, leading to Russia transporting and destroying the Syrian chemical weapons stockpile.⁴² Fighting would continue for quite sometime until the rise of the radical Islamist group the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). ISIL expanded from eastern parts of Syria, committing widespread atrocities that gained international attention.⁴³ To this point, the military situation for pro-Assad forces was quite dire. This changed on 30 September 2015. The Russian Federation launched a military intervention to support the Syrian government.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, as ISIL expanded, an umbrella group known as the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), mostly Kurdish forces, launched a campaign against ISIL, supported by the United States.⁴⁵ The intensification of Russian intervention led to a rapid succession of victories for the Syrian Army in Aleppo, Homs, and eventually Eastern Ghouta. Syrian forces began to take the densely populated cities of the Syria. Rebel forces, due to Russian support for the government, were losing severely. ISIL forces were losing to SDF and Syrian Army offensives, declining into their current status as mostly small, isolated cells.⁴⁶ Turkish military units intervened in the city of Al-Bab, occupied by ISIL, on the Turkish border, bringing the Turkish Armed Forces directly into the Syrian Civil war in August of 2016.⁴⁷ The Turkish government considers many of the

34 Deutsche Welle. "Syria Civil War Timeline: A Summary of Critical Events | DW | 14.08.2017." DW.COM. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.dw.com/en/syria-civil-war-timeline-a-summary-of-critical-events/a-40001379>.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Bloomberg.com. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-03-15/timeline-of-the-syrian-conflict-as-it-enters-8th-year>

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

Kurdish groups that operate under the SDF umbrella, such as the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG), to be terrorists, due to their relationship with the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK), a proscribed terrorist organisation.⁴⁸ Currently, Turkish forces occupy a small strip of land in Northern Syria. Western Syria, the coastal regions, and the west bank of the Euphrates River are occupied by the Syrian government.⁴⁹ The Syrian Democratic Forces occupy the Eastern bank of the Euphrates.⁵⁰ Syrian opposition forces have a final major enclave in the province of Idlib, in Northeast Syria.⁵¹

48 Ibid.

49 "Syria's War: Who Controls What?" | Al Jazeera. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2015/05/syria-country-divided-150529144229467.html>.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

Ongoing NATO member Actions in Syria

NATO members are some of the most active combatants and participants in the Syrian Civil War. The two major NATO members with large military presences are the United States and Turkey, but other members participate in indirect or smaller direct manners. In the current state of affairs, the situation is a core NATO issue that is a major point of contention amongst its members and external factors.

Turkish military intervention in the Syrian Civil War has been one of the biggest factors currently. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has been an outspoken supporter of many Syrian rebel groups on an international and practical level even prior to the deployment of the Turkish Armed Forces in the region.⁵² Turkish forces first came to Syria in a very symbolic move. The Tomb of Suleyman Shah, grandfather of the first Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Osman I, is a very historical landmark for the Turkish people. It is owned by Turkey but is located within the territory of Syria.⁵³ ISIL forces had rapidly advanced in 2014 and early 2015. Turkey, feeling that its historical site was threatened and as a show of force in the region, evacuated the tomb by sending a large convoy with tanks and other armoured vehicles to evacuate the body and the detachment of Turkish soldiers guarding the tomb.⁵⁴

Turkish forces have not only undertaken symbolic moves. The first major Turkish military operation of a large scale was Operation Euphrates Shield in the Northern part of the Aleppo Governate on 24 August 2016.⁵⁵ Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ordered the operation to commence to clear two threats from this area of the Syrian-Turkish border. The first, and most dangerous, was the ISIL presence in the city of Jarablus⁵⁶. Prior to this, Turkish Air Force aircraft had done numerous airstrikes on ISIL positions in the same area.⁵⁷ The operations against ISIL were supported by American aircraft that were operating over Syria bombing the terrorist group. Even Russian Aerospace Forces, nominally there to support the government, flew air support for the anti-ISIL efforts.⁵⁸ The other component, on the other hand, was against the American-backed Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), a widely Kurdish coalition in the Eastern part of Syria⁵⁹. Turkey considers the largest part of that organisation, the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG), a terrorist organisation. The battle against the YPG centred around the city of Manbij. Turkish forces defeated the YPG in the clashes. In a deal with the Syrian government, YPG forces withdrew to other areas under their control via

52 Sinjab, Lina. "Syria: How a New Rebel Unity Is Making Headway against the Regime." BBC News. May 01, 2015. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32540436>.

53 Coskun, Orhan. "Turkish Military Enters Syria to Evacuate Soldiers, Relocate Tomb." Reuters. February 22, 2015. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-turkey/turkish-military-enters-syria-to-evacuate-soldiers-relocate-tomb-idUSKBN0LQ03U20150222>

54 Ibid.

55 Deeb, Ahmed. "Operation 'Euphrates Shield' Ends ISIL Rule in Jarablus." | Al Jazeera. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/2016/08/operation-euphrates-shield-ends-isil-rule-jarablus-160825085704650.html>.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

territory of the Syrian government.⁶⁰ Syrian forces occupied some of the former YPG controlled area, but most of it went to the Turkish Armed Forces and their supported groups (known by the blanket term Turkish-backed Free Syrian Army (TFSA)).

The current role of the Turkish Armed Forces is that of enforcing a ceasefire between government and opposition forces.⁶¹ Russia and Turkey came to an agreement over the Idlib province area, leading to a “de-escalation zone” to be created between the two opposing factions. The zone is currently enforced by both Russian and Turkish observation points on both sides.⁶²

Other NATO members have undertaken various actions, mostly against ISIL, in Syria. Key among these are the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. Most other NATO members either kept their operations against ISIL in Iraq due to the fact that the Iraqi government, unlike the Syrian one, authorised their presence.

The United States’ operations in Syria can be summarised in Operation Inherent Resolve.⁶³ American air power has been used in support of the Syrian Democratic Forces in their fight against ISIL from 2015 to the present day.⁶⁴ The Pentagon said that the United States, as of early 2018, has carried out 14,989 airstrikes in Syria, mostly against ISIL, since 2014.⁶⁵ Most American efforts have been focused on fighting ISIL, rather than the Syrian government or other radical Islamist forces.⁶⁶

The United Kingdom’s operations are under the name Operation Shader. According to the House of Commons Defence Committee, over 1,000 personnel and 2,200 aircraft sorties have been used strictly against ISIL targets in both Iraq and Syria.⁶⁷ The United Kingdom, while condemning the Assad government, does not actively attack Syrian government forces.⁶⁸

French operations are under the name Operation Chammal⁶⁹ French efforts centred around defeating ISIL and intensified after the November 2015 Paris attacks.⁷⁰ French forces concentrate on precision airstrikes and training of Iraqi government forces.⁷¹

60 Ibid.

61 McDowell, Angus. "First Turkish Military Convoy Enters Syria's Idlib." Reuters. October 12, 2017. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-turkey/first-convoy-of-turkish-military-op-enters-syrias-idlib-witness-and-rebels-idUSKBN1CH31K>

62 Ibid.

63 Kranz, Michal. "Trump Reportedly Wants to Get out of Syria - Here's How Many Troops the US Has in the Country." Business Insider. April 04, 2018. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.businessinsider.com/troop-levels-in-syria-trump-2018-4>.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 United Kingdom. House of Commons. Defence Committee. UK Military Operations in Syria and Iraq: Government Response to the Committee's Second Report. Defence Committee. Accessed October 13, 2018.

68 Ibid.

69 "Back on the Operation Chammal." Defense.gouv.fr. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.defense.gouv.fr/english/actualites/newsletter/back-on-the-operation-chammal>.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

Questions to Consider

1. How do the various NATO members clash on what their plans are on the situation in Syria?
2. What can the NATO alliance do to alleviate their differences?
3. What countries can act as mediators between actors with differing views?
4. Should NATO try to counteract Russian influence in Syria or help them fight a common enemy?

Suggested Reading and Videos

1. <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Timeline-of-Syrian-Chemical-Weapons-Activity>
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pDgUD6kPcRA>
3. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Islamic-State-in-Iraq-and-the-Levant>
4. <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/timeline-united-states-response-syria-civil-war-237011>

Consequences of Action or Inaction

1. Inaction on the part of NATO could cause either further destabilisation of the situation on the Turkish border, which would impact the alliance as a whole.
2. Inaction could also lead to the alliance being seen internationally as weak, as Russia has taken a strong stance in the conflict.
3. Direct intervention against the Syrian government could cause destabilisation of the situation on the ground and a deterioration in relations with the Russian Federation.
4. Intervention against the Kurdish-majority Syrian Democratic Forces could placate Ankara but could strengthen extremists and anger Washington.

Topic II: Situation in Ukraine

Brief History of Ukraine

Ukraine as a nation, is in the crossroads of Europe. It lays in the Great European Plain and is marked by its flat terrain. Ukraine borders Romania, Moldova, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Belarus, and Russia. At the beginning of the end of the 19th Century, Russification policies enacted by the Russian Empire sparked a reaction of Ukrainian culture asserting its independence from Saint-Petersburg.⁷² In both the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who occupied a small part of Ukraine, and the Russian Empire, who had a clear majority of Ukraine, Ukrainian culture had a renaissance.⁷³ The Russian Empire, as a member of the Entente of the First World War, fought the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires in the Eastern Front of the First World War. Due to massive logistical disadvantages, the Russian Empire took massive casualties, leading to popular discontent with the war. Tsar Nicolas II abdicated in 1917 due to the February Revolution. The Russian Civil War broke out in the wake of the collapse of the Tsarist regime. Many Ukrainians saw this as an opportunity to declare an independent state. This happened in 1918, after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the new Russian Bolshevik government and the Central Powers. Ukraine itself was descended into a civil war between rival governments,⁷⁴ however, in 1921, Red Army forces came from Russia and invaded Ukraine, establishing the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), a constituent state of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.⁷⁵ A part of the country also became a part of the new Poland, formed after the First World War.⁷⁶

Under the Soviet rule, Ukrainian culture was permitted and Russification, as undertaken by the Tsarist government, came to a halt. Ukraine, as a massive agricultural heartland, was the centre of a massive man-made famine caused by the policies of Soviet authorities under Josef Stalin, specifically collectivisation. Farms were upended in an attempt to increase output of food to cities to help the Soviet industrialisation. This, in Ukraine, became known as the Holodomor.⁷⁷ This increased the resentment towards the government in Moscow. In 1939, per the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that divided the recently conquered Poland between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, Western Ukraine, which was annexed into Poland, was given to Soviet Ukraine.⁷⁸ The positive relationship between the two, however, did not last long. Germany invaded the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa, leading to what became known, in the Soviet Union, as the Great Patriotic War. Over 27 million Soviet citizens, military and civilian died in the war, 5 million of whom were Ukrainian.⁷⁹ Parts of Ukrainian society that strongly opposed Soviet occupation saw occupying Nazi forces as liberators. These forces, led by Stepan Bandera, would collaborate with the occupiers.⁸⁰ They became known as the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and

72 "Ukraine Profile - Timeline." BBC News. June 05, 2018. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18010123>.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 "Who Was Stepan Bandera?" Jacobin. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/09/stepan-bandera-nationalist-euromaidan-right-sector/>

they were involved in atrocities against Polish and Jewish minorities.⁸¹ The Jewish population of Ukraine particularly fell victim to the Holocaust.⁸² All of Ukraine was not fully liberated until 1944.⁸³

The post-War Soviet Union was an industrial superpower. The death of Josef Stalin in 1953 led to the rise of Nikita Khrushchev to the leadership of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev, as an ethnic Ukrainian, had policies that were far better for the Ukrainian part of the Soviet Union. In a surprise, but mostly symbolic move, the majority ethnic Russian peninsula of Crimea was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR.⁸⁴ Soviet Ukraine went through as a constituent part of the Soviet Union until 1991. Communist Party of the Soviet Union hardliners attempted to secure the continuation of the USSR via a coup which triggered the declaration of independence of Ukraine.⁸⁵ Ukraine adopted a democratic system, however, it faced severe corruption that marred its system from the outset. Large oligarchs controlled much of the economy, and therefore had influence on the political system. Leonid Kravchuk was the first President of an independent modern Ukraine, who then turned over power in 1994 to Leonid Kuchma.⁸⁶ Kuchma was re-elected until 1999 to his second turn, however, in 2002, a parliamentary election led to a hung parliament in which anti-Kuchma parties alleged rigging.⁸⁷ This would come to a head in the Orange Revolution, as a part of the Colour revolutions that swept the former Soviet Union in the early 2000s. In 2004, Viktor Yushchenko led a protest campaign against the election of Viktor Yanukovich, a pro-Russian candidate.⁸⁸ The election was re-run in 2005 and Yushchenko won. Later, in 2010, Yanukovich returned to power through elections in 2010.⁸⁹ This would end in the Euromaidan revolution, which influences Ukraine to this day.

81 Ibid.

82 "Ukraine Profile - Timeline." BBC News. June 05, 2018. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18010123>.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

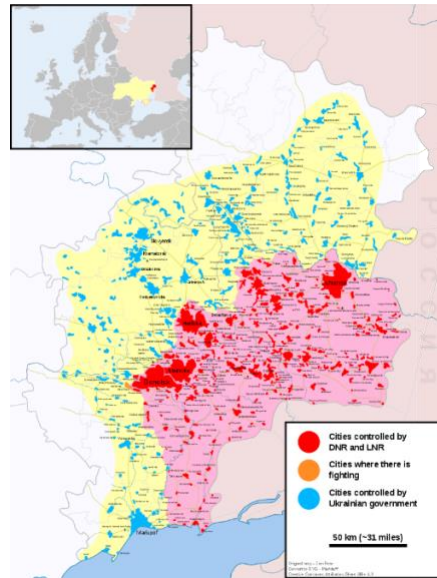
86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.

Current Situation in Ukraine



Current situation in the Donbass and Lugansk regions of Ukraine

Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/91/Map_of_the_war_in_Donbass.svg/800px-Map_of_the_war_in_Donbass.svg.png

The current situation in Ukraine can be traced to the Euromaidan revolution of 2013. In November of that year, pro-European protestors, who were outraged by the pro-Russian government of Viktor Yanukovich's decision to halt talks for an association agreement with the European Union, took to the streets en masse.⁹⁰ After violent clashes in early 2014, in February of that year, President Yanukovich was forced to flee to Russia.⁹¹ This was seen as the victory of the pro-European and pro-NATO political forces in Ukraine against the pro-Russian forces. Ukraine's democratic system, which faced severe corruption under the Yanukovich government.⁹² According to Ukraine's Anti-Corruption Bureau, Yanukovich's government paid up to 2 billion USD in bribes during his time in power.⁹³ This systemic corruption was a major contention of the Euromaidan protests.

⁹⁰ "Ukraine Profile - Timeline." BBC News. June 05, 2018. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18010123>.

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Tucker, Maxim. "Ukraine's Fallen Leader Viktor Yanukovich 'paid Bribes of \$2 Billion' - or \$1.4 Million for Every Day He Was President." The Telegraph. May 31, 2016. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/31/ukraines-fallen-leader-viktor-yanukovich-paid-bribes-of-2-billio/>

⁹³ Ibid.

The reaction of Moscow was quick. In the same month that the government of Viktor Yanukovich fell (February of 2014), unmarked Russian forces (that Moscow claimed were Crimean militias) illegally crossed the Ukrainian border and occupied Crimea on the night of February 22nd.⁹⁴ Russian occupiers held a referendum that was widely condemned by the international community. Moscow did not only receive condemnation but also sanctions from many nations, including many NATO members.⁹⁵ The annexation of Crimea, however, was not the only event that would occur in Ukraine in the post-Maidan crisis.

Pro-Russian militias, with aid from Moscow, seized territory in the Eastern part of Ukraine bordering Russia, specifically Luhansk and Donetsk.⁹⁶ The government in Kiev, keen to ensure its legitimacy and ensure its territorial integrity to the best of its abilities, sent in the Ukrainian Armed Forces to remove the rebel presence. Despite the war, the Ukrainian elections of May 2014 were held, in which President Petro Poroshenko was elected.⁹⁷ In September of 2014, NATO claimed that Russian advisors were directly embedded with the pro-Russian militias in both Lugansk and Donetsk.⁹⁸ The two forces fought, with the Ukrainian government gaining small areas of ground, but losing much of their heavy equipment and taking heavy casualties in the mean time. Due to the fighting in the area, many of the citizens of the area became either internal refugees or fled to Russia or other neighbouring countries. The two opposing forces would continue to fight into the beginning of 2015.⁹⁹

Germany and France would attempt to mediate talks in Belarus, hosted by Belorussian President Alexander Lukashenko.¹⁰⁰ The first Minsk agreement that created a ceasefire soon broke down and fighting broke out again.¹⁰¹ Soon after the breakdown of the First Agreement, President François Hollande and Chancellor Angela Merkel met with Russian and Ukrainian authorities in Minsk again, leading to the “Package of Measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements”, which became colloquially known as Minsk II.¹⁰² This would be enforced by the international Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and would allow international aid agencies and prisoner exchanges.¹⁰³ This has evolved the situation into a sort of Cold War, not unlike the situation in Transnistria and Nagorno-Karabakh. These three regions are not yet technically at peace, but they are not in active combat. These regions are all in the former Soviet Union. Today, Ukraine’s economy is recovering from the war economically.¹⁰⁴ The Ukrainian government signed the association agreement with the European Union in 2017 that the government of Yanukovich halted.¹⁰⁵

94 Commonwealth Office. "Four Years since the Illegal Annexation of Crimea: Article by Boris Johnson." GOV.UK. February 22, 2018. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/four-years-since-the-illegal-annexation-of-crimea-article-by-boris-johnson>.

95 "Ukraine Profile - Timeline." BBC News. June 05, 2018. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18010123>.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 "What Are the Minsk Agreements?" The Economist. September 13, 2016. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2016/09/13/what-are-the-minsk-agreements>.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 "Ukraine Profile - Timeline." BBC News. June 05, 2018. Accessed October 13, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18010123>.

105 Ibid.

Current NATO Member Reactions

Throughout the Baltic States and nations closest to Russia, militarisation and increased defence spending has rapidly increased. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Poland have all increased, or are set to increase, their military expenditures to the NATO goal of 2% of GDP or above.¹⁰⁶ In 2017, the Lithuanian Minister of Defence requested the US forces that were in the area in reaction to the situation in Ukraine to stay permanently¹⁰⁷, showing how the states fear Russian expansionism and would like a dedication of the United States and other NATO members to their defence. The three Baltic states are remarkable, as they have some of the fastest military expenditure growth in the entire world.¹⁰⁸ In this category as well is Poland. Poland is currently in the process of adding around 100,000 more troops in addition to increased military spending, citing the threat from Russia¹⁰⁹, with which Poland shares a direct border through the Kaliningrad exclave.

The annexation of Crimea and the Russian-backed rebellion in the Eastern parts of Ukraine also had wide-ranging diplomatic and economic consequences for Moscow. In July of 2018, the European Union extended for six months the sanctions against Russia.¹¹⁰ While this was not a NATO action, many of the European members of NATO are members of the European Union and therefore have economic sanctions on Russia. Washington D.C. has also placed its own economic sanctions on Russia.¹¹¹ In addition to the sanctions on Moscow, many NATO members, including the United States have provided Ukrainian forces with equipment, training, and NATO advisors.¹¹² This has vastly increased Ukraine's defence capabilities, but Kiev still desires further aid and eventual direct NATO membership.

106 Sytas, Andrius. "Baltic States Seek More NATO Help Ahead of Russian Exercise." Reuters. February 09, 2017. Accessed October 14, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-baltic-nato-russia-idUSKBN15O2HZ>

107 Ibid.

108 "Baltics, Fearing Russia, to Triple Military Spending by 2018: Report." Reuters. October 19, 2016. Accessed October 14, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-baltics-military/baltics-fearing-russia-to-triple-military-spending-by-2018-report-idUSKCN12J2S4>.

109 Ibid.

110 "America's Escalating Russian Sanctions." The Economist. August 30, 2018. Accessed October 14, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/europe/2018/08/30/americas-escalating-russian-sanctions>.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

Questions to Consider

1. Should Ukraine be permitted into NATO?
2. Should NATO support the Ukrainian military against the Russian backed militants and if so how?
3. What is the threat that Russia has to current NATO members in light of the situation in Ukraine?
4. Should NATO reproach Russia after the Ukrainian conflict?
5. Should NATO require diplomatic or political terms for new members, if so, what conditions?

Suggested Reading and Videos

1. <https://www.ft.com/content/5adbd298-a056-11e8-85da-eeb7a9ce36e4>
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fb9U1uoYCOc>
3. <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/euromaidan-ukraine%E2%80%99s-self-organizing-revolution>
4. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26248275>

Consequences of Action or Inaction

1. A too firm action could provoke direct conflict with Russian forces.
2. Lack of reaction would allow Moscow to unseat the democratic Ukrainian government and show other Eastern European nations that NATO is weak in regards to confronting Russia.
3. A possible consequence of the conflict in Ukraine is the loss of gas supplies from Russia via Ukrainian pipelines if NATO were to enter direct war with Russia, as well as the use of Nuclear weapons.
4. Inaction could lead to the expansion of Moscow's sphere of influence and a lack of new NATO members.

III. Integration of Eastern and Northern European States into NATO

Post-Cold War NATO Expansion

After the collapse of the Soviet Union on December 26, 1991, it appeared that the western world would enter a relatively stable era of peace with the past half-century problems of the Cold War being left behind and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) being a dominant force in the world to maintain that peace. However, with one set of problems accomplished for the West, others are bound to follow. This includes the integration of Eastern and Northern European States into NATO that were once a part of the former Soviet Union whose ideas, organization, and military structure are vastly different than that of the older members of the Alliance.

The very first former nations of the Warsaw Pact to be admitted into NATO, after initial talks beginning in 1997, were on March 12, 1999 with these countries being the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland.¹¹³ The second and largest wave of post-Warsaw Pact nations to join NATO began with talks at a peace conference in Prague in 2002 and on March 29, 2004 the nations of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia officially became a part of NATO.¹¹⁴ Albania and Croatia joined the alliance on April 1, 2009 with the

¹¹³ NATO. "Member Countries." *NATO*, 26 Mar. 2018, www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_52044.htm.

¹¹⁴ Idib

most recent addition to NATO being Montenegro who joined on June 5, 2017.¹¹⁵ Countries who are currently considering joining the NATO alliance are Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia while other countries, such as Russia, have expressed their displeasure at the expansion of NATO. Serbia, still having territorial disputes and therefore could not join the alliance, has expressed that they do not wish to join NATO.¹¹⁶ This brings up the current situation in the expansion of NATO; with most of the former Warsaw Pact nations willing to join the alliance for better protection against possible threats, such as Russian aggression, and the founders of NATO wanting to strengthen ties with these nations through the alliance. There are still problems to solve however, such as how will some people within these nations react if they still felt ties to the previous communist states like in Yugoslavia. The alliance must also deal with how to properly integrate and coordinate the militaries of these newer members while taking into consideration the many different languages and unique cultures that encompasses them. This is necessary to make an efficient allied force that can be relied upon for protection and strength as is the wish of these former Warsaw Pact nations that have joined NATO.

Former Soviet, Communist, and Yugoslav States

These former nations, who were once considered enemies of the NATO, are now going through the process of either integrating into a post-Cold War world, westernization, or even joining the alliance itself making it necessary to understand the background, culture, and history of these nations in order to solve the problems presented in the integration of these states.

Focusing on the former Soviet Republics who have joined NATO, a background will be provided starting with the country of Estonia located in the Baltic region. Estonia is the smallest out of all the former Soviet Republics comprising of only around 1.2 million people whose population is shrinking rather quickly due to the emigration of younger Estonians to other parts of Europe in search of jobs.¹¹⁷ They quickly moved to establish a market system in their nation and joined the EU as well as NATO in 2004 along with being accepted into the eurozone around 2011.¹¹⁸ Relations are not well with Russia for this country as riots of the Russian minority in eastern Estonia resulted in the death of a civilian and dozens more injured, yet, as a counterpoint to Russian influence, Estonia has close ties to Finland due to both culture and geographic proximity.¹¹⁹

Similarly to Estonia, Latvia, just south of Estonia, westernized quickly by adopting a free market and joining the EU and NATO simultaneously in 2004 and then the eurozone in 2014.¹²⁰ Tensions are also considered high between Latvia and Russia as many Latvians believe the mass immigration of former Soviet citizens from Russia into Latvia during the Cold War was a purposely planned tactic from the Soviet government to destroy their nationalism and Baltic culture, thus, causing the treatment of ethnic Russians in Latvia to be questionable which has caught the attention of Russia.¹²¹ Latvia suffered the worst out of the former Soviet states during

115 Idib.

116 Welle, Deutsche. "Who's next to Join the NATO Alliance? | DW | 23.11.2012." *DW.COM*, 23 Nov. 2012, www.dw.com/en/whos-next-to-join-the-nato-alliance/a-16397795.

117 Burke, Justin. "Post-Soviet World: What You Need to Know about the 15 States." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 June 2014, www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/09/-sp-profiles-post-soviet-states.

118 Idib.

119 Idib.

120 Idib.

121 Idib.

the 2008 recession where unemployment rose as high as 20% in their relatively small population of 2.1 million.¹²²

The final nation in NATO that was a Soviet state during the Cold War is Lithuania which is located just south of Latvia and is also considered a part of the Baltic region and culture. Lithuania was a big factor in the collapse of the Soviet Union after a long independence movement starting in the 1980's led to a failed Soviet military crackdown in early 1991.¹²³ After the collapse of the Soviet Union and gaining independence, Lithuania quickly adopted a market system along with its other Baltic nations and joined the EU and NATO in 2004 along with the eurozone later in 2015.¹²⁴ It has a population of 3 million and tensions with Russia are high like it's Baltic neighbors, however, Lithuania has the highest trade volume with Russia out of any other Baltic state.

The other Communist states and former Yugoslav states who have joined NATO also have a unique culture and background that the alliance must consider when dealing with the integration of these nations. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a new nation was created in the Balkans named Yugoslavia which was a combination of many different cultures and ethnicities that stayed together throughout much of the Cold War due to their leader named Marshal Tito. After WWII, Marshal Tito ousted the Soviet Union which angered Joseph Stalin to the point that he "excommunicated" Yugoslavia (who was a communist country) from the Soviet Union.¹²⁵ Because of its isolation from practically every other Communist nation in the region, Yugoslavia turned to the Western Powers for trade and support until the death of Stalin where relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia began to improve.¹²⁶ After the death of Marshal Tito in 1980, many separatists movements started to occur amongst the different peoples throughout Yugoslavia which finally boiled over into a full fledged civil war after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, which led to death of 250,000 people along with ethnic cleansings.¹²⁷

The first two nations to declare independence from Yugoslavia in 1991 were Croatia and Slovenia, the latter of which thousands died in a conflict between the Serb dominated Yugoslavian army with the conflict ending temporarily due to a UN ceasefire in 1992.¹²⁸ Next, Bosnia declared independence in 1992 which led to the Yugoslavian army to rename itself the Bosnian Serb Army which attacked and killed many with over 1 million Muslim Bosnian and Croats (along with some Serbs) to be displaced from their homes in ethnic cleansings of which UN peacekeepers failed to contain.¹²⁹ In order to stop the war, NATO bombed the Bosnian Serbs, after the Serbs began bombing Sarajevo, which finally drew both sides to the peace table where a treaty backed by the US was signed and created the Bosnia-Herzegovina that is present today.¹³⁰

During this time Slovenia, Macedonia, and, later on, Montenegro became independent nations. In 1999, Albania fought a war of independence with Serbia which ended with Albania gaining its independence with a battered Serbia grudgingly accepting.¹³¹ Currently, Slovenia is

122 Idib.

123 Idib.

124 Idib.

125 Idib.

126 Idib.

127 Idib.

128 "Balkans War: A Brief Guide." Edited by BBC, *BBC News*, BBC, 18 Mar. 2016, www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17632399.

129 Idib.

130 Idib.

131 Idib.

the most stable of the former Yugoslavian states in the NATO Alliance, considering it was able to avoid most of the Balkan War after gaining independence after only 10 days, and the country has strong economic ties to the rest of Europe and NATO (joined in 2004) making its population of 2 million quite happy with its current situation.¹³² Croatia has a slight tension with Slovenia and has had a rougher time than that of Slovenia after being fully involved in the war to expel the Serbs from their declared independent nation in the period lasting from 1991-1995.¹³³ Croatia has a population of around 4.5 million and joined NATO in 2009.¹³⁴ Albania joined NATO in 2009 and is known for its cooperation and support of NATO forces in ending the crisis Kosovo in 1999 along with continued work with western nations in defense providing relative ease for the population of 2.9 million in this small Balkan nation.¹³⁵ Montenegro is a small country that took many years to gain full autonomy from Serbia, but, once doing so, it has made many strides to become recognized in the West and recently gained entrance into the NATO Alliance with its population of 660,000 as of 2017 working to increase its position in the world diplomatically and defensively.¹³⁶

The other remaining former Warsaw Pact nations and members of NATO are Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, and Romania. Poland was never fond of the Soviet Union, as well as Russia in general (due to many past historical conflicts such as WWII, being a part of the Russian Empire, etc.) during the Cold War (even though it was a communist satellite state). Once the USSR collapsed, Poland almost immediately elected for a free market and began the process of westernization. This resulted in Poland being a part of the first wave of former Warsaw Pact nations to join NATO in 1999 strengthening the alliance with the inclusion of 38 million. Hungary was also a part of the first wave of former Warsaw Pact nations to join NATO in 1999 thanks to its quick inclusion of a free market and support for powers of the alliance adding to NATO a population of 9.9 million.¹³⁷ Slovakia was another former Communist nation who joined NATO in 2004. After WWII Czechoslovakia became a communist satellite state of the Soviet Union until 1989 when the Velvet Revolution ousted the Communist Party from power. In 1993 both the Czech Republic and Slovakia peacefully declared themselves to be independent nations through separate democratic elections and Slovakia quickly moved to join NATO, not as soon as the Czech Republic though, with its population of 5.5 million. The Czech Republic, having the same background as Slovakia considering they use to be one country, moved quicker than its counterpart and was a part of the first wave of former Warsaw Pact nations to join NATO in 1999 with its population of 10.6 million due to it being geographically closer to the western powers allowing for stronger trade ties and influence.

The Communist Party won in Bulgaria in 1945 effectively making it a satellite state of the Soviet Union until the collapse and the loss of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1991 and went through an era of unrest throughout the mid-90's until finally reaching relative stability and joining NATO in 2004 with its population of 7.2 million.¹³⁸ In 1947 Romania came under

132 Laurent, J. Cushman, and Thomas Melady. "The Seven States of the Former Yugoslavia: An Evaluation." *Homepage » The Institute of World Politics*, 2011, www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/the-seven-states-of-the-former-yugoslavia-an-evaluation.

133 Idib

134 Idib.

135 NATO. "NATO's Relations with Albania." *NATO*, 24 Aug. 2014, www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/topics_48891.htm.

136 Laurent, J. Cushman, and Thomas Melady. "The Seven States of the Former Yugoslavia: An Evaluation." *Homepage » The Institute of World Politics*, 2011, www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/the-seven-states-of-the-former-yugoslavia-an-evaluation.

137Koszorús, Frank. "Hungary's Accension to NATO." *The American Hungarian Federation*, July 2007, www.americanhungarianfederation.org/docs/AHFDC_NATO_Expansion_Report.pdf.

138 Planet, Lonely. "History of Bulgaria." *Lonely Planet*, 2018, www.lonelyplanet.com/bulgaria/history.

communists control and effectively a satellite state of the Soviet Union and a brutal dictatorship until the communist party was overthrown in 1989 and a new constitution was created in 1991 after which Bulgaria came into league with the western powers and finally making enough strides to join NATO in 2004 with its population of 19.9 million.¹³⁹

EU Non-NATO Nations

Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are currently in talks with NATO and will most likely eventually join the alliance once NATO deems that these two nations reach the requirements. There are still many other former Warsaw Pact Nations and Communists satellite nations of the Soviet Union that have the possibility of joining NATO. Ukraine, Finland, Belarus, Russia, Serbia, Kosovo, and Moldova all are nations that can be included into the alliance. However, there are unique problems facing these nations that will make it difficult for NATO to integrate them, like the other nations who are currently in NATO that used to be a part of the Eastern Bloc, as each of these nations have their own individual interest that they wish to ensure and protect from others.

Different ways proposed in the past to solve these problems have been to integrate the EU and NATO into a single entity that can more easily coordinate the interests that the alliance deems worthy. There have been recent strives amongst the two organizations in recent years to reach common goals such as a 2010 summit in Lisbon that resulted in a joint NATO-EU resolution that supported working with other organizations to promote world stability.¹⁴⁰ Other strives for cooperation between the two organizations occurred in a meeting in 2016 in Warsaw which outlined 42 different to advance the cooperation previously agreed upon between the two organizations including countering hybrid threats, enhancing resilience, defense capacity building, cyber defense, maritime security, and military exercises.¹⁴¹ Despite these advances, there are still many problems of integrating the previously mentioned nations into NATO considering many of them are not willing to part with their overall individual goals.

Expanding NATO is a great way to strengthen the alliance but there are still some former Communist and Eastern Bloc nations who are hesitant upon joining. Serbia still holds grudges against the alliance, due to the NATO bombings of Bosnian Serbian forces in 1995, which will make it difficult for them to be convinced to have anything to do with the Alliance. Belarus is closely allied with Russia making them responsive only to what Russia will be willing to do. Russia has expressed their adherent desire to not see NATO grow as they see the expansion of the alliance as a threat to the interest of the Russian Federation. Kosovo is still dealing with internal issues and tension with Serbia as they are not fully recognized by all countries as of yet as Serbia has territorial claims against them. Finland has actively worked with NATO on many occasions and are friendly with the alliance, but, due to a long-standing Finnish policy of not becoming involved in any kind of alliances, have shown no interest in officially joining NATO. Moldova is currently having territorial disputes amongst Ukraine and Romania, so stability must be achieved in this nation if it is to even be considered in joining NATO. Ukraine is still having problems convincing its significant ethnic Russian minority to join NATO while also having to deal with Russian expansion into the region as seen with the Russian annexation of Crimea;

¹³⁹ Cucu, Vasile S., and David Turnock. "Romania." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 6 Oct. 2018, www.britannica.com/place/Romania/New-constitution.

¹⁴⁰NATO. "Relations with the European Union." *NATO*, 18 July 2018, www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49217.htm.

¹⁴¹ Idib.

meaning that tensions must cool, and Ukraine must stabilize properly before being brought into the Alliance.

Questions to Consider

1. What is the best course of action in integrating the former Eastern Bloc nations into the Alliance?
2. How can NATO convince the former Eastern Bloc nations to join the alliance who are currently not willing to join due to individual reasons and / or policy?
3. What are some ways to help strengthen the bonds of friendship amongst these new allies in NATO who were once considered enemies?
4. What can NATO do to guarantee the safety of these newer nations in the alliance (especially the smaller ones) while also respecting the individuality and history of these countries?

Suggested Readings

1. Post-Soviet World: What You Need to Know about the 15 States
www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/09/-sp-profiles-post-soviet-states
2. The Seven States of the Former Yugoslavia: An Evaluation
www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/the-seven-states-of-the-former-yugoslavia-an-evaluation
3. Balkans War: A Brief Guide
www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17632399
4. Relations with the European Union
www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49217.htm

Consequences of Action/Inaction

- I. There is a possibility of the former Eastern Bloc nations refusing to join NATO and instead re-create a Warsaw Pact type alliance if integration is not handled properly.
- II. If NATO cannot convince these nations to join it is possible that others will follow suit which will make the alliance weaker due to a lack of potential members.
- III. If this problem cannot be solved, then cooperation amongst these nations could affect the efficiency and resolution when dealing with problems faced by NATO.
- IV. If NATO cannot guarantee the safety of these nations in a way they see fit, it is possible that they will break away and seek protection elsewhere

