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Globalisation and the Changing Concept of NATO: Role of NATO in Russia-Ukraine Crisis

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ABSTRACT

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has been the most important and successful multilateral military political organization, pursuing the agenda of exporting democracy globally and ensuring the mutual defense of its allies. Historically, NATO was formed against the threat of communism emanating from the USSR (Russia). The alliance did not use military options till the end of the cold war between the west and the USSR, but post-cold war, it transformed and operated in the Balkans, South Asia, the Horn of Africa, and the Middle East. The 9/11 incident further enhanced the military role of the organization and gave it ample reason to act internationally for ensuring global security. NATO condemns in the strongest possible terms Russia's brutal and unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine - which is an independent, peaceful, and democratic country, and a close NATO partner. NATO and its Allies continue to provide Ukraine with unprecedented levels of support, helping to uphold its fundamental right to self-defense.

Keywords: *International Law, Peace, Stability, Political Regimes, Genocide, Security, Safety, Armed Conflict, Territorial Conflicts, Gender Developments, Equality.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Globalization is not a single concept that can be defined and encompassed within a set time frame, nor is it a process that can be defined clearly with a beginning and an end. Furthermore, it cannot be expounded upon with certainty and be applicable to all people and in all situations. Globalization involves economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge; cultural stability; the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power; it is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and “an establishment of the global market free from sociopolitical control. Indeed, globalization has revolutionized the entire existence of the human species. From person to person contact to nations coming together under banner of common and shared interests, the phenomenon has impacted the core pillars of life in current times. Though it has evolved with expansion of regionalism, the latter has ceased to exist in

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isolation. Nevertheless, the clash of interests among nations does keep them divided but these divisions too; ultimately serve the same phenomenon of globalization by bringing along nations with common enemies and friends at other times.

Globalization has increased the interconnectedness so significantly that the physical distance is no longer a barrier in the movement and exchange of goods, people, ideas, culture, technology, and awareness. It is integrating the world and growing the linkages which have been made possible because of the developed transportation and communication means. In the ancient times it took months for people to travel from one state to another and travelling was not even that common. However, ever since globalization happened travelling has become one of the easiest things to do. All what are required is a plane ticket and a few hours of load off.

All the economic, social, political, and cultural activities and processes that were limited to a smaller scale can now be experienced at a larger scale because of the development brought by globalization. Endorsing globalization does not necessarily mean that everything is happening at a global scale, or all the global processes are undergoing the same experience, but it does mean that the outlook on the international affairs and activities and the way they are examined and promoted is now very diverse.

One such outcome of globalization is the changing nature of NATO. On July 4th, 2012, the vision for NATO in the ever-globalizing world was addressed by “Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen”, and he proclaimed, “A NATO that derives its strength and vitality from engaging with partners. An alliance situated at the center of a wide-ranging security network, detecting risks and threats early on, and being capable of fighting these challenges cooperatively. To accomplish these goals, NATO has to work toward interoperability with partners, be they countries or institutions”.

NATO has always been working in partnerships and it has been at the top of the agenda lately. This is because NATO partnerships in the past two decades have proven to be of a great utility in achieving its goals. However, as the world globalized NATO also transformed and so did its partnerships. Initially, NATO was more inclined towards a political role to enhance the prospects of a “Europe whole, free and at peace” nevertheless, with the change in dynamics NATO began to foster stability outside Europe. Its choices led to options where it could participate in burden sharing and sustain strategic reach. Today, with the ease in interconnectedness NATO has created partnerships around the globe. This has enhanced the security for the North Atlantic Area and opened ways to ponder upon the issues faced in today’s globalized security environment. One such issue is the ever-growing trend of the phenomenon

of “populism” in the Western nations. Ever since its emergence the idea has greatly impacted the nations that fall under NATO. However, perhaps this is leading member states to lack focus and purpose, running the risk of becoming a costly end in itself. Consequently, this might result in turning NATO from a security into a service provider.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an international organization, to be specific an intergovernmental military alliance between thirty European and North Atlantic states conjointly signed on 4th April 1949. It was formed back in 20th century to provide collective security against the threat posed by the Soviet Union. It has two official languages: English and French. NATO’s purpose is to guarantee freedom and security of its members through political and military means as security in our daily lives is a key to well-being. NATO’s headquarters are located in Brussels, Belgium, while the headquarters of Allied Command Operations is near Mons, Belgium. NATO always had certain aims and goals upon which it operated. They are as follows:

(A) Political and Military Alliance:

- Politically: NATO promotes democratic values and enables members to cooperate and consult on defence and security-related issues as to effectively and efficiently solve problems, build trust and, in the long run, prevent conflict.
- Militarily: NATO is committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes via diplomacy however in case of deteriorating situations they have the authority to go for military undertake crisis-management carried out under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, by a mandate provided by the UN, alone, or in cooperation with other states.

(B) Collective Defense:

This is the core motive, goal, or aim of NATO. It is a commitment of a block to protect their fellow state from an aggressive attack. It is like all for one and one for all. Collective defense is primarily a military related agreement or a set of actions between / by nations on mutually agreed terms. Collective defense is a phenomenon of strategic studies which surfaced in twentieth century as mankind suffered immense losses in absence of a system that could have guarded against the same. Millions perished, states were reduced to rubble and states had to either surrender or be reduced to ashes as no strong allies were there to ensure their defense against military might of aggressors. Hence, collective defense emerged as a concept that has already yielded phenomenal results. It ensures that all the member states / signatories of the pact of NATO are bound to fight for other members which may be threatened. Although theoretically collective defense was perceived as an action that shall be triggered once a threat starts to

manifest itself, but its implications have been different too. Preemption being a war tool has led to the annihilation of basic structures as we have seen in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan where aggressors are using offensive for a defense supported by their own reasoning. This principle enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty has been invoked once, in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001. The attack of 9/11 was on the US, and it occurred on US' soil but the latter invasion of Afghanistan that took place involved all the signatory states of NATO. This is so because the attack on the US meant an attack on all the states that have bonded together for collectively defending each other under the umbrella of NATO.

(C) Formation and Maintenance of the Transatlantic Link:

NATO is an alliance of countries from Europe and North America providing a uniquely exclusive link between the two continents. This enables consultation and cooperation between them in various fields i.e., defense, security, multinational crisis-management, and operations.

II. STRATEGIC CONCEPTS

Provision of a framework of core tasks, principles, values and evolution of the security environment amongst the alliance members i.e., collective defense, crisis- management and cooperative security.

NATO membership is open to, “Any other European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area.” It also has what it calls the ‘*Membership Action Plan*’ which intends to help aspiring members prepare for membership by meeting key requirements via providing practical advice and targeted assistance. Since its founding, the admission of new member states has increased the alliance from being 12 to 30 states. The most recent member state to be added to NATO was North Macedonia on 27th March 2020. NATO currently recognizes Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, and Ukraine as aspiring members. An additional 20 states participate in NATO’s Partnership for Peace program, with 15 others involved in Institutionalized Dialogue Programs.

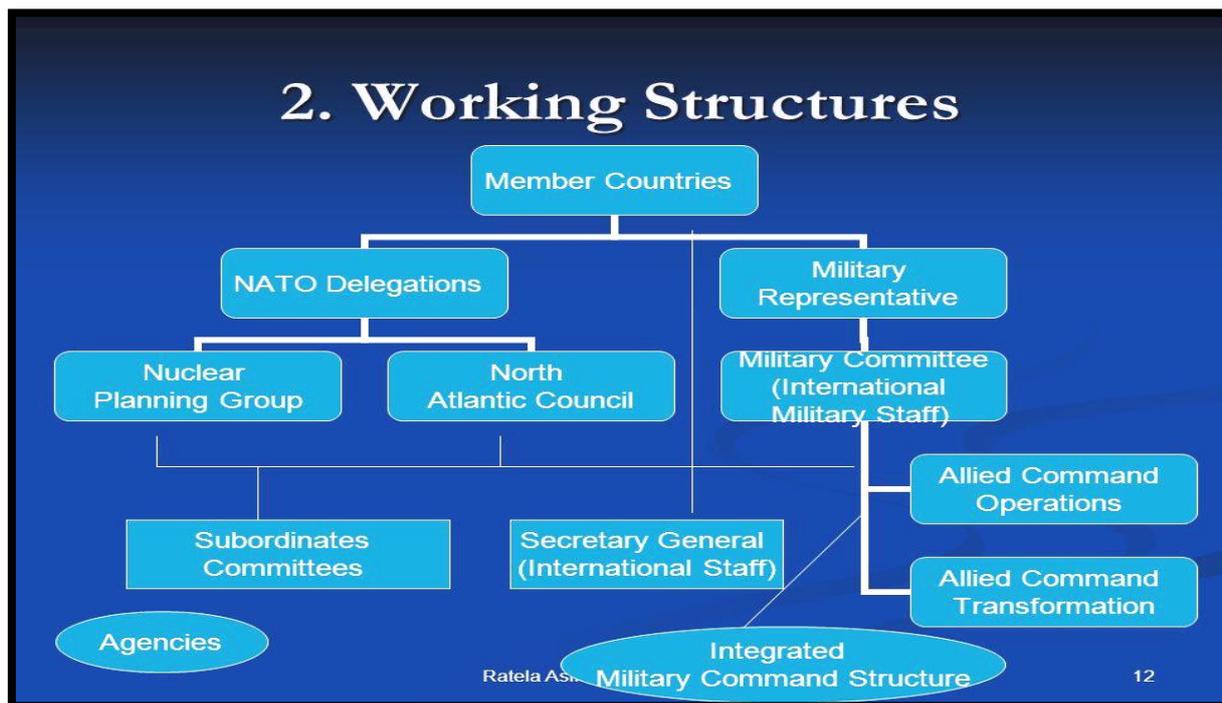
III. WORKING STRUCTURE

NATO was initially conceived as a deterrent to the rising power of the USSR and as a contentious opponent to the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, no military operations were conducted by NATO during the Cold War because it had to act as a powerful deterrent against military aggression. However, after the termination of Cold War, the first operations, *Anchor Guard* in 1990 and *Ace Guard* in 1991, were prompted by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Airborne early warning aircraft were sent to provide coverage of south-eastern Turkey, and later a quick-

reaction force was deployed to the area

Since then, it has played a significant part in the Bosnia and Herzegovina intervention, Kosovo intervention, war in Afghanistan, Iraq training mission, Gulf of Aden anti-piracy, Libya intervention and much more. Recently it held the biggest cyber defence exercise virtually due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Began on November 16th, 2020, the Cyber Coalition exercise aimed to train cyber defenders in their ability to defend NATO and national networks and will test decision making processes and procedures. Nevertheless, in leading times NATO's power and influence have been brought into question due to its turbulent relations with Turkey. The peculiar question of uncertainty of its ally Turkey arose due to Turkey's tempestuous relations with its NATO allies who Greece and France, mainly. Turkey and Greece had strained relations and they are deteriorating due to Aegean dispute which caused a surge in controversies between the two states. Since both the states claim the region of Aegean Sea so it is a matter of right of sovereignty.

Nonetheless, the clash between Turkey and France is the most recent case of infighting among NATO allies. This started off with NATO ordering to inspect the suspicious cargo ship where Turkish sailors could be seen in combat positions and at a certain point one of the Turkish frigates flashed its radar lights onto the French vessel three times, effectively threatening to shoot which led to retaliation. However, the authenticity of this argument could be challenged because it is proposed by France and Turkey says otherwise. This also led to miscommunication and escalation of rivalry between the two states. Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg in a two-day visit to Turkey and Greece on 5th October 2020 emphasized on Turkey being a valued ally of NATO. The Secretary General praised Turkey's contributions to NATO missions, including in Afghanistan, Iraq and Kosovo, and its support to other Allies and partners during the pandemic. Mr Stoltenberg also highlighted NATO's strong commitment to Turkey's security by augmenting its air defence against missile attacks from Syria, and by increasing the Alliance's air and naval presence. The recent shift in power from Trump to Biden is also a shift of populism to multilateralism, apparently. It has also shown a shift in NATO-US partnership which even though threatened to impact relations in the North Atlantic region. Biden's pre-election rhetoric about U.S. trading of armaments with Russia perhaps will meddle with the association with Turkey. However, there is a possibility that to maintain stability in NATO Biden may try to be more interconnected with Turkey.



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IV. NEW CHALLENGES TO NATO

Since the end of the Cold War, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has sought to overcome the traditional division between Eastern and Western Europe. The Prague summit in November 2002 took an important step by inviting seven East European countries to join the alliance. The Prague summit, however, does not end NATO's Eastern agenda.

- **Encouraging democratic consolidation and military reform in Central and Eastern Europe:** Candidate countries lack the financial resources to develop high-tech weapon systems. Instead, NATO should encourage these countries to develop niche capabilities and specialized units to fill gaps in the alliance's overall military capability. To strengthen military ties, the United States should consider using training facilities in Eastern Europe and redeploying some of its forces from Western Europe to this region.
- **Ensuring the security of Baltic States.** With the entry of Baltic States into NATO, there is a danger that the United States will consider the Baltic problem "fixed" and will lose interest in the region. Thus, the Baltic States and the United States need to develop a new strategic agenda that keeps the United States engaged in this region. NATO also needs to develop operational plans to carry out an Article 5 (collective defense) commitment to defend the

Baltics in case of a crisis. Western policymakers should further engage Baltic States to ensure that there is no backsliding on democratic reforms and social tolerance.

- **Developing a post-Prague strategy for Ukraine.** Ukraine's decision to apply for NATO membership calls for the alliance to develop a strategy toward this country in the post-Prague period. However, Ukraine has a long way to go before it qualifies for NATO membership. Civilian control of the military is weak and the market economy is underdeveloped. NATO should assist Ukraine in carrying out a comprehensive program of military reform. The Partnership for Peace (PfP) program can help Ukrainian military forces work more efficiently with NATO forces. The United States and its European allies should also continue to encourage the Ukrainian leadership to implement economic and political reform.
- **Incorporating Russia into a broader European and Euro-Atlantic security framework.** President Putin's decision to support the United States in the war on terrorism opens up new prospects for developing a more cooperative partnership between Russia and NATO. Much will depend on how well the newly established NATO-Russia Council—which supersedes the old Permanent Joint Council—will function. The success of the new council will depend to a large extent on its ability to promote *practical cooperation* in areas of common interest. Rather than becoming stalled on procedural issues, NATO and Russia need to identify a few specific areas of cooperation where they can show tangible results quickly.
- **Developing a strategy toward the Caucasus and Central Asia.** The war on terrorism has increased the strategic importance of these regions. The PFP can strengthen NATO's relations with these countries by cooperating on search and rescue, disaster relief, and peace support operations. NATO-sponsored activities designed to encourage greater democratic practices, responsible budgeting, and civilian control of the military will also help foster political stability in the long run.

V. NATO'S RESPONSE TO RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE

NATO condemns in the strongest possible terms Russia's brutal and unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine - which is an independent, peaceful and democratic country, and a close NATO partner. NATO and Allies continue to provide Ukraine with unprecedented levels of support, helping to uphold its fundamental right to self-defence.

(A) Relations with Ukraine:

A strong, independent Ukraine is vital for the stability of the Euro-Atlantic area. Relations between NATO and Ukraine date back to the early 1990s and have since developed into one of the most substantial of NATO's partnerships. Since 2014, in the wake of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, cooperation has been intensified in critical areas. Since Russia's full-scale invasion in 2022, NATO and Allies have provided unprecedented levels of support. A Timeline of Russian-Ukraine Relationship is given as under:

- Dialogue and cooperation started when newly independent Ukraine joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (1991) and the Partnership for Peace programme (1994).
- Relations were strengthened with the signing of the 1997 Charter on a Distinctive Partnership, which established the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC) to take cooperation forward.
- Since 2009, the NUC has overseen Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration process, including reforms under the Annual National Programme (ANP).
- Cooperation has deepened over time and is mutually beneficial, with Ukraine actively contributing to NATO-led operations and missions.
- Priority is given to support for comprehensive reform in the security and defence sector, which is vital for Ukraine's democratic development and for strengthening its ability to defend itself.
- Since the NATO Summit in Warsaw in July 2016, NATO's practical support for Ukraine is set out in the Comprehensive Assistance Package (CAP) for Ukraine.
- In June 2017, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted legislation reinstating membership in NATO as a strategic foreign and security policy objective. In 2019, a corresponding amendment to Ukraine's Constitution entered into force.
- In September 2020, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy approved Ukraine's new National Security Strategy, which provides for the development of the distinctive partnership with NATO with the aim of membership in NATO.
- In response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, since 2014 NATO has reinforced its support for capability development and capacity-building in Ukraine. The Allies condemn and will not recognize Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, and its destabilizing and aggressive activities in eastern Ukraine and the Black Sea region. NATO has increased its presence in the Black Sea and stepped up maritime cooperation with Ukraine and Georgia.

- NATO condemns Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine in the strongest possible terms. It gravely undermines international security and stability, and is a blatant violation of international law. NATO Allies call on Russia to stop the war immediately, withdraw all its forces from Ukraine and engage in genuine diplomacy.
- The Alliance condemns Russia's decision to extend recognition to the self-proclaimed "people's republics" in eastern Ukraine.
- NATO stands with the people of Ukraine and its legitimate, democratically elected president, parliament and government. The Alliance will always maintain its full support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

(B) Framework of NATO Response in Ukraine Crisis:

- From the very beginning of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2014, NATO has adopted a firm position in full support of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. The Allies strongly condemn and will not recognise Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, and denounce its temporary occupation. The Alliance also condemns Russia's decision in February 2022 to extend recognition to the self-proclaimed "Donetsk People's Republic" and "Luhansk People's Republic" in eastern Ukraine, which is a flagrant breach of international law that further undermines Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Furthermore, NATO condemns in the strongest possible terms Russia's brutal and unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine starting in February 2022, which gravely undermines international security and stability, and is a blatant violation of international law.
- As a result of Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, NATO Allies decided in 2014 to suspend all practical civilian and military cooperation with Russia, while leaving political and military channels of communication open. Since Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, Allies have imposed unprecedented sanctions on Russia to help starve the Kremlin's war machine of resources. Allies continue to refine these sanctions in order to increase the pressure on Moscow. These efforts will make it harder for Russia to rebuild its tanks, manufacture missiles and finance its war.
- NATO Allies call on Russia to immediately stop the war and withdraw all its forces from Ukraine, to fully respect international humanitarian law, and to allow safe and unhindered humanitarian access and assistance to all persons in need. They also call on

Russia to stop restricting navigation in parts of the Black Sea and impeding access to the Sea of Azov.

- Throughout the crisis, regular consultations have taken place in the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC) in view of the direct threats faced by Ukraine to its territorial integrity, political independence and security. The NUC met for extraordinary meetings in view of Russia's unjustified use of military force against Ukrainian ships near the Kerch Strait in November 2018 and Russia's threatening military build-up in April 2021. Other extraordinary meetings of the NUC took place at NATO Headquarters in January and February 2022, focused on Russia's continued military build-up and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine.
- In parallel to its political support to Ukraine, NATO has significantly stepped up its practical assistance to Ukraine. Immediately following the illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014, NATO Foreign Ministers agreed on measures to enhance Ukraine's ability to provide for its own security. They also decided to further develop their practical support to Ukraine, based on a significant enhancement of existing cooperation programmes as well as the development of substantial new programmes. At the 2016 Summit in Warsaw, NATO's measures in support of Ukraine became part of the Comprehensive Assistance Package (CAP), which is designed to support Ukraine's ability to provide for its own security and to implement wide-ranging reforms in the security and defence sector based on Euro-Atlantic principles and best practice.
- Under the CAP, NATO has provided support for Ukraine for many years. Through a variety of programmes and tailored advice, NATO has significantly strengthened the capacity and resilience of Ukraine's security and defence sector, as well as its ability to counter hybrid threats. NATO and Allies have also provided extensive support to capability development, including through training and education and the provision of equipment.
- At the 2022 NATO Summit in Madrid, Allies agreed to strengthen the CAP and provide even more support to Ukraine. The enhanced CAP includes support in multiple areas, including secure communications, cyber defences and resilience, fuel, medical supplies, body armour, equipment to counter mines and chemical and biological threats, and portable anti-drone systems. It also includes initiatives to further strengthen and modernize Ukraine's defence and security institutions. Allies also agreed to help

Ukraine transition from Soviet-era equipment to modern NATO equipment, boosting interoperability with Allied forces. In the longer term, the Alliance is committed to assisting Ukraine and supporting efforts on its path of post-war reconstruction and reforms.

- In parallel, NATO Allies have significantly stepped up their bilateral support and provision of equipment, helping Ukraine to uphold its right of self-defence, which is enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Allies are also providing substantial financial and humanitarian aid, including by hosting millions of refugees in countries all across the Alliance. NATO Allies have agreed to step up and sustain their support for as long as necessary, so that Ukraine prevails.
- NATO stands with the people of Ukraine and its legitimate, democratically elected president, parliament and government. The Alliance will always maintain its unwavering support for Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders extending to its territorial waters.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Biden administration must work on building trust with its European partners as the strong bridge between the US and Europe, i.e., UK is out of the EU.
2. The US must focus on leading the alliance if it must contain the increasing influence of China and Russia globally.
3. The EU should pool in 2% of their GDP to NATO by 2024 as being agreed upon so that the dependence of NATO on the US decreases.
4. NATO must resolve the conflict between its member states like that of Turkey, Greece, France, and the Netherlands.
5. NATO member states must focus on Cyber security as it poses a serious challenge to their institutions and security by both rogue states and non-state actors.

What remains a confrontational point between different member states of NATO is the Migration Crisis. The EU must share the burden of the refugees and the alliance should help weaker states in Middle East and Europe to be politically stable so that the migration crisis does not get worse.
