Colonel (Ret) Professor Gheorghe BOARU, PhD*

Abstract:

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a political-military alliance that formed in 1949, through the North Atlantic Treaty, signed in Washington on April 4, 1949 and comprises 29 states from Europe and North America.

The Warsaw Pact or the Warsaw Treaty, officially called the "Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance", was established as a military alliance of the countries of Eastern Europe and the Eastern Bloc as a response to the creation of NATO's alliance, signed in Warsaw on 14 May 1955, comprised 8 states and was dissolved at the meeting in Prague on 1 July 1991.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991, former opponents - Russia and NATO - were forced to find new forms of coexistence in a totally different security environment than the previous one. This has prompted both sides to cooperate in various forums, partnerships, councils, programs, contacts, summits and academic exchanges.

Over the last decade, NATO-Russia relations have been a significant part of European security policy even though the "special" and sometimes controversial relationship between the two entities has evolved much including many activities in various areas of cooperation.

Keywords: NATO, Russia, North Atlantic Cooperation Council, NATO-Russia Council, Partnership for Peace, security, controversies.

INTRODUCTION

The idea that the NATO-Russia relationship began to develop officially after 1991 is justified by a series of important historical events that have contributed to the founding of this relationship.

^{*} Tenured member of Academy of Romanian Scientists; Tenured member of the Academy of National Security Sciences,

⁽e-mail: <u>boarugheorghe@yahoo.com</u>).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, along with the change in NATO's policy regarding relations with formerly irreconcilable enemies, are just a few of these events.

Relations began after the end of the Cold War, when Russia joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (1991). This forum of dialogue was resumed in 1997 by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, which brings together all allies and partner countries in the Euro-Atlantic area.

After the Soviet Union was dismantled in 1991, opponents of the past were forced to find new forms of coexistence in a totally different security environment. This has led both sides to cooperate in various forums, such as the North Atlantic Cooperation Council¹, the Partnership for Peace², and also in other frameworks of the "special relationship" between the two entities.

Practical cooperation began after Russia joined the Partnership for Peace program (1994) and deployed peacekeeping missions in support of NATO-led operations in the Western Balkans in the late 1990s.

The NATO-Russia Founding Act of 1997 provided the official basis for bilateral relations.

Dialogue and cooperation were strengthened in 2002 with the establishment of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC)³, to serve as a forum for consulting current security issues and to direct practical co-operation across a wide range of areas.

¹ In 1991, after the end of the Cold War, NATO created the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) as a means of developing relations with the Warsaw Pact countries and those that were born through the disappearance of the Soviet Union. The North Atlantic Cooperation Council was created in December 1991 as a special organism of consultations on security and stability issues in Europe. [https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue2/romanian/art5.html],

[[]https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_69344.htm].

² The Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, inaugurated in 1994, included several partners and a broad range of defense cooperation, including interoperability and defense reform. Yet, program membership and new policy areas applied by the PfP were not in full agreement with the more limited initial approach of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. [http://www.mfa.gov.md/nato-md/parteneriatul-pentru-pace/], [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics 50349.htm].

³ [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics 50091.htm],

[[]https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue2/romanian/analysis1.html].

Romania had the chance to become a member of NATO 15 years ago (March 29, 2004). From this point on, the qualitative risk assessment has acquired other values (see qualitative risk equation)⁴.

Russia's disproportionate military action in Georgia in August 2008 led to the suspension of the official NRC meetings and cooperation in some areas by the spring of 2009. The Allies continue to call on Russia to reverse the recognition of the Georgian regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states.

The entire civilian and military cooperation undertaken within the NRC with Russia was suspended from April 2014, in response to Russia's military intervention and aggressive actions in Ukraine, as well as its illegal occupation and the annexation of Crimea, condemned by allies in the strongest terms.

However, the political and military communication channels have remained open to exchange information on worrying issues, to reduce misunderstandings and increase predictability.

The "Ukraine" case includes provocative military activities near NATO borders ranging from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea; irresponsible and aggressive nuclear rhetoric, military posture and basic posture; the risks involved in its military intervention and the support of the Syrian regime; the attack by the Russian agent in the United Kingdom in March 2018 - a clear violation of international standards.

On 1 February 2019, the North Atlantic Council issued a statement in support of the United States' decision to suspend its obligations under the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF)⁵ Treaty in response to Russia's serious violation of the treaty. Russia continued to deny the INF infringement, refused to provide a credible response, and did not take steps to return to full and verifiable compliance with the treaty.

NATO reacted to this changed security environment by strengthening its deterrence and defense position, while remaining open to dialogue. The Alliance did not seek the confrontation and did not pose a

⁴ G.Boaru, M. Răducu, V. Păun, Managentul riscurilor în acțiunile militare, Editura Academiei de Înalte Studii Militare, București, 2003, pp.19-21.

⁵ Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF), [https://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/102360.htm], [https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/INFtreaty].

threat to Russia. Jens Stoltenberg said: "We do not want a new cold war with Russia"⁶.

THE EVOLUTION OF NATO-RUSSIA RELATIONS

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (abbreviated NATO in English and OTAN in French and Spanish)

The NATO emblem was adopted by the North Atlantic Council as the symbol of the North Atlantic Council in October 1953. The circle is the symbol of unity and cooperation, and the sign of the compass suggests the common path to peace which the 16 member countries committed themselves at that time.



NATO logo

NATO Flag

Leadership:

NATO Secretary General -Jens Stoltenberg



NATO Military Committee Chairman -Marshal Sir Stuart Peach



Official languages: English, French; Website: nato.int

⁶ DW's Zhanna Nemtsova interview NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg; (DW=Deutsche Welle);

[[]https://www.dw.com/en/what-is-theinf-nuclear-treaty/a-45981536].

NATO has 29 member countries that were received in seven steps as follows: In 1949, 12 countries were included as founding members:
Belgium; + Canada; Denmark; United States; France; France; Iceland; Italy; Luxembourg; Norway; Netherlands; Portugal; UK; In 1952: Greece; Turkey; In 1955: Germany; In 1982: Spain; In 1999: Hungary; Poland; Czech Republic; In 2004: Bulgaria; Slovakia; Slovenia; Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania; Romania; In 2009: Croatia; Albania; In 2017: Montenegro.

NATO CENTER:

The first NATO headquarters was installed in London in 1949, then moved to Paris in 1952 and finally to Brussels in 1967. The recent location was released as official after all about 4,000 employees and 2,000 members of foreign delegations moved into the new modern building that was built just opposite the former headquarters.



The historic headquarters of NATO on the periphery of Brussels will become, starting with the academic year 2019-2020, a new center of the European College's network, an educational institution which encompasses

in particular the children of the employees on the European Union institutions.

The Warsaw Pact (The Warsaw Treaty), officially called the "Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance", was a military alliance of the "Eastern Europe" and "Eastern Bloc" countries that wanted to defend themselves against the threat they perceived from the NATO's alliance (which was founded in 1949).

The creation of the Warsaw Pact was hurried by the integration into NATO of West Germany, "remilitarized" by the ratification by the Western countries of the London and Paris Agreements. The Warsaw Treaty was initiated by Nikita Khrushchev in 1955 and was signed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955.

The Covenant ceased to exist on 3 March 1991 and was formally dissolved at the meeting in Prague on 1 July 1991.



Warsaw Pact – emblem: Союз Мира и Социализма = Union of Peace and Socialism

Members of the Warsaw Treaty (8) in period: 1955-1968 Albanian People's Republic; 1955-1991: Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; The Polish People's Republic; The German Democratic Republic; Romanian People's Republic / Socialist Republic of Romania; The Hungarian People's Republic; The People's Republic of Bulgaria; Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

Chronological references of NATO-Russia cooperation

• 1991: Russia joins the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (later renamed the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council), created as a forum for consultation with the Central and Eastern European countries since the end of the Cold War; The Soviet Union is dissolved effectively at the inaugural meeting of this organization;

• 1994: Russia joins the Partnership for Peace (PfP);

• 1996: Russian soldiers carry out their forces within the NATO-led peacekeeping force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Memorandum of Understanding on Civil Emergency Cooperation is signed;

• 1997: At the summit in Paris, Russian leaders and allies sign the NATO-Russia Founding Act on mutual relations, cooperation and security, and set up the Joint Permanent Council (JPC) or the Permanent Joint Council (PJC);

• 1998: Russia sets up a diplomatic mission at NATO. The Memorandum of Understanding on Scientific and Technological Cooperation is signed;

• 1999: Russia suspends participation in JPC for several months due to NATO's air campaign in Kosovo. Russian peacekeepers deploy their forces as well as part of NATO-led peacekeeping force in Kosovo;

• 2000: Vladimir Putin becomes president of Russia and says he will work to rebuild relations with NATO in a "spirit of pragmatism." Greater cooperation takes place in the JPC, following a meeting between NATO and the Russian Foreign Minister to Florence. Kursk nuclear submarine sinks, highlighting the need for NATO-Russia cooperation;

• 2001: The NATO Information Office opens in Moscow. President Putin is the first world leader to summon the US president after the September 11 terrorist attacks and underlines the need for concerted international action to address terrorism and other new security threats. Russia opens its airspace within the international coalition campaign in Afghanistan and provides relevant information;

• 2002: May 28, 2002 - A new NATO-Russia relationship: First NATO-Russia Council (NRC) meeting in Rome, Italy;



• The first high-level conference on the role of the armed forces in the fight against terrorism is organized in Rome;

• NATO opens a military liaison mission to Moscow;

• At the Rome Summit, leaders from Russia and the Allies sign a declaration on "NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality" and establish the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) to replace the JPC (Joint Permanent Council);

• The NRC brings allied states and Russia together as equal partners in this forum for dialogue, cooperation and development of the relationship between NATO and Russia;

• A NATO-Russia Resettlement Center is open to facilitate the release of Russian military personnel and their return to civilian life;

• Russia organizes in Noginsk a multinational disaster response exercise;

• A second level conference on the role of the armed forces in the fight against terrorism is organized in Moscow.

• 2003:

• NATO and Russia sign an agreement on the rescue of submarine crews;

• A CNR meeting is held for the first time in Moscow;

• Russian troops are withdrawing from the NATO-led peacekeeping forces in the Balkans.

• 2004:

• NATO Secretary General is trying to implement a new Hotline with the Russian Defense Minister;

• The first exercise of the missile defense command station with a radius of up to 3500 km of CNR takes place in Colorado Springs, United States;

• Russian military liaison offices are established based on agreements in the NATO's strategic command center;

• Russia organizes a multinational disaster response exercise in Kaliningrad;

• At the CNR meeting of Foreign Affairs Ministers in Istanbul, Russia offers to contribute a maritime vessel to the NATO Sea Operations

- 57

Combating Terrorism in the Mediterranean, Active Endeavor Operation (AEO);

• Observers from the CNR states are invited to attend the Russian field exercise in response to the accidents caused by nuclear weapons near Murmansk;

• The first interoperability courses are organized in the Moscow military academies;

• Following terrorist attacks in Russia, the CNR Foreign Affairs Ministers approve a CNR's Full Action Plan on Terrorism;

• NATO and Russia exchange letters, setting out procedures to pave the way for Russia to support Active Endeavor Operation;

• The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the CNR issue a statement on the holding of the presidential elections in Ukraine.

• 2005:

• The second exercise of the missile defense command station with a radius of up to 3500 km of CNR takes place in the Netherlands;

• Russia signs the PfP (Partnership for Peace) status agreement;

• The CNR Defense Ministers promote the "*Political-Military Guide*" aimed at developing, over time, the interoperability between Russia and the Allied Forces at strategic, operational and tactical command levels;

• Russia participates in NATO's major exercises, by sea, for search and rescue mission *Sorbet Royal*;

• A team from the UK helps rescue Russian sailors trapped on a submarine on the shore of Kamchatka;

• Observers from the CNR states are invited to attend the field exercise, in response to the nuclear weapons accidents, organized by the United Kingdom in Edinburgh;

• Russian Teachers and Trainers at the Academy of General Staff teach the first Interoperability courses at the Oberammergau NATO School;

• CNR launches its first pilot project on the fight against narcotics for Afghanistan and Central Asia personnel.

• 2006:

• The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the NRC assembled in Sofia agree on a set of priorities and recommendations in order to guide the future work of the NRC;

• NRC observers are invited to attend the field exercise, in response to accidents caused by nuclear weapons, organized by the US in Wyoming;

• The third exercise of the missile defense command station with a radius of up to 3500 km of NRC takes place in Moscow;

• An Exceptional Civil Exercise is organized at Montelibretti, Italy;

• The first Russian frigate is moving to the Mediterranean to support *Active Endeavor* Operation.

• 2007:

• Observers from Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) countries are invited to examine the nuclear weapon response in an exercise in France;

• The Russian Parliament ratifies the status of the peace partnership agreement;

• The tenth anniversary of the Founding Act and the 5th anniversary of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission;

• The second Russian frigate is deployed with Active Assistance of the of the Active Effort Operation.

• 2008:

• A computer exercise takes place in Germany within the framework of the ballistic missile defense project with a radius of up to 3500 km;

• To support NATO's leadership in the "Force of Assistance and International Security operation in Afghanistan", Russia provides transit to FASI taxpayers;

• Russia takes part in a major NATO search and rescue mission called the *Bold Monarch*;

• As a result of Russia's disproportionate military actions in Georgia in early August 2008, the NRC's official meetings and cooperation in some areas are suspended. Cooperation continues in key areas of common interest, such as the fight against drugs and terrorism;

• NATO Foreign Ministers, who meet in December, agree to address gradually and carefully the re-engagement with Russia.

• 2009:

• Foreign Ministers decide to resume formal reunions and practical cooperation within the NRC at the meeting held in March;

• In December, at the first formal NRC reunion that toakes place after the crisis in Georgia, foreign ministers are taking steps to reinvigorate the NRC's cooperation and agree to launch a joint review of the common security challenges of the 21st century.

2010:

• In June, the NRC gather for the first time in a political consultative format in Rome for 2 days without publicly announcing the exchange of views on how to make NRC a much more substantial forum;

• In July, NATO Military Committee Chief Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola visits Moscow to discuss (as from one military man to another) with Chief of Staff of the Russian Armed Forces-Army General Nikolai Makarov and his staff on the implementation of NRC's cooperation;

• In September, the CRN Foreign Ministers are reunited in New York to design the way forward for relations and cooperation;

• At the beginning of November, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen visits Russia to meet with President Dmitry Medvedev and Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov and to prepare for the Lisbon high-level meeting;

• At the summit in Lisbon, the leaders of the NRC promise to "strive for a true strategic and modernized partnership". They endorse a joint review of security challenges in the 21st century and agree to resume cooperation in the field of defense against ballistic missiles with an action range up to 3,500 km, as well as to develop a joint analysis of the future framework for wider cooperation for defense against the missiles. They also accept a number of initiatives to help stabilize the situation in Afghanistan and across the region.

• 2011:

• In April, Foreign Ministers meet in Berlin to discuss the situation in Libya and Afghanistan, as well as on the ongoing work on shaping the future framework for cooperation between Russia and NATO on missile defense. They launch a NRC maintenance fund helicopter to support the

helicopter fleet of Afghan security forces, and also approve an updated action plan by the NRC on terrorism;

• In May, the Glossary for Cooperation containing over 7,000 accepted terms in Russian and English is launched and covers virtually all the core areas of political and military cooperation between NATO and Russia;

• In June, for the first time in three years, NRC Ministers of Defense meet in Brussels to discuss a wide range of defense issues; a Russian submarine actively taking part in the NATO *"Bold Monarch 2011"* exercise, joint exercise *"Vigilant Skies 2011"* demonstrates the operational preparation of the NRC Air Cooperative Initiative; a NRC conference on Critical Infrastructure Protection is held in Turkey; NATO and Russia are taking part in a top-level exercise on the incident scenario of a nuclear weapon;

• In July, the NRC meet at Sochi, in Russia, at the invitation of the Russian authorities, and there is also a meeting with Russian President Medvedev. The NRC ambassadors reiterate their commitment to continued cooperation in the field of missile defense, as well as in other security areas of common interest;

• In October a seminar on national nuclear doctrines and strategies takes place in Germany;

• In December, the NRC Ministers of Foreign Affairs meet in Brussels to discuss international security issues and NRC practical cooperation including Afghanistan, combating piracy and combating terrorism. They approve the NRC 2012 Work Program and announce that the Airspace Cooperation Initiative is ready to undertake operations.

• 2012:

• In January, Gen. Nikolai Makarov, the Russian Chief of General Staff, visit the Allied Command for Operations in Mons, Belgium;

• In March, the fifth computer-assisted drill is taking place in Germany on anti-missile defense in theater (TMD); a first American Nuclear Regulatory Commission (ANRC) on counter-terrorism. A higher civilian-military exercise is organized at NATO Headquarters;

- 61

• In April, the first training course for Afghan Air Force helicopter maintenance personnel is under way in Novosibirsk. The Foreign Ministers of the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission meet in Brussels to discuss the practical cooperation of the NRC;

• In May, Deputy Secretary General of NATO, Ambassador Alexander Vershbow attends a missile defense conference organized by the Russian Defense Ministry.

• Russia sends a special representative to attend the extended ISAF meeting The International Security Assistance Force held at the Chicago Summit;

• In May the 15th anniversary of the Founding Act takes place and 10 years since the founding of the NRC;

• In June, high-ranking representatives from the countries involved in the NRC anti-drug initiative meet in Tashkent, in Uzbekistan, to record the next course of the project;

• In November, a simulated exercise on the computer tests the NRC Airspace Cooperation Initiative (ACI) and the Information Exchange System (IES);

• In December, the NRC Foreign Ministers agree to step up cooperation in the most important areas of the NRC work program for 2013. Also, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Military Committee Chairman General Knud Bartels visits Russia to support military cooperation and to create a common understanding of issues of strategic interest with General Valeri Gerasimov, the Russian Army Chief of General Staff.

• 2013:

• In February 2013, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen meets Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov at the NATO headquarters to discuss the implementation of the NRC work program as well as ways to improve NATO – Russia's talks in the field of missile defense;

• In April, the NRC Foreign Ministers agree to launch the second phase of the NRC Fund project for helicopter retention in Afghanistan and to discuss cooperation plans in other areas in 2013; they also exchange

views on progress in the NATO - led Afghanistan mission and on other regional and global security issues including Syria, North Korea and antimissile defense;

• In June, technology for real-time detection of explosives is successfully tested live in a metro station in a major European city, marking the completion of the development and testing phase of the **stand**-off **detection** of **explosives** (STANDEX);

• In September, under the Airspace Cooperation Initiative, a liveaction counter-terrorism exercise takes place in the sky across Poland, Russia and Turkey involving combat planes, military personnel and Arctic-Black Sea command centers;

• In October, NRC defense ministers exchange views on emerging international agenda issues, including Syria, transparency on military exercises, and discuss ways to expand practical cooperation, including plans to work together to dispose of excess ammunition in Russia, possibly through a new NRC Fund Trust project;

• Prior to this month, NATO "Standing NATO Mine Countermeasures Group" visits the St. Petersburg port - the program includes a tour of the ship and a press conference for Russian journalists, a friendly football match between Russian sailors and Polish descendants and common maritime training activities with Estonian vessels.

• 2014:

• In March, NATO condemns the Russian military invasion of the Crimea and expresses its deep concern about the Russian Parliament's authorization to use the armed forces of the Russian Federation on Ukrainian territory;

• In March, NATO claims that the so-called referendum that took place on 16 March in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in Ukraine was both illegal and illegitimate. The referendum violated the Constitution of Ukraine and international law, and the allies do not recognize the results;

• In April, NATO foreign ministers urge Russia to take immediate action to return to a policy of respect for international law and its international obligations and responsibilities, and to immediately engage in a genuine discussion on a political and diplomatic solution that would

respect international law and the internationally recognized borders of the Ukraine;

• In April, NATO foreign ministers decide to suspend practically all civilian and military cooperation between NATO and Russia;

• In June, NATO foreign ministers agree to maintain the suspension of civilian and military practical cooperation with Russia. Any decision to resume cooperation will be conditional;

• In September at Wales Summit (2014), NATO leaders demand that Russia stop and withdraw its forces from Ukraine and across the border. They express their deep concern that the violence and insecurity in the region, caused by Russia and the Russian separatists, lead to a worsening of people's situation and material destructions in eastern Ukraine;

• However, in March 2014, in response to Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine, NATO suspends practical cooperation with Russia. At the same time, NATO opens channels of communication with Russia. The NATO-Russia Council has met seven times since April 2016;

• The Secretary-General and the Deputy Secretary-General of NATO also regularly engage with their Russian counterparts. "We are not looking for confrontations, but we cannot ignore Russia's violation of international rules";

• As a result of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the Allied foreign ministers decided on 1 April 2014 to suspend all practical, civil and military cooperation between NATO and Russia within the NRC, under the aegis of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and the Partnership for Peace (PfP). Political dialogue can only be performed at the ambassadorial level and above it, as required. Any decision to resume cooperation is based on compliance with certain conditions;

• Allied and Heads of State reconfirm this decision at the NATO Summit in Wales on September 3-4, 2014 and Warsaw on 8-9 July 2016. Also at the Summit in Warsaw, the Allied leaders decide that, at the same time with the strengthening of the deterrent and defense posture, NATO would be open to a regular, focused and consistent dialogue with a willing Russia to engage in such dialogue based on reciprocity within the NATO-Russia Council. The goal is to avoid misunderstandings, misinterpretations

and unintentional escalation, and increase transparency and predictability. This dialogue takes place through regular NRC meetings at ambassadorial level.

• In 2017, in response to a request from the government of the Republic of Moldova, NATO opens a NATO Liaison Office (NLO) in Chisinau.

• NLO has a small diplomatic mission, uses civilian personnel and is geared towards strengthening practical cooperation, supporting reforms and increasing transparency and dialogue. NLO from Chisinau follows the model of similar NATO offices in Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Russia and the United Nations in New York, USA.

• In the case of Moldova, this cooperation program is called the Individual Action Plan for Partnership (IAPP).

• The first IAPP of the Republic of Moldova with NATO was agreed on in 2006 and was later updated every few years to stay current and adapted to the needs of the Republic of Moldova. IAPP allows the Republic of Moldova to identify areas in which it wishes to cooperate with NATO.

Since the suspension of allied cooperation with Russia, the NATO-Russia Council has reunited 7 times (the last time on 31 May 2018) and addressed issues such as the security situation in Ukraine, military transparency and risk reduction as well as the Afghanistan's situation.

It also continues - on an occasional basis - military dialogue at strategic level, NATO-Russia military communication lines being prepared to prevent the escalation of potentially dangerous situations.

NATO maintains its united position on Russia, on the level of substantive and high-level political dialogue (ambassadorial or superior), in parallel with strengthening allied defense and deterrence.

Conclusions

The great challenge for both the Alliance and Russia as the successor to the USSR was to realize that there is no way to return to the old relationships in the decades of confrontation, but a historic necessity to find a form of coexistence in the new environment of security. Therefore, in those circumstances, the only solution was to build a relationship starting

from the existing state and looking towards the future with confidence instead of analyzing the past.

The history of the NATO-Russia partnership demonstrates that this was not an easy one, some stereotypes of the Cold War era still present in the minds of many people. Chronologically speaking, the NATO-Russia relationship has recorded many periods of ups and downs and numerous controversies. To understand the nature of the complexity of the inherited difficulties and their possible impact on the current situation, the NATO-Russia relationship must only be seen in a historic context.



- BOARU G., RĂDUCU M., PĂUN V., *Managementul riscurilor în acțiunile militare*, Editura Academiei de Înalte Studii Militare, București, 2003.
- CONNOLLY R., Russia's Response to Sanctions: How Western Economic Statecraft Is Reshaping Political Economy in Russia Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- DAHL A.S., Strategic Challenges in the Baltic Sea Region: Russia, Deterrence, and Re and Reassurance, Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2018.
- HUNTER E.R., ROGOV M.S., Engaging Russia as Partner and Participant. The Next Stage of NATO-Russia Relations, Published 2004 by the RAND Corporation.
- SHIRREFF R., 2017 War with Russia: An Urgent Warning from Senior Military Command, Published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2016.
- *** Consiliul NATO-Rusia, [https://nato.mae.ro/node/271].
- *** DW's Zhanna Nemtsova interview NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, [https://www.dw.com/en/what-is-theinf-nucleartreaty/a-45981536].

- *** Essentials **NATO Russia Relations -** NATO LibGuides at NATO, [http://www.natolibguides.info/nato-russia].
- *** History of **Nato-Russia relations**, [https://www.scmp.com/news/-world/article/1583997/history-nato-russia-relations].
- *** How do you solve a problem like Russia? **NATO-Russia relations** after Ukraine, [https://www.ecfr.eu/debate/the_future_of_nato_russia_relations].
- *** Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF), [https://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/102360.htm], [https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/INFtreaty].
- *** NATO-Rusia: O relație previzibilă? [https://www.caleaeuropeana.ro/nato-rusia-o-relatie-previzibila/].
- *** NATO-Topic: Relations with Russia, [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50090.htm].
- *** NATO-Russia Council NRC, [https://www.nato.int/docu/review/-2007/issue2/romanian/art5.html], [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics 69344.htm].
- *** NATO Topic: NATO-Russia relations: the facts, [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics 111767.htm].
- *** North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), [https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue2/romanian/art5.html], [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics 69344.htm].
- *** Parteneriatul NATO-Rusia: Dincolo de aparențe Nato Review, [https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue2/romanian/analys is1.html].
- *** Perspectives for NATO-Russia Relations, [https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/perspectives-nato-russia-relations].
- *** Reducing Tensions Between **Russia** and **NATO**, [https://www.cfr.org/report/reducing-tensions-between-russia-and-nato].

→ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆