

Devolution
club

Associazione per il Dialogo Costituzionale

*Nuovi Studi
di Diritto Pubblico
Estero e Comparato*

Collana del Devolution Club
diretta da
Tania Groppi e Alessandro Torre

Costituzioni e sicurezza dello Stato

a cura di
Alessandro Torre



MAGGIOLI
EDITORE

La realizzazione di questo volume è stata effettuata, nel quadro della ricerca coordinata dal Prof. Alessandro Torre su "Costituzioni e sicurezza dello Stato: scenari attuali e linee di tendenza" (PRIN 2008), con il contributo finanziario delle unità di ricerca di Bari, Roma La Sapienza, Roma Tre e Siena.

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Azienda con sistema qualità certificato ISO 9001: 2008

47822 Santarcangelo di Romagna (RN) • Via del Carpino, 8
Tel. 0541/628111 • Fax 0541/622595

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Finito di stampare nel mese di dicembre 2013
dalla Litografia Titanlito S.p.A.
Dogana (Repubblica di San Marino)

National security: An Eastern European view

by Leonid Smorgunov*

Summary: 1. Introduction – 2. The “national security” concept in Eastern Europe. – 3. The security environment and security threats. – 4. NATO and national security. – 5. Russian view on national security of the East European countries.

1. Introduction

National security is now one of the most important topics in politics. Its importance has increased particularly in the last decades. This found expression in the emerging theory of securitization, which has not only his followers, but even the scientific schools¹. In Eastern Europe the problem of security has become dominant after the political events of the late 1980s, when the transition to democracy, the market economy and the new international relations became cornerstone of development. Indigenous events which signified a new national security structure in Eastern Europe were the destruction of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, the formation and further development of the European Union, U.S. policy toward NATO and the expansion of the block to the east. It should be noted also that transformation in the understanding of what the national security means, the transition from military and political component of national security to the inclusion of economic, environmental, social problems and human rights in it have been significant in the process of formation of the national security doctrine. It is clear that national security in Eastern Europe was also determined such components environmental safety as globalization, the European space, regional issues, and national development.

The problematic of national security in Eastern Europe was in the evolution and it was varied depending on the characteristics of the three main stages: (1) the initial pe-

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¹ K. BOOTH, *Security and Emancipation*, in: *Review of International Studies*, vol. XVII, pp. 3313-326, 1991; B. BUZAN, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies, in the Post-Cold War Era*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991; B. MCSWEENEY, *Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School*, in: *Review of International Studies*, vol. XXII, n. 1, pp. 81-94, 1996; B. BUZAN, O. WAEVER, J. WILDE, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, London, Lynne Rienner, 1998; M. WILLIAMS, *Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics*, in: *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. LIII, n. 4, 2003; R. FLOYD, *Towards a consequentialist evaluation of security: bringing together the Copenhagen and the Welsh Schools of security studies*, in: *Review of International Studies*, vol. XXXIII, n. 2, pp. 327-350, 2007; G. H. GJØRV, *Security by any other name: negative security, positive security, and a multy-actor security approach*, in *Review of International Studies*, vol. IIXL, n. 4, pp. 835-859, 2012.

riod of transit to democracy and a market economy, (2) the expansion of NATO and the European Union, (3) the modification of national security policy at the end of the decade of the 2000s. *The first stage* was associated with the destruction of the old system of national security, defined the Cold War, the destruction of the Warsaw Pact and the search for new allies and security space. There were security problems in general that are subject to the processes of democratization and solving economic problems of transition to a market economy. Already, there loomed the main landmark of national security policy - focus on the West, NATO, the U.S. and Europe. *The second stage* was characterized by active choice all Eastern European transatlantic strategy national security policy². This was due to the NATO policy of enlargement and the entry of the major countries of Eastern Europe (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, the Baltic countries) in NATO. At this time the Euro-Atlantic integration is the basis of national security policy in Eastern Europe. It should be said that, along with NATO, the United States of America is chosen by these countries with varying degrees of emphasis as the guarantor of their national security. Although at this stage there is some differentiation between the countries, however, transatlantic strategy remains dominant. In the national security policy of the countries a need for regional security structures had some priorities (the Visegrad Group, Weimar Triangle, Northern Dimension). *The third stage* in national security policy has been caused by several factors. The following events and processes are among the most important determining factors: (1) the financial crisis of 2008-09 and the complexity of the economic order in the united Europe, (2) peripherization of Europe and Eastern Europe in the U.S. policy due to Obama presidency, (3) the policy of "reset" of relations between the U.S. and Russia, (4) the Russian policy of "peace enforcement" of Georgia in August 2008, (5) strengthening critical views in Eastern Europe to the stage of developmental policy in the 1990s. and the nostalgic tendencies (post-socialism). All of these lead to the evolution of the national security policy in the various countries of Eastern Europe. Although there is a differentiation between countries, but in general there are three basic models: the transition from hard transatlantic policy to diversification, based on combination of transatlantizm with regional and national interests (Poland, Slovakia), balancing national security policy between Europe and NATO

² On this stage there are many publications: M. WILLIAMS, I. NEWMANN, *From Alliance to Security Community: NATO, Russia and Power of Security*, in: *Millenium*, vol. XXIX, n. 2. pp. 357-387, 2000; D. REITER, *Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy*, in *International Security*, vol. XXV, n. 4. pp. 41-67, 2001; R. ASMUS *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era*, N.Y., Columbia University Press, 2002; H. WATERMAN, D. ZAGORCHEVA, D. REITER, *NATO and Democracy. In: International Security*, vol. XXVI, n. 3, pp. 221-235, 2002; A. HIGASHINO, *For the sake of "Peace and Security"? The Role of Security in the European Union Enlargement Eastwards*, in *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. XXXIX, n. 4, pp. 347-368 2004; J. Simon, *NATO and the Czech and Slovak Republics: A Comparative Study in Civil-Military relations*, Lanham, Md. Rowman, Littlefield, 2004; A. GHECIU, *Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and 'New Europe'*, *International Organization*, vol. LIX, n. 4, pp. 973-1012, 2005; A. GHECIU, *NATO in the 'New Europe': The Politics of International Socialization After the Cold War*, Stanford, Ca, Stanford University Press, 2005; R. ASMUS, *Europe's Eastern Promise: Rethinking NATO and EU Enlargement*, in *Foreign Affairs*, January-February, 2008; G. CHIRLEŞAN, *Basic Elements of the present regional security environment within Central and Eastern Europe*, Bucharest, 2009; A. MICHTA, *NATO Enlargement post-1989: Successful Adaptation or Decline?*, in *Contemporary European History*, vol. XVIII, n 3., pp. 363-376, 2009.

(Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania), a combination of hard transatlantism with orientation on the United States (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia).

Those of Eastern Europe like Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova occupy a special place into national security problematics. Since all of these countries are characterized by large differences in the definition of its national security policy, and do not constitute any particular single group, the paper will focus on the doctrine and policy of the national security of Russia only. The last country is significant for the whole of Eastern Europe in the sense that it is always the factor of choice for its national security strategy. In this respect, Russia's understanding of national security, in turn, is to some extent a reflection of specific security policies in Eastern Europe. We should distinguish between the interpretation of doctrine and national security policy of Russia in the U.S., Europe and Eastern Europe³. While all the components present in the interpretation of the national strategic culture, however, contextual factors also act as an important component of it. Here we note that the Russian view of the national security of the East European countries is defined Russia's recognition of their sovereignty and national capacity to determine their own national security in Europe and global system of international relations in a multipolar world.

This paper will focus on the third stage in determining the doctrines and national security policy in Eastern Europe. A special part of the paper will focus on Russia's view of its national security in terms of national security of the East European countries.

2. The "national security" concept in Eastern Europe

The concept of national security in Eastern Europe was changing under influence of a development of the security environment, on the one hand, and a learning process in the construction of the security system, on the other hand. Also important is the fact that the understanding of national security was depending on the overall strategy of Eastern Europe enter the system of Euro-Atlantic security and open policy of NATO enlargement. But now it is need to stress that NATO policy of globalization of security is important for the East European national security policy. NATO Secretary General Rogh Russmussen said: "As I have outlined, NATO's partnership start at home, in the Trans-Atlantic area, and in our close neighbourhood. But they cannot stop there. Our economic is globalized. Our security is globalized. And if we are to protect our populations effectively, our approach to security has to be globalized too"⁴. The national security documents were adopted by many Eastern Countries in 1990th and renovated their when en-

³ See: J. GIBBSON, *A Sober Second Thought: Persuading Russians to Tolerate*, in *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. VIII, n. 3, pp. 819-850, 1998.; M. GALEOTTI (ed.), *The Politics of Security in Modern Russia*, Burlington, VT, Ashgate, p. 250, 2010; A. SOMERVILLE, I. KEARNS, M. CHALMERS, *Poland, NATO and Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe*, in *Occasional Paper*, February 2012.

⁴ NATO – delivering security in the 21st century. Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen. Chatham House. London. 4 July, 2012. (http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_88886.htm).

tering NATO and EU⁵. But in some countries the new redactions of these documents have been made and adopted after 2008 following the impacts of financial crisis, Russian-Georgian war, and new step of NATO renovation in 2010.

In general, there is the *securitization entire domestic and foreign policies* of these countries on the base of such understanding of national security, which is correlated not only with the military and political issues, but with the very existence of these states. The dominant view was that *national security is a vital interest* in Eastern Europe. Lithuanian national security concept right to point this out: «7. Vital interests of national security are the interests which are safeguarded employing all lawful means and whose violation would pose a serious threat to the existence of the State of Lithuania and its society. The vital interests of the Republic of Lithuania are:

7.1. sovereignty, territorial integrity, democratic constitutional order;

7.2. civil society, respect for human and citizen's rights and freedoms and their protection;

7.3. peace and welfare in the State»⁶.

Security Strategy of the Czech Republic shares the vital, strategic and other important interests. She notes the vital interests of «sovereign existence, territorial integrity, and political independence, and the preservation of all prerequisites of a democratic rule of law, including the guarantee and protection of the fundamental human rights and freedom of the population»⁷.

Table 1. **Main documents on the security strategy in Eastern European countries**

Country / Entry to NATO	Name	Year	Who adopted
Czech Republic / 1999	Security Strategy of the Czech Republic	2011	The Government
Estonia / 2004	National Security Concept of Estonia	May 12, 2010	Riigikogu (Estonian parliament)
Hungary / 1999	The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary	2005	The Government
Latvia / 2004	National Security Concept The State Defence Concept	23 October, 2008 10 May, 2012	The Saeima (Parliament) The Saeima (Parliament)
Lithuania / 2004	National Security Strategy	26 June, 2012	The Lithuanian Seimas

⁵ See: G. CHIRLEȘAN, *Basic Elements of the present regional security environment within Central and Eastern Europe*, Bucharest, 2009.

⁶ National Security Strategy of Lithuania (see: Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas; www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=433830).

⁷ Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (see: International Relations and Security Network; www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lng=en&id=154938).

Poland / 1999	1) The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland. 2) Defense Strategy of the Republic of Poland	2007 2009	The Council of Ministers The Ministry of National Defence
Romania / 1999	The National Security Strategy of Romania. The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania: For a better Life in a democratic, Safe and More Prosperous Country.	April 17, 2006	The Supreme Council for National Defence
Slovak Republic / 2004	Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic	2005	The National Council of the Slovak Republic

“Security Strategy of Slovak Republic” (2005) maintains, that “security interests of the Slovak Republic, based on the above values [freedom, peace, democracy, rule of law, justice, pluralism, solidarity, and human rights and fundamental freedoms] and reflecting the needs of its citizens and the state, are:

- guaranteeing the security of its citizens and protecting their human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- guaranteeing its territorial integrity, sovereignty, inviolability of borders, political independence, and identity;
- developing democracy, rule of law, and market economy;
- creating prerequisites for sustainable economic, social, environmental, and cultural development of the society;
- strengthening strategic transatlantic partnership, co-guaranteeing the security of its allies;
- improving effectiveness of international organizations which the Slovak Republic is a member of, and supporting NATO and the EU enlargement;
- developing good partnership relations and all forms of mutually beneficial cooperation with the countries with which the Slovak Republic has common interests;
- contributing to strengthening and expanding freedom and democracy, respect for human rights, rule of law, international law, peace and stability in the world”⁸.

This vitalization of safety and national security transforms any living space of the state, society and the individual as the object of protection and supervision, confirm-

⁸ Security Strategy of Slovak Republic (see: International Relations and Security Network; www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots783).

ing Foucauldian idea of disciplinary power, which now uses the statistics of the victims and survivors to support its activities. Living space is superseded and replaced by a space of saving lives. Not a waste of energy and effort, but concern for their preservation is now the alpha and omega of state security policy. Anything that does not fit the standards of security is questioned and repressed. Security as emancipation can still be understood as a means to expand the space of freedom, but security as a vital need narrows this space to a safe minimum.

Vitalization helps to ensure that *national security takes a comprehensive and binding as an imperative of the entire national policy* of modern states. The Republic of Hungary "defines security in a comprehensive way: besides the traditional political and defence components, it also contains, inter alia, economic and social elements, including human rights and minority rights-related, as well as environmental elements"⁹. Poland just considers this matter, indicating that "the strategic development of the Polish security policy for the next decade will be characterized by a comprehensive approach. Main areas of activity will cover both international areas and safety-critical fields of activities in the country. It is assumed that work on the integrated system of state security shall be undertaken and completed fast.

The main tasks of Polish security policy include protecting and ensuring the following: the duration of the state as the institution, the society and the civil community; territorial integrity of the country; political independence and sovereignty; proper functioning of state institutions; internal stability, as well as comprehensive and sustainable socio-economic development, enhancing the level and the quality of life"¹⁰.

National Security Strategy of Eastern Europe has clearly *mobilizing nature* and are designed to enhance society, the state and the individual in the development of these countries. It should be noted the countries of the region does not try to hide his claim to participate in the decision not only their national problems, but also to the active policy towards Europe and global peace. In this regard, the remarkable letter from prominent political cultural leaders of Eastern Europe to U.S. President Barack Obama in 2009, where they try to convince him of the necessity of rebuilding of the U.S. relations to Eastern Europe and a need to modernize NATO. In addition, they state that the countries of Eastern Europe want to participate actively in cooperation with the U.S. in promoting democracy and security in the global world¹¹. Mobilization nature national security policy is manifested in the fact that a number of states have adopted specific laws on national security, which regulate the responsibilities of the different institutions for national security. As Prime Minister of the Czech Republic Petr Nečas mentioned in the introduction to "Security Strategy" 2011, "the process of safeguarding our security and defence is a permanent task, one that never ends. It is the state's debt to its citizens, and it is the mutual commitment that citizens make to each other – to defend their country.

⁹ The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary (2008) (see: Ministry of Foreign Affairs; www.mfa.gov.hu/.../national-security-strategy).

¹⁰ National Development Strategy 2020. Active Society, Competitive Economy, Efficient State. Warsaw, 2012, p. 49.

¹¹ Open letter to the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama appeared in the Polish newspaper "Gazeta Wyborcza" on July 16, 2009.

their lives and their freedom. Ultimately, this is the most basic purpose of civil solidarity"¹².

Although national security is understood in the unity of the international and national security, but the attention paid much more to international security, than domestic one. This is determined by many factors, but above all, by the inclusion of Eastern European countries in the regional and global integration processes and interdependence of contemporary world. In this respect, *the category of "national interest" takes on new meaning*. Its content is superior to national borders and combined to common regional or global interests. So, we can see in The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary (2008) such judgments: "Globalization and the increase of interdependence have resulted in changes to the substance and the forms of appearance of national interests. As a consequence of the integration processes, the political and economic sovereignty of the state has been given a new substance, with a significant part of the particular national interests of the individual countries now embedded in the framework of common interests. Hungarian national interests can and need to be asserted in the framework of the Euro-Atlantic integration, which extends to policy and economy, as well as foreign, and security policy and defence"¹³. Among ten national security interests of Hungary eight are belonging to world different objects and processes: the maintenance of international peace and security, the widening and deepening process of the European Union integration, the long term preservation of NATO's central role in the Euro-Atlantic security system, the general prevalence of democratic values, including their spreading beyond the Euro-Atlantic region, long term stability and Euro-Atlantic integration of the countries of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, and of the countries neighboring Hungary in particular, and so on. Poland stresses those significant national interests of Poland which involve efforts to ensure that the state maintains a strong international position and is capable of effectively promoting Polish interests abroad. "Significant interests also include strengthening the ability to operate and to be effective of the most important international institutions in which Poland participates as well as the development of international relations based on respect for law and effective multilateral cooperation in line with the goals and principles laid down in the UN Charter"¹⁴. True, Poland compared to other countries pays more attention to their own national interests, of course, with regard to its obligations to NATO, the European Union and the UN. In this respect some countries pay their attention to *the invisibility of security*: "The Czech Republic's security policy is based on the principle of the indivisibility of security. The Czech Republic's security is inseparable from security in the Euro-Atlantic area and from the global security situation. The nature of the security environment is such that the defence and protection of the state's citizens and territory does not end at the borders of the Czech Republic. Security interests often need to be defended far beyond the borders of allied states. The Czech Republic's security policy is governed

¹² Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, 2011 (see: International Relations and Security Network; www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lng=en&id=154938).

¹³ The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary, 2008(see: Ministry of Foreign Affairs; www.mfa.gov.hu/.../national-security-strategy).

¹⁴ National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2007 (mercury.efthz.ch/.../Poland-2007-eng.pdf).

not only by its own specific interests, but also by solidarity with its allies in NATO and the EU¹⁵.

3. The security environment and security threats

General characteristics of the security environment in Eastern Europe as a whole are not different from that used in the NATO concept. This environment is described in terms of globalization, instability, mobility, rapid change. It includes the processes associated with the emergence of new global and regional actors that influence global processes. The potential threats include the so-called «failed states». Much attention is paid to the global economic processes, the global market, regional processes. In recent years, emphasizes the importance of global information and communications technology and infrastructure, migration, global civil society, demographic problems, the issue of energy supply. Take, for example, documents, Czechs: «The environment influencing the Czech Republic's security is going through dynamic changes. The growing interconnectedness of security trends and factors is reducing its predictability. Threats, the sources of threats and those carrying them out are of both a national and, increasingly, a non-governmental and supranational nature. Internal and external security threats are becoming entwined and the differences between them effaced. These characteristics have a fundamental impact on the approach to the safeguarding of defence and security. It is becoming increasingly important to take a comprehensive approach combining military and civil tools, including diplomatic and economic means, to prevent threats and mitigate their negative impact. Preparedness to react promptly and effectively to unforeseen threats is also becoming more essential»¹⁶.

In some documents, highlights the importance of specific factors of the security environment, which are important for the countries of Eastern Europe. Thus, Hungary and Poland are paying attention to the threats posed by living Hungarian and Polish diasporas in the near abroad. Hungary issued an Act on Hungarians Living in Neighboring Countries (2001). Estonia emphasizes the importance of the Baltic region for security and sustainable development, highlighting the special northern dimension of security: «The security situation in the Baltic Sea area remains stable. The strategic importance of the region is growing. The foreign and security policy co-operation between the Baltic States and Nordic countries is deepening. Co-operation between the Baltic States is based on the countries' similar goals and membership in the European Union and NATO. The European Union is contributing to the development of the region also with its Baltic Sea Strategy»¹⁷. Lithuania specifically highlights the importance of policies of some countries, which has undesirable direction of the integration processes in the re-

¹⁵ Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, 2011 (see: International Relations and Security Network; www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lng=en&id=154938).

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ National Security Concept of Estonia, 2010 (see: www.kmin.ee/.../9470_National_Security_Concept).

gion. As the threat it allocates «non-transparent, undemocratic integration projects in the neighboring countries not based on the free will of citizens of those states»¹⁸.

Allocated to national security shall be determined by the ratio of general and specific assessments of the security environment. Remarkably, all countries stress the absence or low level of probability of military threats in Eastern Europe:

Czech Republic: "The probability of a direct threat to the territory of the Czech Republic by massive military attack is low".

Estonia: "A military attack against Estonia is unlikely in the present and near future. Nevertheless one cannot exclude this possibility in the longer perspective".

Lithuania: "there is no direct military threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State".

Poland: "In the foreseeable future the eruption of a large-scale armed conflict is unlikely.

Regional or local conflicts in which Poland will not be directly involved will be more likely".

As for the common threats, they are basically the same for all the countries of Eastern Europe, the differences are only those actions and the consequences that accompany the security policy of individual states. These common threats should be highlighted:

- terrorism;
- proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- regional conflicts;
- failed states;
- organized crime and corruption;
- cyber attacks;
- negative aspects of international migration;
- supply problem of energy.

In recent years, increasing attention is paid to the threats that are associated with the weakening of NATO and the European Union.

4. NATO and national security

The central problem of ensuring the national security of the East European countries is their entry into NATO. For all countries, membership in NATO is the guarantor and critical to their national security. In this respect, national security policy, based on the Euro-Atlanticism, is unchanged line of governmental policy in Eastern Europe.

Short History of NATO Enlargement

October 1990 is the alliance of Germany, and to NATO will automatically flow into the new lands (GDR).

January 1994 Brussels Summit. Sounds again reminded the 10th article of the North Atlantic Treaty, with a hint that all former socialist countries opened the door

¹⁸ The National Security Strategy (Lithuania), 2012 (see: Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas; www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=433830).

to NATO.

September 28, 1995 Publication of the "Study on NATO Enlargement."

8.9 July 1997 Madrid Summit. Three countries that once belonged to the Warsaw Pact - Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic - are to start negotiations on accession to NATO.

March 12, 1999 FOURTH EXTENSION UNIT. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic come into power, thus increasing the number of members to 19.

23-25 April 1999 Washington Summit. Plans to prepare for membership, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Slovenia.

May 14, 2002 in Reykjavik, Iceland. Meeting at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Officially announced preparations for NATO accession of Croatia.

May 2002 President Leonid Kuchma announced that Ukraine has set a goal - to join the European Union and NATO.

21-22 November 2002 in Prague. Summit. Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia are a proposal to start accession negotiations.

March 26, 2003 Signing Ceremony of the Accession Protocols seven invited countries.

March 29, 2004 FIFTH EXTENSION UNIT. Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia are members of the Alliance. NATO is already 26 countries.

April 21, 2005 Vilnius, Lithuania. Launched the so-called Intensified Dialogue on Ukraine's intention to join NATO, and have begun to develop appropriate reforms.

September 21, 2006 in New York. Meeting at the level of Defence Ministers. NATO officials now propose to begin an Intensified Dialogue to Georgia's membership in NATO.

28-29 November 2006 in Riga, Latvia. Summit. The leaders of the member states of the Alliance announced the specific conditions required of future members of NATO.

April 2-4, 2008 in Bucharest, Romania. Summit. The heads of state of NATO offer of Albania and Croatia to begin accession talks, and give promise of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, that it will become a NATO member in the foreseeable future. Here was a suggestion of Bosnia and Herzegovina to begin an Intensified Dialogue and the Ukraine and Greece were given assurances of friendship and cooperation, as well as the promise to NATO membership.

July 9, 2008 signing of the protocols of accession of Albania and Croatia.

April 1, 2009 SIXTH EXPANSION. Albania and Croatia. Turkey recognizes the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name http://www.nato.int/cps/ru/SID-4D9E4669-5019BDD2/natolive/nato_countries.htm.

August 2009 after the Georgian-Ossetian conflict, Georgia's chances for NATO declined.

April 2012, Tbilisi, Georgia. NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, on a visit to the country, said that "Georgia is close to the alliance than ever"

Czech Republic (2011): "Active involvement in the NATO system of collective defence based on a strong transatlantic link is vital to the defence of the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic supports measures designed to strengthen Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, and contributes to the development of the Alliance's capabilities and assets and to NATO's adaptation to the new security environment."

Estonia (2010): "Pursuing common democratic principles, NATO and the European Union have ensured peace, stability of the societies and economies and well-being in Europe. Membership in these organizations has integrated Estonia into the single Euro-Atlantic security area."

In 2010 r. NATO elaborated the Strategic Concept For the Defence and Security of The Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization "Active Engagement, Modern Defence", adopted by Heads of State and Government in Lisbon. As the Conception declares, the Alliance was put into fulfilling three essential core tasks, all of which contribute to safeguarding Alliance

members, and always in accordance with international law:

"a. **Collective defence.** NATO members will always assist each other against attack, in accordance with Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. That commitment remains firm and binding. NATO will deter and defend against any threat of aggression, and against emerging security challenges where they threaten the fundamental security of individual Allies or the Alliance as a whole.

b. **Crisis management.** NATO has a unique and robust set of political and military capabilities to address the full spectrum of crises – before, during and after conflicts. NATO will actively employ an appropriate mix of those political and military tools to help manage developing crises that have the potential to affect Alliance security, before they escalate into conflicts; to stop ongoing conflicts where they affect Alliance security; and to help consolidate

stability in post-conflict situations where that contributes to Euro-Atlantic security.

c. **Cooperative security.** The Alliance is affected by, and can affect, political and security developments beyond its borders. The Alliance will engage actively to enhance international security, through partnership with relevant countries and other international organizations; by contributing actively to arms control, nonproliferation and disarmament; and by keeping the door to membership in the Alliance open to all European democracies that meet NATO's standards"¹⁹.

Although every measure was taken to improve the efficiency and prestige of NATO, which have dropped, according to many in Eastern Europe, however, to overcome the drop in the end failed. In this regard, notes the following major trends that characterize the position of NATO in Eastern Europe due to national security.

Firstly, the countries of Eastern Europe began to link their national security with other international associations and organizations. In this regard, the increased role of the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, United Nations can be mentioned.

¹⁹ The Strategic Concept For the Defence and Security of The Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation "Active Engagement, Modern Defence", Lisbon, 2010, pp. 2-3.

Second, some countries have begun to use a more pragmatic approach to NATO. Intensified skepticism about NATO as an organization capable of taking on the entire burden of responsibility for security is growing.

Third, the growing awareness of the importance of regional security, which would be based on the interests of their neighbors became contemporary trend. The role of such organizations as the Visegrad Group or cooperation in the Baltic area must be stressed.

Fourth, some countries strengthen bilateral relations and are moving to a security policy of bilateralism. This, in particular, touched on relations with the U.S., when some countries have moved to strengthen cooperation with them.

All of these lead to the evolution of the national security policy in the various countries of Eastern Europe. Although there is a differentiation between countries, but in general there are three basic models: the transition from hard transatlantic policy to diversification, based on combination of transatlantism with regional and national interests (Poland, Slovakia), balancing national security policy between Europe and NATO (Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania), a combination of hard transatlantism with orientation to the United States (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia).

Special interest in that region is Poland. Poland occupied very strong proatlantic position in the past. But now we can see some important transformations. As Laura Chappell mentioned, "Despite the centrality of NATO and the United States in Polish security, highlighting the country's 'Atlanticist' role conception, Poland was still a 'skeptical multilateralist'. Although this role might seem surprising, considering the emphasis placed on the 'return to Europe' through EU and NATO membership, it relates more specifically to the UN. Due to Poland being let down by its allies, such a multilateral organization, representing differing values, was seen skeptically. Finally, in recognition of the importance of Eastern Europe to Polish security, the Poles looked to play the role of promoter of regional cooperation so as not to become a buffer zone or security grey area. Indeed Poland has been portrayed as a regional leader in the east, with the potential to shape Europe's security and defence policy"²⁰.

Some researchers point out that since 2007, Poland is gradually moving towards a policy that distanced it from the common view of Poland as "reflexively Russophobic, anti-German and Atlantist 'post-Cold War position'"²¹.

5. Russian view on national security of the East European countries

In May, 2009 Russia received new document "The Strategy of National Security of the Russian Federation till 2020"²², adopted by the President Anatoly Medvedev. It maintains that world development is following the path of globalization in all spheres of international life, which in turn is characterized by a high degree of dynamism and in-

²⁰ L. CHAPPELL, *Poland in Transition: Implications for a European Security and Defence Policy*, in *Contemporary Security Policy*, vol. XXXI, n. 2, p. 225, 2010.

²¹ See: A. SOMERVILLE, I. KEARNS, M. CHALMERS, *Poland, NATO and Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe*, Occasional Paper, p. 6, 2012.

²² Official Document see: www.scrf.gov.ru/documents/99.html; translation see: International Relations and Security Network; www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lng=en&id=154915.

terdependence of events. Nation-states have experienced the intensification of conflicts connected to unequal development, as a result of globalizing processes, and of the deepening rift between rich and poor countries. Values and models of development have become the subject of global competition. The vulnerability of all members of the international community to new threats and challenges has grown. As a result of the rise of new centers of economic growth and political influence, a qualitatively new geopolitical situation is unfolding. There is an increasing tendency to seek resolutions to existing problems and regulate crisis situations on a regional basis, without the participation of non-regional powers.

Table 2. VCIOM polls (2011)

In your opinion, what is today NATO for Russia? (close-ended question, one answer)

	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011
This organization is a serious threat to Russia's security	21	27	34	41	34
NATO is not a threat to Russia's security, but it is not and its ally	40	42	42	32	34
NATO is currently a partner and an ally of Russia	17	9	7	5	8
Difficult to answer	22	22	17	23	24

This document contains some propositions on the Eastern Europe and Russian attitudes to that region:

1. The inadequacy of the current global and regional architecture, oriented (particularly in the Euro-Atlantic region) towards NATO, and likewise the imperfect nature of legal instruments and mechanisms, create an ever-increasing threat to international security.

2. There is an increasing risk that the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons will rise. The possibility of maintaining global and regional stability will substantially decrease with the placement in Europe of elements of the global missile defense system of the United States of America.

3. The Russian Federation is in favour strengthening the mechanisms of cooperation with the European Union by all possible means, including the continued formation

of common spaces in the economic, educational, scientific and cultural spheres, and in terms of internal and external security. The long-term national interests of Russia are served by the creation of an open system of Euro-Atlantic collective security, on a clear legal and treaty basis.

4. A determining aspect of relations with NATO remains the fact that plans to extend the alliance's military infrastructure to Russia's borders, and attempts to endow NATO with global functions that go counter to norms of international law, are unacceptable to Russia. Russia is prepared to develop relations with NATO on the basis of equality and in the interests of strengthening the general security of the Euro-Atlantic region. The content and depth of these relations will be determined by the preparedness of the alliance to recognize Russia's legal interests when engaging in military-political planning, and to respect norms of international law; and likewise NATO's readiness to consider the further transformation of these relations and the search for new tasks and functions with a humanistic orientation.

The core point of Russian relations to Eastern Europe is its strong Atlantism and orientation on the NATO. That why all other problem (economic, political, cultural) is determined by this fact. The relation of the Russian population to NATO is rather negative (see Table 2). Only 8 % of the reviewed Russians consider NATO as the partner of Russia. This is the result not only of propaganda, but of the strategical culture which influenced on the Russian policy to this region with its strong declaration of NATO interests. That why Russia has some suspicious to the new configuration of the Eastern European security and build the relation with this regions on the realism, cooperation and mutual benefits. In the "Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation" (2013) one of the main ideas is: "Today, traditional military and political alliances cannot protect against all the existing transborder challenges and threats. The bloc-based approach to addressing international issues is being gradually replaced by network diplomacy based on flexible participation in multilateral mechanisms aimed at finding effective solutions to common challenges"²³.

²³ Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the RF V. Putin, 12 Feb. 2013) (see: www.mid.ru/bdomp/brp_4nst).