NATO an IMPERIAL ALLIANCE History, Doctrines & Expansion

• Joseph Gerson
• July 8, 2023
• For Global Women for Peace United Against NATO
Three Contexts

• NATO Expansion Not the Only Cause of Putin’s Invasion of Ukraine

• NATO is the world’s largest and most powerful military force

• In the contest to share the Post-Post-Cold War Order, the U.S. military first policies have it competing in the wrong arena.
Brzezinski’s Foundation for the United States “Imperial Project”

- THREE Military TOEHOLDS ON EURASIA – Alliances & Most of 800+ Bases
  
  - European Flank
    - NATO
  
  - Southern Flank
    - Middle East, Afghanistan, now India
  
  - Eastern Flank
    - Japan, South Korea, Philippines, QUAD, AUKUS
NATO’s Fundamental Purpose(s)

• "keep the Soviet Union out, the Americans in, and the Germans down," - Lord Hastings
• “encourage economic collaboration between any or all” of its members – NATO Charter
• Post 9/11: Secure resources of the Global South (Lisbon Summit)
• Since 2021: Contain BOTH Russia and China (Brussels Summit)
NATO at War

• 1992 – 1996 Wars of Yugoslav Succession: No Fly Zones, Blockade, Peacekeeping
• 1999 – Bombing of Serbia midst Kosovo Succession
• 2001 – September 11 Responses
• 2003 – 2021 Afghanistan War
• 2011 – Libya
• Numerous other naval, air, and “security” operations
European Common Security Order – 1990s

- Paris Charter, NATO-Russia Founding Act & 1999 OSCE Memorandum: No country will seek to improve its security at the expense of another

George Kennan’s 1998 Warning

- expanding NATO would be the most fateful error of American policy in the entire post-Cold War era. Such a decision may be expected to inflame the nationalistic, anti-Western and militaristic tendencies in Russian opinion; to have an adverse effect on the development of Russian democracy; to restore the atmosphere of the cold war to East-West relations, and to impel Russian foreign policy in directions decidedly not to our liking
European NATO 2022
Before Finland and Sweden
Turning Point for Europe & U.S.-Russian Relations
Putin’s 2007 Munich Security Conf. Speech

- U.S. global monopolistic dominance policies, and its "almost uncontained hyper use of force in international relations...I think it is obvious that NATO expansion does not have any relation with the modernisation of the Alliance itself or with ensuring security in Europe. On the contrary, it represents a serious provocation that reduces the level of mutual trust. And we have the right to ask: against whom is this expansion intended?” – Putin in Munich
Forces Driving NATO Expansion

- U.S. & West
  - Cold War Ideologies
  - Expansion & Integration of East European Economies
  - Military-Industrial Complexes
- E. European Historical Memory
  - 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Agreement
  - 1940 Baltic States Annexed by Soviets
  - 1953 Soviet Military to Poland
  - 1956 Soviet Military to Hunfary
  - 1968 Soviet Military to Czechoslovakia

[Image of a protest with a crowd and a flag, possibly related to NATO expansion and the historical context.]
Timeline of NATO Expansion

- 1949: NATO established. Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, United States. Dean Acheson chairs before NATO Secretary General established
- 1952: Greece and Turkey.
- 1982: Spain becomes the 16th member of NATO.
- 1994: Finland and Sweden join NATO’s Partnership for Peace program. The following year they join the European Union, effectively ceasing to be neutral, but remaining military nonaligned.
- 1999: Three former Warsaw Pact nations — the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland — join NATO.
- 2008: NATO welcomes Ukraine and Georgia’s aspirations to join the alliance.
- 2009: Croatia and Albania become NATO members.
- 2017: Montenegro joins NATO.
- 2020: North Macedonia becomes NATO’s 30th member.
- 2023: Finland becomes NATO’s 31st member. Sweden expected to receive Turkish and Hungarian approval to join
- 2023: Nature of Pledge to Ukraine ?????
NATO PARTNER NATIONS

Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council

• NATO Member Countries
• Austria
• Azerbaijan
• Bosnia & Herzegovina
• Georgia
• Ireland
• Kazakhstan
• Kyrgyz Republic

• Malta
• Republic of Moldova
• Serbia
• Tajikstan
• Turkmenistan
• Ukraine
• Uzbekistan
Even Before 2020 Lisbon – A Global Alliance
NATO - Mediterranean Dialog - 1994

- Algeria
- Egypt
- Israeli
- Jordan
- Maruitania
- Morocco
- Tunisia
NATO Partners
Istanbul Cooperation Initiative - 2004

- Bahrain
- Qatar
- Kuwait
- United Arab Emirates

- Counter-WMD;
- Counterterrorism;
- Training and education;
- Participation in NATO exercises;
- Promoting military interoperability;
- Disaster preparedness and civil emergency planning;
- Tailored advice on defense reform and civil-military relations; and
- Cooperation on border security to help prevent illicit trafficking of drugs, weapons, and people.
NATO – “PARTNERS ACROSS THE GLOBE”

- Afghanistan – No Longer!
- Australia
- Colombia
- Iraq
- Japan
- Republic of Korea
- Mongolia
- New Zealand
- Pakistan
NATO Consolidation: E. Europe, Baltics, Scandinavia – On Russia’s Doorstep

Missile Defenses in Poland & Rumania

Baltic Has Become an American Lake
Since 2021 NATO Commits to Contain China

“China’s stated ambitions and assertive behavior present systemic challenges to the rules-based international order and to areas relevant to alliance security. China’s coercive policies, nuclear arsenal, military modernization, military cooperation with Russia, lack of transparency, and use of disinformation are main areas of concern for the alliance.” - 2021 NATO Summit Declaration

“We are confronted by cyber, space, and hybrid and other asymmetric threats, and by the malicious use of emerging and disruptive technologies. We face systemic competition from those, including the People’s Republic of China, who challenge our interests, security, and values and seek to undermine the rules-based international order. Instability beyond our borders is also contributing to irregular migration and human trafficking.” – 2022 NATO Summit Declaration
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NATO’s Changing Doctrines

• 1950 “Strategic Concept for the Defense of the North Atlantic Area” – Goal to deter aggression

• 1952 (Korean War): “Defend NATO area & destroy will and capability of the Soviet Union and her satellites to wage war”

• 1952 (New Look) & move to 1957 Massive Retaliation

• 1968 – Flexible Response, built since Cuban Missile Crisis

• * 1991 – Reaffirmation of defensive nature of NATO, maintain security at lowest possible level

• 1999 – (Serbia/Kosovo War) Common defense and stability for wider Euro-Atlantic area – includes politics, economy, environment, terrorism, ethnic conflict, human rights

• 2010 – Crisis management focus: out of area, nuclear & missile proliferation, Open Door for membership for all European members

• 2021-22 – Added are containment of China and Russia (Ukraine War)
The war in Libya, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s first major military operation on the continent, was part of a strategy to coalesce Western power and expansion into Africa.

- New Frame

NATO took the lead of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan on 11 August 2003..., ISAF's primary objective was to enable the Afghan government to provide effective security across the country and develop new Afghan security... Afghan forces assumed full security responsibility at the end of 2014... A new, smaller non-combat mission ("Resolute Support") was launched on 1 January 2015 to provide further training, advice and assistance to the Afghan security forces and institutions.

NATO Webpage
NATO IS A NUCLEAR ALLIANCE

INDIVIDUAL NATIONS
POLICY OPTIONS CONSTRAINED

• NATO should continue to maintain secure and reliable nuclear forces, with widely shared responsibility for deployment and operational support...Any change in this policy, including the geographic distribution of NATO nuclear deployments in Europe, should be made...by the Alliance as a whole....Broad participation of the non-nuclear Allies is an essential sign of transatlantic solidarity and risk sharing.”

UPDATED B-61-12 NUCLEAR WEAPONS
GOING TO 6 NATION NATIONS
Vilnius NATO Decisions/Outcomes

Ukraine

- Commitment of billions of dollars for “multi-year programme of assistance to ensure weapons/military interoperability
- Upgraded political ties
- Reaffirmation that Ukraine will become a NATO member & enhanced roadmap for membership

Deepening & Expanding the Alliance

- 3 New Regional Defense Plans, including 300,000 troops on higher readiness & permanent deployment of NATO troops across E. Europe & Baltics
- Increased military spending: 2% of GDP as floor not ceiling
- Deepening Asia-Pacific & EU ties: Japanese, Korean, Australian, New Zealand and EU heads of state participated in the summit
Post Ukraine War
NATO’S Future Uncertain

If Russia prevails, possible decline in NATO unity.
* Possible New Cold War 10-year deep freeze in – NATO-Russia relations: “A new ice age.”
* Possible renewed strategic stability agreements via OSCE/P-5, or other forums
* Likely absence of unity on approach to China
* Question if European NATO nations will be willing to maintain high level of military spending for the long term.
What Then Might Be Advocated?

• Educate about NATO’s History & Rolls as a Dangerous Global Alliance
• Work for a Ukraine ceasefire, negotiations, Russian Withdrawal & Neutral Ukraine
• Renewed disarmament and strategic stability diplomacy
• European Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone
• 2025 OSCE Summit to begin creation of new European security architecture