

The Final Report

Jarosław Gumienny

Revaluations of the NATO's Defence
Doctrine in the Context of Opening up
to the East

Written in the frames of the NATO/EAPC Research Fellowship
under scientific direction by Academic Affairs Officer
Spyros C. Philippas, Ph. D.

Warsaw/Brussels 2000

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INTRODUCTION

The North Atlantic Pact was created 4 of April 1949 in reaction on fear of a presumed aggression from the USSR. Main tasks of the Pact was and still is assurance of security of its members in the external dimension - in the area defined by the art. VI of the Washington Treaty.¹

The possibility of undertaking the of activities defined by the Treaty in range of individual and collective defence, in accordance with adequate regulations of the art. 51 of the UN Charter, together with non-typical for a classic defence alliance decisions about the economic co-operation and strengthening of free, democratic institutions,² made NATO a permanent element of stabilisation in Europe, considerably contributing to assurances of security of the continent.

Stability of the ties created between members of the Alliance can be proved by such objective conditions as: peaceful settlement of contestations between members of the Alliance, creation of the united defence policy, collective participation in peace missions (Bosnia), or elaboration of common positions towards opening of the Alliance on the post-communist countries.

The "Autumn of People" and its far going implications for the whole continent, put the Alliance to face a row of problems to solve, to define new identity of the Pact and to qualify its place in the united Europe.

Adaptation of NATO to the new geopolitical and geostrategic circumstances takes place on different levels, including the following spheres of activity:

1. modification of defence doctrine and strategy of the Alliance, connected with changes of the command structure and the military potential;
2. qualification of new formulas of presence and participation of the USA in the sphere of defence of Europe;
3. NATO openness towards new members;
4. finding a role for NATO in the European security system.³

¹ Traktat Waszyngtoński. Waszyngton, 4 kwietnia 1949 roku, in: J. Stefanowicz (red.), Polska - NATO. Wprowadzenie i wybór dokumentów, Warszawa 1997, p. 37-41.

² ibidem.

³ J. Prystrom, NATO w okresie postzimnowojennym, „Sprawy Międzynarodowe” 1994, no: 2, , p. 25-44.

Answers to these problems has been brought by the following “summits” and ministerial meetings of the North Atlantic Council (NAC), during which suitable decisions has been taken.

The expression of this is between other:

- Acceptance of the New Strategic Concept (1991), which had restricted use of nuclear weapons, (which should constitute a "final argument"), and acceptance of the idea of “advanced military presence” by use of the mobile and well armed forces, (eg Immediate and Rapid Reaction Forces);
- Active participation in the processes of armaments control and disarmament;
- Elaboration of the new model of co-operation and dialogue with the states of Central-Eastern Europe by creation of institutionalised forum for consultation – the North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC), than in consequence beginning of practical and concrete co-operation in frames of Partnerships for Peace programme (PfP), which perspective aim was enlargement of NATO;
- Offer to lead peace operation under aegis of the OSCE and mandate of the UN Security Council in aim to maintain peace outside NATO’s treaty area of activity;
- Creation of strategic relations with Russia and Ukraine;
- Agreement on using military infrastructures of the Pact by the Western European Union in frames of the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI), simultaneously expressing acceptance for the idea of enlargement of responsibility of the European allies for security of the continent;
- Participation in the concept of multinational Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF), being a tool of the ESDI;
- Official invitation to membership in the Alliance of three post-communist states: Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary;⁴
- The first wave of enlargement;
- The New Strategic Concept (1999), sanctioning: "non-art. 5 missions", new structure of strategic commands of the Alliance, continuation of the "open door policy";

⁴ See. E. Halizak, K. Rud, Stosunki Polska - NATO, in: D. B. Bobrow, E. Halizak, R. Zięba (red.), Bezpieczeństwo narodowe i międzynarodowe u schyłku XX wieku, Warszawa 1997, p. 534-535.

- Proclamation of the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) and the other initiatives aiming at adaptation of NATO and improvement of its defence capabilities.

In the work I tried to concentrate my attention just on these problems, analysing them through the prism of occurring changes in the NATO defence strategy. During my research activities I was especially interested in the matters connected with gradual "opening" of the Alliance on Central - Eastern Europe.

Some research workers, as Erhard Cziomer concur in to the opinion, that used in the literature terms "enlargement" or "extension" of NATO, do not reflect fully the idea of this process, limiting it only to the military aspect. Instead the term "openness" refers both to the political and the military matter ⁵.

In the work I used these terms interchangeably, that is why their meaning depends on the context, in which they were used.

For elaboration of introduced problems I reached for literature represented by Polish experts from this spheres of knowledge, using accessible for me foreign literature (mostly English one) - documents of the Alliance, press articles in Polish and English languages, television publicistic broadcasts, authorised by NATO information accessible in the Internet and official NATO publications as well as conversations with specialists in sphere of international relations (research workers from the Warsaw University and workers from the polish MoD and MoFA) and participation in numerous seminars, conferences, courses.

A careful reader will find the fact of frequent referring to the same publication, especially in the first chapters of the work. It results from the simple reason, namely the first two chapters have a retrospective character. It is difficult to invent something else, more smart than what has been already written in relation to the given problems by recognised scientific authorities in Poland and outside the Polish borders. Beside this, in all the work predominate references to the literature presented by Polish authors. This step had in view wider (possibly) presentation of their scientific output, first of all to a reader from outside of Poland, who can not know their hitherto existing works, connected with this issue. I must not modestly add, that really is worth to regret, as Polish scientific thought, especially relating

⁵ See. E. Cziomer, Wstęp in: E. Cziomer, Polska o krok od NATO. Międzynarodowe aspekty przystąpienia Polski do Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego, Kraków 1998, p. 8.

widely understood international relations, do not stray from essential and professional level of her "Western European sister".

I would like also to make the reader sensitive on one more aspect, closely connected with character of present elaboration. Because of the close time distance, extremely quick tempo of course and overlapping of the described occurrences and processes, some thesis contained in the present work can appear too fantastic, or deactualised. However I tried precisely and deeply describe problems relating transformations of NATO defence strategy in the context of its openings towards the East.

The profile of the North-Atlantic Treaty as a Western security structure in the years 1949-1989

Origin of NATO and its fundamental goals

World war II, with its human as well as material damages, had a huge impact not only on the inhabitants of our globe, but also on their way of perceiving the world and the dangers resulting from the civilizing development, as well as the technical progress which constantly originated new and more perfect means of massive extermination.

It has been established that it was necessary to create an international organization safeguarding the security and the co-operation between the nations, as a means of securing peaceful existential conditions to the population. Because of its authority backed up by some legal regulations accepted by its members, this organization could secure a permanent and efficient peaceful coexistence of the States. The United Nations' Organization complied with these requirements. |

. It seemed that after the holocaust, the extermination camps and the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the human race would take advantage of its historical experience and therefore live and develop in a feeling of security, understanding, respect and co-operation within the United Nations (UN) which creation was based on a United Nations' Charter, signed on June 26, 1945 by 50 states in San Francisco.

Soon, it appeared that not only the old conflicts could not be averted in a peaceful manner, but also that some new dangers, not manageable by the new organization, were appearing. The article 51 of the United Nations' Charter enables the Charters' signatories to undertake a self-defense action, either individual or collective⁶ in the case of an external danger. On the grounds of this article, the Western European countries suggested to the United States and to Canada that a common political and military bloc, ensuring security, defense and mutual help in

⁶ E.J. Osmańczyk, The United Nations' and International Relations' Encyklopaedia, Warsaw 1986, p. 232.

case of any external aggressions, should be formed. This resulted in the signature of the North-Atlantic Treaty- also known as the Washington Treaty- on April 4, 1949.

The origins of the Treaty are very complex and multi-vefted. The sovereign decision of the States Parties had different reasons which, by interfering and overlapping, brought to cause the most efficient organization standing on the guards of the human race's peace and co-operation's developments.⁷ The end of the war had a very bad influence on the world economy. The two military and economic powers de facto stopped existing. I hereby think of Germany and Japan. The Politics cannot stand any emptiness and all the empty spaces are immediately filled in.

. That is what happened and the USSR with its expansive policy was becoming more and more that 'fulfilling element', trying to increase its influence zone in the East as well as in the West. The U.S.S.R aggressive and aiming at an ownership increase policy revealed itself as fully developed during the Allies' conference in Jalta in February 1945, where to the Russian policy in the Red Army- the delivered countries had 'silently' assented the Great Britain and the United States. It consisted of carrying out a free parliamentary election and then of progressively eliminating the parties opposed to the communists, as well in the parliament as in the political life.

The Jalta Talks ended up by the full success of the Russian diplomacy, which managed to gain new territories for its country(in the East and in the West) and many promises concerning the administration of the vanquished states. The USSR's consequently led 'export revolution's' policy, combined with a strong territorial expansion led to the incorporation, already during the war, of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, of a part of Poland, of Romania, of East Prussia and of parts of the Czecho-Slovakia⁸, whereas when the military actions ended and the German occupant was liberated, its protection was 'proposed' to the liberated countries. This way, Albania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, the Eastern Germany, Poland and Hungary were subordinated.⁹

On the other side of the ocean, the Truman Administration was already well aware of how much the USSR's policy was dangerous for the European security and the world peace. Therefore, it has taken the necessary measures so that the Russian

⁷ A. Z. Kamiński, NATO - 1990-1992, PISM Syudies and Materials, n° 39, Warsaw 1992, p. 5-6.

⁸ P. Johnson, The History of the world from 1917 to the 90s, Londyn 1992, p. 482-483.

⁹ Ibidem, 580-588; W. Roszkowski, The History of Poland 1914-1993, Warsaw 1994, p.145-146, 151.

influence zone didn't expand continuously, whereas Russia was being treated not anymore as an Allie but rather as an opponent (if not an enemy). It is also worth noticing that in many countries, the war damages favoured the Russian actions, aiming at their subordination. For the United States, as well as for Europe, it became clear that an end should be put to the discussions and it was high time to get down to some action.

On March 12, 1947, the U.S. President H. Truman announced his political doctrine which went down to posterity as the 'Truman doctrine'. It assumed that the United States would help the independent Nations and States that tried to fight against the communists minorities that stirred up the rebellions, and against the pressure and the attacks from the outside. This help was given in three fields: the policy, the economy and the military affairs.¹⁰ That definitely determined the shape of the relations with the USSR and effectively started the 'cold war' which sometimes revealed itself as being very torrid.

The 'Truman doctrine', despite its enormous political importance (it meant the U.S. left behind them their isolationism)¹¹ wasn't helpful enough for a Europe that was on the verge of an economic disaster. Therefore, Gen. George C. Marshall, the American Minister for Foreign Affairs, presented the project of an economic help programme for Europe. This programme, better known as the 'Marshall programme' was directed not only to the Western European countries, but also to the USSR and its satellite states. However, in spite of the readiness of certain states such as Poland or Czecho-Slovakia, it was rejected by Moscow and that way also by all the other countries on the Eastern side of the 'iron curtain'.¹²

In spite of its positive elements, the 'Marshall plan' definitely divided Europe in two opposite blocks. Its rejection by Moscow and its allies also determined the sense and the aims of the Russian foreign policy. The West understood that, without an economic, military and social integration, it wasn't possible to secure a force balance. The ideas from the 'Marshall plan' had been accepted and carried into effect.

¹⁰ J. Eisler, R. Kupiecki, M. Sobańska-Bondaruk, *The world and Poland 1939 - 1992*, Warsaw 1993, p. 148.

¹¹ C. Mojsiewicz (edit.), *The lexicon of contemporary political international relations*, Wrocław 1998, p. 93.

¹² W. Roszkowski, *The history of Poland 1914 - 1993*, same edit., p.178.

As a result, in spite of the USSR's severe and sudden attacks and pressures, the Washington Treaty, bringing into life a common defense system- the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), was signed in April 1949; and was based on partnership and co-operation and ratified by the parliaments of the States Parties within five months of its signature. It was joined by Greece and Turkey in 1952, by the Western Germany in 1955¹³, and by Spain in 1982.

The North Atlantic Alliance, created by the Washington Treaty between voluntarily accessing states, guarantees their sovereign rights. However, it commits them to respecting the UN Charter's regulations and to sharing the dangers and the responsibilities, as well as the benefits coming from the common defense system. The Treaty limits the participation of the States Parties in any international agreements contrary to the Washington Treaty.¹⁴

This particular NATO construction, enlarged to Germany and other new members, 'guarantees the durability of the transatlantic relations between the United States and Western Europe'¹⁵ and settles Germany in the Western structures, counteracting this way the rebirth of any expansion tendencies and building a lasting and effective security system within the North Atlantic region.

The main tasks and targets of the North Atlantic Treaty are formulated by the Washington Treaty, signed on April 4, 1949. It determines the consultation mechanisms between the sovereign states which are NATO members, the ways of reacting to an armed attack on any of the States Parties and the forms of co-operation in different fields between the Allies. It is also important to notice that the Treaty has been concluded without any time limitations which favours a solid and effective realization of its functions.

The main NATO goal is to prevent all forms of aggression and to have a common defense system against these aggressions, including the use of the force if all the other actions aiming at the peace keeping process failed. The North Atlantic Alliance, having the appearance of a defense agreement, has to protect the liberty, the common heritage and the civilization of the States Parties' societies and

¹³ Before becoming a NATO member, the German Federal Republic had to sign the Paris Agreement on the Western European Union in 1954

¹⁴ The Washington Treaty. Washington, April 4, 1949, in: NATO vademecum, the Annexe VIII: North-Atlantic Treaty, Bellona Editions, Warsaw 1995, p. 263.

¹⁵ European co-operation structures, . Guide-book, S. Parzymies (edit.), p.35.

guarantee their existence in a democratic spirit, the respect of individual liberty and of law; these values are the main rules that a country willing to be a NATO member has to obey.¹⁶

Still, the most important goal that NATO had and has to face, is the common effort of the signatories within the individual and collective defense system, by the means of help, self-help and mutual help (art.3) as to, at the meantime, counteract the dangers to the Alliance's integrity, to the political independence and the security of the member states.

To ensure the liberty and the security to its members, by the means of common political and military actions, remains NATO's prior goal. The Alliance also aims at establishing a fair and lasting peace order in Europe and North America while maintaining the transatlantic liaisons.

By its institutions, NATO renders a common economic co-operation between the States Parties possible, as it wants to ameliorate their economic situation. Also the development of a scientific co-operation and of the protection of the environment are NATO's main goals, as they ensure a feeling of security and stability to the Allies, regardless of the circumstances. Other goals such as a common decision making process respecting the states' sovereignty, the political consultations between the Allies, the common actions in crisis situations, the assurance of the NATO states' security's indivisibility, the reduction of the mutual animosities between the Allies by the means of collective actions and permanent consultations, also serve the maintaining of the security.¹⁷

The Alliance, while fulfilling its duties, co-ordinates its members' action so that the strategic balance in Europe stays stable and also aims at maintaining the security and the peace, as well as the protection of the natural environment, which is being destroyed by man in the course of the civilizing development.

The assurance of the security in the North Atlantic region is the main NATO goal. The large field of NATO's interests bring about the fact that, apart from the classical tasks, NATO is not only on the guards of the security and the stability of its participants and their territories, but also considerably helps in the defense of a free-market and of the democratization in the whole region, also of the countries remaining outside of the Alliance.

¹⁶ The Washington Treaty..., same edit., p. 261.

The North Atlantic Treaty, while being on the guards of universal values and keeping its military superiority over any potential opponent, becomes the guard of the civilization's security in a Euro-Atlantic and maybe even global aspect.¹⁸

NATO defence strategies during the 'cold war' period

The North Atlantic Alliance since its creation in 1949 determined the frames for a dialogue, a co-operation and the maintaining of a common defense potential in order to assure a common defense and security against any external or internal aggression. In spite of the fact that the word 'aggressor' is not being defined anywhere in the Washington Treaty, by observing the contemporary political situation, we cannot have any doubts that the Alliance was created as to ensure the security and the defense against any potential USSR's or its allies' aggression.

Since the Alliance's creation, the conception of 'frightening away' was the main NATO defense strategy, and for the past 50 years it hasn't become very much out-dated. This doctrine pre-supposes that bringing out in the opponent the feeling that in case of an attack on any on any of the Allies, not only wouldn't he get considerable benefits, but also they would be outweighed by the losses.¹⁹

Because of its superiority over the USSR, especially in the quantity of the owned nuclear weapons in its first years of existence, and of the permanent increase of the number of the various owned conventional weapons, the Alliance made its conception more credible. Those matters were and still are systematically analyzed and judged and in consequence ameliorated and modernized.

In the beginning, when the U.S. had a crushing superiority over the USSR in the nuclear field but didn't have that much conventional weapons, the Alliance adopted a strategy (of defense and frightening away) consisting of the fact that in case of any attack on the Allies, NATO's answer would be immediate and employ

¹⁷ NATO vademecum, same. edit., p. 17-21, 95-136.

¹⁸ L. Wałęsa, The postman, the bulldozer and the gate, Wprost n° 21, May 24, 1998, p. 28.

¹⁹ B. Świątlicki, North-Atlantic Treaty – the evolution of NATO defence policy, in: the North-Atlantic Treaty, Studia i Materiały, BPI MON No2, Warszawa 1994, p. 98.

the whole nuclear arsenal. That is precisely why this doctrine was called the doctrine of a massive nuclear attack.²⁰ The nuclear attack would be directed against the decision commanding centers, the cities, the economic bases and the industrial centers. Meanwhile, the necessity of increase of the insufficient number of the owned conventional weapons, necessary to the equilibration of the relations with the USSR, hadn't been forgotten.²¹

Because of the existing situation the USSR undertook some retaliatory actions as a response to the creation of the Alliance, such as the dislocation of its army on its 'allies' territories, at the meantime increasing its conventional weapons' arsenal and leading some intensive research on the obtainment of nuclear weapons. This inclined NATO to appoint in 1951 a national united command, as well as to create an extremely well-trained, armed and mobile army, that would be able to stop any eventual aggression on the Alliance's borders(the so called fast reaction forces).

The NATO doctrine had to be modified and its structures re-organized as a consequence of the different changes occurring in the Allies' army dislocation structures in Europe, such as the accession of new members²² or the USSR actions.

In the 50s a new defense conception has been declared (or rather the modification of the old conception), called the advanced outskirts strategy. It concerned such a dislocation of the Alliance's armies, so that they were able to defend the frontiers of the NATO countries in the central directions and in the wings without having to dislocate from place to place. This was supposed to stop the aggression as far to the East as possible.

The defense of the Allies' borders on the Eastern-most positions demanded a much bigger number of the armed forces than the ones at the disposal of the Alliance. This created a need of an integration of the armed forces' national contingents given to the Alliance's disposal under a centralized command.

In these years, particularly on December 19, 1950, the American armed forces in Europe were united with the Allies' forces under the command of the Superior Allied Command Europe of the armed forces (SACEUR).

²⁰ J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński. NATO-Europe-Poland, Wrocław 1997, p.48.

²¹ C. Mojsiewicz (edid.), The lexicon of contemporary international relations, same edit., p. 94-95.

²² This was the case during Greece and Turkey (1952) accession to NATO and of the West Germany (1955).

The 'advanced outskirts' strategy made the West Germany's participation in NATO's political and military structures necessary, what was going to help the realization of the doctrine.²³ The negotiations between the Allies, concerning the West Germany's accession to the Alliance ended up in 1955.

In 1956, a light amelioration in the relations between the East and the West was visible. The occurring changes made the Alliance modify its defense policy and pay more attention to the matters concerning a better co-operation of the Allies outside the Treaty. This was supposed to ensure a better effectiveness and efficiency of NATO. For that purpose, Italy, Norway and Canada prepared a 'Three committee report on the NATO non-military co-operation', and presented it to the NAC in December 1956. It concerned the non-military matters, but still had a big influence on the adjustment of NATO doctrines to the new challenges.

The 'report' wanted NATO to adjust to the new quality of the challenges, and to the drop of the military dangers on a big scale. The main point of this 'report' suggested a consequent definition of the Alliance's defense character(and by this way reducing the level of international tension) and the narrowing of the political, economic, military and social co-operation.

It also suggested, by concentrating itself on the collective defense conception with a big enough number of armed forces to repulse an attack, the strengthening of the relations between the Allies by the means of a developed political, economic, military, cultural and informational co-operation. These actions strengthened by some adequate structural changes should (as the creators meant it) bring the expected result, i.e. a higher security level for the Allies.

The co-operation on that many levels should be concluded as to avoid any national interests' and Alliance's collisions. In consequence, that makes an Alliance's common foreign policy possible.

The 'report' also suggested a peaceful procedure of the problem-solving process between the NATO members.²⁴

The recommendations and the opinions of the Three Commission have been positively received by NATO's decision-making centers, and were reflected in an

²³ B. Świetlicki, The North-Atlantic Alliance – the evolution of NATO defence policy, in: The North-Atlantic Alliance, same edit., p. 99.

²⁴ For further information: the same, p. 102-105.

official NAC confirmation of the report as a special resolution, that the Commission was allowed to publish.

At the meantime, the conventional forces were still being developed so that they could frighten away without having to appeal to any final means (in the name of the frightening away strategy). Slowly, the irreversibility of the nuclear explosion-caused disasters became clear.

In the end of the 50s, the USSR had the necessary intercontinental missiles needed to reach the U.S. and Canada. The eventual retaliation attack had shaken the sense of a massive nuclear attack doctrine.

When the USSR placed an artificial satellite in the circumterrestrial space, the NATO's heads of the states' and the governments' decided, during a conference in Paris ²⁵ (1957), on the further evolution of the Alliance and the fact of keeping secret the research on any new kinds of arms and technologies and the fact that in Great Britain, Italy and Turkey medium-reach missiles with nuclear warheads were going to be placed. From that moment, the nuclear weapons became the Alliance's priority. During the Athens conference (1962), in the 'Athens Guidelines' document certain rules were established, such as the conditions of the use of the nuclear weapons by NATO or the consulting process in this matter..²⁶ At the meantime, the United States confirmed the possible use of their nuclear forces to guarantee the Allies' security. Conformingly to the above decisions, the role of the NATO command was strengthened by subordinating the British bombers capable of nuclear weapons transfer, the three American submarines with the Polaris missiles and the tactical missiles and it was determined that the Alliance's nuclear forces had to be strengthened.²⁷ Also, the recommendation for the officers of the non-nuclear states to work in this field, meant a reinforcement of the nuclear weapons' rank.

Already at this stage, we can see a certain regularity, i.e. the defense doctrines were followed by a change in the Alliance's armies' organizational structures, with a simultaneous development of the military strategies, leading to the creation of new, more threatening and effective kinds of weapons. The U.S.S.R tactics and the creation of the Warsaw Treaty's structures as a military alliance being a response to the creation in 1949 of the North-Atlantic Treaty, and especially to the accession of

²⁵ In the concerning literature, the Paris meeting is considered as the first NATO 'Summit'

²⁶ J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński, NATO...,p. 49-50.

²⁷ B. Świetlicki, The North-Atlantic Alliance – the evolution ..., same. edit., p. 108-109.

the West Germany to NATO, were also significant. The international conditions determining the relations between the two blocks had an influence on the shape and the content of the defensive conceptions.

In the 60s, NATO strategists discovered the eventuality of an attack not only on the NATO countries, but also in the rest of Europe and of the globe in different regions, because of an increasing Russian army. These firstly reconnaissance strikes could rapidly transform themselves in regional or even worldwide conflicts. That is why NATO laid the stress on the development of worldwide-reach missiles i.e. the increase of their arsenal, the dislocation in many new places, the construction of underground pits from where the missiles could be fired even after a nuclear attack within the retaliation process and the dislocation of the long-reach nuclear missiles on atom submarines.

A massive nuclear attack, effective in the frightening away process could fail in the defense process. This is proven by the scientific tests which say that the pollution after an atom bomb's explosion does reach not only the attack's object (which is connected to the military conditions) but can also be damaging for the attacking side. That is why a research on the new war solutions, more 'safe and humanitarian' (if it is possible to use the word humanitarian when talking of a war) was started.

To NATO's disadvantage acted also the fact that the USSR equaled the American strategic nuclear arms' potential and their means of transport, what diminished the Alliance's and the U.S. superiority and even outnumbered their conventional weapons quantities.

All these factors influencing on the Alliance forced it to adapt itself to the current international situation.

In December 1967, the so called 'Future Alliance's missions' (the Harmel report) was presented on the NAC forum, describing the appearing challenges and resuming simultaneously the up-to-date functionality and effectiveness of the Alliance. The report supposes that the keeping of an indispensable quantity of armament, ready for an immediate use, making the frightening away of eventual aggressors possible combined with a dialogue between NATO and its environment. According to the Alliance's supposition, a well-led arms' control policy should unite the two goals and strengthen them. The arms control and disarmament topics are permanently being

consulted by the NATO states, mainly in order to work out a common position.²⁸ The suggested solutions, on one side, have to ensure the security and the protection of NATO states, then, on the other side, to solve any conflicts by peaceful means. The success of this ambitious plan was supposed to lead to the reduction and the arms' control, the maintenance of a balance between the super-powers and their military blocks, the development of mutual consultations and negotiations leading to an increase of the stability, the security and the confidence. Also the idea of the development of NATO's global defense policy, which would go further than the responsibilities established by the Treaty seems crucial.²⁹ This was the first signal (even if only declarative) of the readiness to change the Alliance's character and the eventuality of undertaking any actions outside the area described by the article VI of the Washington Treaty.

However, following the NATO-led discussion and the research, a new defense strategy was accepted, the so called elastic reaction strategy, in December 1967.³⁰ It consisted and actually still does consist of the fact that NATO not only has to frighten away, but also answer with a counterattack. This doctrine was accepted by all the Allies but France.³¹ The realization of this conception needed the extension of different kinds of armed forces (the conventional weapons, the tactical and operational and the strategic ones) as well as an adequate dislocation accordingly to the expected threat directions.³² The doctrine of the advanced outskirts (advanced defense) is competitive to the doctrine of the elastic reaction and consists of organizing the defense of NATO members' territories, not only in the central direction but also in the wings, as far as possible from the Alliance's frontiers, without having to transfer the armies from place to place.³³

The elastic reaction doctrine establishes a close relation between the nuclear and the conventional forces, where the first ones acts as a 'bugbear's' - the so called 'ace in one's hole', and the second one should be organized and equipped in such a manner that its use against the aggressor would demonstrate him the actual Alliance's power and the determination of using the first ones, which is a way of frightening away the

²⁸ J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński. NATO...,p.62.

²⁹ B. Świetlicki, The North-Atlantic Alliance – the evolution..., same edit., p. 110-113.

³⁰ J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński. NATO...p.51.

³¹ Since 1966, France hasn't participated in NATO's military structures .

³² C. Mojsiewicz (edid.), The lexicon of contemporary political international relations, same edit., p. 86-87.

aggressor. To put it in a nut shell, the aggressor should be convinced that the threat of using the nuclear forces is real, and the benefits expected from his attack would be much smaller than the suffered losses. The best definition of the elastic reaction doctrine is to be found in the NATO documents, and says as followed: ‘The elasticity of an answer means that the nuclear, as well as the conventional forces, must be dislocated in sufficient quantities and in the directions as to be able to react effectively in a short lapse of time. That is why the advanced defense conception was accepted and it was declared that the fighting readiness of NATO’s forces and their mobilization capability during any tension and crisis periods, were the decisive elements of a policy aiming at frightening away the aggressors and securing peace’.³⁴ As we can see, the rapidity of the reaction to an attack, as well as the mobility and the efficiency of the army, are crucial.

In the 70s, there weren’t any major changes in NATO’s defense policy. This decade characterizes itself by double-track actions, on one side the maintenance of a military readiness and on the other the permanent disarmament negotiations. The existing disproportion in the conventional arms’ field weren’t favoring NATO and were followed by the necessity of increasing them. For that reason, the European Defense Improvement Programme, aiming at increasing the Alliance’s possibilities in this field, was accepted in 1970.³⁵

However, the decade was dominated by the disarmament and the arms’ control matters, as well as the adjustment of the armed forces potential’s size to the contemporary international situation. The NAC Ottawa ministerial session, on June 18-19, 1975, called because of NATO’s 25th anniversary, adopted the Atlantic Relation’s declaration. It was once again confirming the main rules of functioning of the Alliance: the collective defense, the U.S. ‘nuclear umbrella’ and the presence of U.S. armed forces on the continent.³⁶ Whereas, the adoption of the Long Term Defense Programme, (LTDP) in 1978, was supposed to prepare NATO’s armed forces to any actions in the 80s, in a period when the dialogue and the confidence-building between the East and the West were popular.³⁷

³³ J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński. *Nato...*p.53.

³⁴ J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński. *Nato...*p. 51

³⁵ B. Świetlicki, *The North-Atlantic Alliance – the evolution...*, same edit., p. 116.

³⁶ K. Piątkowski, *NATO – The history and today*, in: *The North-Atlantic Alliance*, same edit., p. 27.

³⁷ B. Świetlicki, *The North-Atlantic Alliance – the evolution...*, same edit., p. 118-119.

During the Brussels NAC session on December 12, 1979, according to NATO's double-track conception, it was decided that the Alliance's nuclear forces ought to be modernized within what the LTDP adopted, and to still carry on the efforts aiming at reducing the number of owned nuclear weapons. As a result of the NAC decisions, 572 medium-reach missile lancers replaced the 1000 old ones, improving this way the nuclear forces' defense abilities within the Alliance, without increasing their potential.³⁸ This step caused a violent protest from the USSR which answered by dislocating 200 new SS20 missile lancers on the East Germany's territories. Strengthened by the war outbreak in Afghanistan, the start of the state of war in Poland, the escalation of the nuclear arms' race, inhibited the peace and the disarmament processes. NATO's dislocation of the next missile launchers in Great Britain and in the West Germany in 1983 and the announcement of the American 'star wars' conception on March 23, 1983 forced the USSR to withdraw from the disarmament talks and to install new lancers in East Germany.³⁹ This situation confirmed (unfortunately) the 1967 Harmel report's timelessness and pertinence, as it predicted that the détente's benefits didn't exclude any armed conflict, as the Warsaw Treaty units' armament had an offensive character. Also the Alliance is responsible of a certain tension between the two blocks because the modernization of the Alliance's nuclear forces in 1979 wasn't necessary, especially considering the developing disarmament process.

The last significant modification of the 1968 elastic reaction doctrine took place in 1984. NATO's Defense Planning Committee adopted the 'Long Term Planning Guideline for Following Forces Attack' which described the necessary changes in the defense doctrine as: a operational and strategic conception of fighting the second flings (FOFA). It assumed some ' deep paralyzing strikes in order to destroy the aviation, disorganize the command centers and the communication, and delay the entry into action of the opponents' second flings.⁴⁰, assuming that they would play the major role in a military strike.

Also some decisions concerning the Alliance's naval forces in case of the outbreak of a conflict, such as the USSR and the Allies fleets' blockade in order to

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 119.

³⁹ Por. K. Piątkowski, NATO - The history and today, in: The North-Atlantic Alliance, same edit., p. 27-29; B. Świetlicki, The North-Atlantic Alliance – the evolution of NATO defence policy, ibidem, p. 119-123.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 123.

prevent their sailing to the open sea, the defense of the NATO harbors and naval communication lines against the Warsaw Treaty fleet, the activity and the tentative of getting ahead of the eventual USSR actions, were taken.⁴¹

In the 80s, NATO's defense strategy is characterized (as already before) by double-tracked actions consisting of keeping a 'sufficient' conventional and nuclear arms' potential as to repel the opponent's attack and by the development of the disarmament process (apart from the turbulence at the beginning of the decade). Considering the fact that each and every attack on any of the Allies is treated as an attack on all the Allies, who answer together to the aggression, the Alliance appears to be a inter-states model of solidarity (everyone seeks for its own security, protecting the others). When combining it with the fact that NATO maintains a certain number of armed forces ready for an immediate armed answer in case of an attack, we can see that the Alliance concerns both the political and the military fields, and makes the decisions and undertakes the actions agreed upon in a partners' dialogue and co-operation, and has some well and modernly equipped and organized armed forces, able to react instantly, as well as a huge nuclear potential ready to be used when needed upon a common decision of the States Parties. The solidarity actions against the dangers – 'one for all, and all for one' - combined with the before mentioned factors, create the whole of the organization, which can ensure the security and the defense against all kinds of external or internal threats to its members in a lapse of time as short as possible, as well as the inviolability of their territories.

'In case of an aggression, NATO is supposed to maintain the inviolability and the security of the Alliance's territories or reconstruct them, as well as to aim at ending the conflict in the shortest lapse of time possible, and above all, to constantly and efficiently frighten away. The potential aggressor must be convinced that every attack will be followed by unpredictable consequences and may cause a risk that would not counterpoise the benefits'.⁴² This quotation contains a very concise embrace of the Alliance's strategic conception, combining in one all its defense doctrines (with their modifications), pointing at their complementarity and not their competitiveness.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 124.

⁴² J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński, NATO - Europe - Poland, same edit., p. 51-52.

NATO's efforts for an arms' control and the disarmament, present in almost all the defense doctrines, became more concrete in the 80s. The nomination of Mikhail Gorbatshev as the secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985, had a positive influence on the disarmament process. The 'perestroika' trend he started, made possible the liquidation of the West/East relations' confrontational character.

The 1987 INF Treaty between the U.S. and the USSR and the conception leading to the limitation, the reduction and the control of the armaments, presented during the Brussels 'Summit' on May 29-30 1989⁴³, were the measurable effects of the Harmel report's realization as well as of NATO's arms' control disarmament policy.⁴⁴

The negotiations concerning these matters were also reflected on the CSCE (OSCE) forum as well as in the bilateral treaties between the U.S. and the USSR.⁴⁵ Whereas the negotiations on the conventional armaments in Europe between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, lead to the signature in Paris of the CFE Treaty(within the CSCE) on November 19, 1990.⁴⁶

Above that, two other documents, important for the security and the co-operation matters in Europe , i.e. The Paris Charter of New Europe and the Vienna document, were signed during the CSCE Summit in Paris

Both, the CFE Treaty and the Vienna document were the results of the NAC ministerial meeting in Brussels in December 1988, which became an impulse for the amelioration of the relations between the U.S. and the USSR, and for the enlivening of the disarmament processes.⁴⁷

⁴³ Such as .: a 50% strategical nuclear weapon limitation for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the suppression of chemical weapons, the ensurance of a balance in the conventionnal weapons' field in Europe.

⁴⁴ It concerns the supression of medium- and short-reach missiles dislocated on land.

⁴⁵ I think here of Start I and II – the reduction and the maintenance of the nuclear arsenal at a minimal level.

⁴⁶ It establishes for exemple.: the limits in the key equipment cathegories of the differnt countries.

⁴⁷ B. Świetlicki, The North-Atlantic Alliance – the evolution..., same edit., p. 126.

NATO in the face of the ‘autumn of nations’ and the disintegration of the Eastern block

The new political situation, the new challenges for NATO after the destruction of the ‘ Berlin wall’

The break down of the bipolar scheme USSR - U.S. which guaranteed the stabilization and the security not only in Europe but also in the world, caused much trouble and insecurity among the states on any of the sides of the ‘iron curtain’, paradoxically, that was what guaranteed their security. The disintegration of the USSR and the dismantlement of the Warsaw Treaty’s structures had an influence on the developing erosion of the international defense system.⁴⁸ The organizations such as: NATO, CSCE/OSCE, CE, WEU, whose activities had a more or less direct influence on the peace-keeping process, realized that there wasn’t anymore an enemy against whom they were supposed to defend their members. The consternation was even bigger because of the fact that the majority of former ‘enemy’ states declared their willingness to start a dialogue and a co-operation with the West, wanting to eventually join its structures and by that means to actively participate in its efforts for the peace-keeping process, the assurance of protection and security, of a economic development and the protection of the achieved welfare and stability.⁴⁹

The North Atlantic Alliance closely monitored the changes occurring in Eastern Europe. Since 1985 (the election of Mikhail Gorbatschev as the secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union’s Central Committee), new symptoms appeared in the USSR policy, such as the ‘glasnost’ and the ‘perestroika’- announcing the future détente in the relations between the East and the West, as well as inside the Western block. Nobody, especially not the Kremlin Administration, would dare thinking that the actions would take their course so rapidly. Never in history have any changes occurred in such a short period of time.

⁴⁸ The geostrategic situation that followed the U.S.S.R. and the Warsaw Treaty disintegration is being precisely described by W. Multan in : The visions of European security, Warszawa 1997, p. 17-44.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

The NATO challenges resulting from the new political, economic, social and military conditions influences the Allies' decision on the change in their policy up-to-date, considering the fact that at that moment NATO was playing a key role in the European defense system, having also a defensive character.⁵⁰ The consultations on the NATO forum led to an internal evolution of the Alliance, by modifying its defense doctrine, modernizing its military structures and adjusting its governing procedures and mechanisms to the new situation, so that it could, accordingly to the main Treaty' missions, guarantee the security, the protection and the territorial inviolability of its members, using the dialogue and the co-operation methods, and keeping at the meantime a common defense potential.

There were some discussions on the sense of the further existence of the Alliance and its defense character (whether it should be a defense Alliance or a collective security organization), as well as the zones of its influences.⁵¹ The dislocation of the eventual conflicts from the Laba line to the Community of Independent States and Southern Europe (the Balkans) asked for some appropriate measures ensuring the security of the member states. Realizing it, theanalysts not only did propose some changes in the defense doctrine, but also the aspect of the Alliance's political and military structures (the re-dislocation of the Alliance's armies, the changes in the Allied Command structure, the creation of new dialogue programmes and of a co-operation with the former Warsaw Treaty's countries, treating them as the eventual future candidates to NATO).⁵²

The Alliance on its own, will determine NATO's future place in the European defense architecture, skillfully adjusting to the occurring changes. NATO's declarations and concrete actions in this matter, starting by the 'Turnberry message' (1990), continuing by other 'Summit' meetings in London (1990), Rome (1991), Brussels (1994) and Madrid (1997) show unanimously the Alliance's good will and

⁵⁰ The U.S.S.R. and the Warsaw Treaty structures' disintegration Rozpad U.S.S.R. in 1991 created a particular situation in which the Western military and political structures didn't have a counterweight in Eastern Europe.

NATO not being prepared to acting in the new situation, desperately started to seek a solution to the problem. For further information: Partnership with the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe North Atlantic Council Copenhagen 6-7 June 1991; The new european democracies and NATO enlargement. the NATO documents. Internet, <http://www.fas.org/man/nato/natodocs/index.html>.

⁵¹ The NATO vademecum, same edit., p. 31-38.

⁵² All the mentionned changes are a natural consequence to the decisions taken during the NATO 'Summits' starting in Turnberry (1990), and ending in Madrid (1997).

its determination to ensure security, stability and peace in Europe, in a new, united and free Europe without any 'walls' or 'curtains', prejudice or mutual animosities.

The revaluation of NATO's defense doctrine following the Warsaw Treaty structures' disintegration.

The USSR disintegration, the unification of Germany, the change of the directions of an eventual threat to NATO and the geo-strategic conditions in Europe caused an Alliance's reaction, consisting of taking the necessary measures in order to adapt to the new conditions and actively and subjectively participate in the European defensive architecture. By this term, I mean 'all the forms and means of organizing and creating the space for ensuring peaceful existential conditions for the human race'.⁵³ When it is well constructed, it also favours the creation of a 'feeling of confidence, the elimination of the existential threats, the survival of the identity and of the development'⁵⁴ of the human race.

Firstly, NATO reacted very cautiously to what happened in the Middle-Eastern Europe. The Alliance's distrustful policy was caused by a confrontational way of thinking, backed up by a vision of the Eastern communist consolidated by the Western media. After the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty's structures and of the USSR, the counterbalance for the U.S. and for the West was missing. The situation was aggravated by the unpredictability of the situation's evolution in the countries which started existing after the USSR's disintegration (some of them had a part of the USSR's nuclear arsenal⁵⁵). That's why the Alliance had a tonified and cautious (as not to call it mistrustful) reaction that gained more pace and commitment as time went by.

NATO's approach of the occurring changes crystallized itself during the heads' of the states and/or of the governments 'Summit' meetings and on ministerial and permanent representatives' levels. The changes occurring in the U.S.S.R. and in

⁵³ J. Kaczmarek, A. Skowroński, NATO - Europe - Poland... same. edit., p.99.

⁵⁴ R. Zięba, The category of security in the international relations, in: D. B. Bobrow, E. Halizak, R. Zięba (edid.), National and international security in the end of the XXth, Warszawa 1997, p. 3-23.

⁵⁵ These were: Belorussia, the Kazachstan, Russia and the Ukraine.

the socialist camp were for the first time officially accepted during the Brussels 'Summit on April 4, 1989, called for NATO's forty anniversary. Declarations on the co-operation with the maintenance of the 'cold war' division were also made.⁵⁶

During later 'Summits', NATO's position became more and more clear with concrete shapes because of the NATO political declarations on its opening to the East (London, July 6, 1990) by creating institutional frames for a political co-operation and dialogue between NATO and the new Eastern democracies- the North Atlantic Co-operation Council- NACC (Rome, November 7-8, 1991) and the Partnership for Peace – PfP (Brussels, January 10-11, 1994) until the official statement on NATO's enlargement (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic) in 1999 (Madrid, July 8-9 1997).

The changes in the North Atlantic Alliance's defense doctrine which was born in 1968⁵⁷, to a modernized and modified Strategic Conception, adequate to the new geo-strategic conditions⁵⁸, was caused by a change in the geo-strategic situation, by the necessity of guaranteeing the security in new conditions, and above all, by the idea of the new quality of the relations between NATO and the Middle-Eastern Europe/ Russia and CIS, based on co-operation and partnership.

The Alliance's Strategic Conception, adopted by the States Parties of the Washington Treaty during a North-Atlantic Council's meeting (Rome, November 7-8, 1991), confirms the decisions made during the London 'Summit' in July 1990, i.e. the necessity of a political and military transformation of the Alliance in new conditions, in the direction of the openness and the co-operation with the former soviet countries, and the confirmation of the main Alliance's governing rules as well as of its missions concerning the security and the defense of the Alliance's territories, the assurance of liberty to its members, as well as of a lasting peaceful order in

⁵⁶ K. Piątkowski, NATO – in the history and today, in: North-Atlantic Alliance, same edit., p. 42-43; NATO vadamecum, same edit., p. 31-35.

⁵⁷ The instruction MC 14/3 from January 16, 1968 roku. Source: „NATO Challenges of Modern Society”, in: NATO Official Homepage, Basic Texts, NATO documents, Internet, <http://www.nato.int/>

⁵⁸ The Alliance's strategic conception approved by the heads of states and governments, participating in the North-Atlantic Council meeting in Rome, on November 7-8, 1991. Polish text : The documents of the NATO 'Summit', Rome November 7-8, 1991r., in: NATO 1990-1992. The opening of the Alliance to the East, Studies and Materials n° 39, PISM, Warsaw 1992. English text: FAS Military Analysis Network, NATO Documents, Basic Documents, Internet, <http://www.fas.org/man/nato/natodocs/>

Europe, narrowing at the meantime the transatlantic relation with the United States and Canada in a way of ensuring the feeling of security.⁵⁹

The new doctrine also sees the change of the threats to the security of NATO. The common enemy does not exist anymore (the U.S.S.R.) and that way does not also exist the threat of a global war. However, the danger hasn't disappeared, but only changed its character. It is not one-way and one-dimensional, but multi-way and – dimensional. In other words, the Alliance isn't anymore threatened by a massive attack on many fronts. The NATO's security is being threatened by economic, social and political difficulties and also by the national, religious and territorial differences in neighboring countries and between them. Those causes may lead to the creation of local conflicts transforming themselves in regional or even continental ones, if other neighboring countries, also the Alliance's ones joined in them

Above all, NATO wants to keep and create within the new doctrine – as a defense Alliance- the basis for a fair and lasting European peaceful order, realizing its main goals: the creation of a feeling of security of its members, based on the 'foundations of common democratic values, human rights and the government of law'.⁶⁰ This can be realized in a close political, military, economic, ecological and social co-operation, not only between the Allies, but also between the countries aspiring to become the members of the European structures, and with Russia who in spite of its political weakness still has a nuclear and conventional weapons' arsenal similar to the American one.

NATO wants to obtain a stable and transatlantic security by continuing the reduction and the control of the conventional⁶¹ and nuclear⁶² armaments' levels, which will ensure a better transparency of the European strategic situation and the construction of mutual confidence between the countries. This project includes also a complete withdrawal from the use of chemical weapons and an accurate control of the armaments' and technological military transfers' traffics.

⁵⁹ For further informationj „London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance, North Atlantic Council in London 7-8 July 1990”, FAS Military Analysis Network, NATO Documents, Basic Documents, Internet, <http://www.fas.org/man/nato/natodocs/>

⁶⁰ „The Alliance's strategic conception”, in:: NATO vademecum, same edit., p. 269.

⁶¹ The Treaty on conventionnal armed forces in Europe, Paris November 19, 1990, in: The collection of documents n° 4, PISM, Warsaw 1991, p. 126 and next.

⁶² the START I Treaty from July 31, 1991 (a 30% reduction of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. strategical forces) and the START II Treaty from January 3, 1993 (The supression of the land intercontinental ballistic missiles and the further reduction of two-thirds of the strategic nuclear weapons before the year 2003).

The states' close and active co-operation within the Alliance has to complete the following missions:

1. ensure in Europe a security based on the democratic structures, realizing the United Nations' Charter's resolutions on a peaceful conflict-solving process;
2. serve as a 'transatlantic forum for the Allies' consultations, according to the article 4 of the Washington Treaty'⁶³ and coordinate their common actions when it comes to the security and vital interests;
3. frighten away the eventual aggression and defend the NATO territories in case of an armed attack;
4. keep the strategic balance in Europe.⁶⁴

To fulfill these missions, the Alliance is going to closely co-operate with the EU, WEU and OSCE, which are all part of the European defense architecture, which will lead to the realization of the 'European Security and Defense Identity's' conception, increasing the Europeans' direct participation and responsibility in the defense matters of their continent.⁶⁵ These missions, based on a dialogue, a co-operation and a common defense (the maintenance of a common defense potential), have to prevent the conflicts and overcome the crisis.

The tentative of filling the politico - military vacuum: the new forms of co-operation between the Allies and the candidates

The defense policy does not tolerate emptiness. Every defensive system's 'gap' is being immediately filled in, like a conservator mason precisely reconstructing with a new brick and a new seasoning the damaged parts of a monumental wall, so that it again makes a whole.

NATO's reaction to the changes occurring in Europe since 1989 was firstly tonified and declarative, but soon became more and more concrete. The promises, the declarations and the projects became more visible with all the created structures,

⁶³ The Alliance's strategic conception", in:: NATO vademecum, same edit., p. 270.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 270.

⁶⁵ This conception is a natural result of the actions aiming at the creation of a political union in Europe with a bigger role of the Western European Union. With this new defence doctrin, the conception of the European Security and Defence Identity is supposed to strenghten the Alliance's integrity and efficacy as of a whole body.

becoming the institutional basis for a dialogue and a co-operation, with the Middle-Eastern European countries on one side, and on the other a programme preparing the candidates for their future membership in NATO. by letting them participate in the Alliance's works. However, J. Prystrom pertinently remarks that ' the new NATO propositions do not foresee an automatical defense guarantee to the partners' states and their membership in the Alliance'.⁶⁶

Here becomes clearly visible the difference between NATO and the Middle-Eastern Europe in the interpretation of the 'opening to the East'. For these last, it means the accession to the Alliance and the obtainment of rigid security guarantees⁶⁷, for NATO, it means the expansion of a democratic, stable and an anticipated area by creating new institutional unions favourable to close actions' co-operation and co-ordination in order to prevent peace's and security's destabilization in Europe.

This position is additionally strengthened and determined by Russia's firm opposition (concerning NATO' enlargement to the East), fearing the creation of a political isolation pushing it outside of Europe. Russia is also afraid of the further increase of NATO's position, especially of the U.S. position, and of their obtainment of a predominant position in the collective defense organizations, such as the United Nations and the OSCE.

A couple of NATO initiatives , bringing important elements in the construction of confidence and co-operation between the Allies and the Middle-Eastern European countries should be mentioned. These are:

- The North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC)\ the Euro Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC). NACC\EAPC is a forum for the co-operation and the consultation with the post-communist countries, based on a dialogue and a partnership very strongly semphasized in the Alliance's strategic conception. The NACC first opening meeting took place on December 20, 1991 with 25 participating countries, enlarged later by other countries because of the USSR's disintegration and the creation of the CIS;

⁶⁶ J. Pystrom, „NATO in the post-cold war period”, The International Issues No 2, Warszawa 1994, p. 42.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, p.42-44. W. Multan, The security visions... same edit., P. Włodarski, New challenges in: TheNorth-Atlantic treaty, same edit., p.153-157.

- The Partnership for Peace (PfP), this new conception of NATO's co-operation with the countries from the former Eastern block, aiming at creating an international European defense system based on a dialogue, a co-operation and a common defense. The active participation of the post-communist countries in the PfP programme will be important if a new member is being admitted to the Alliance and will accelerate the adjustment of the partners' armed forces to the NATO standards. The co-operation within the PfP has many poles. It concerns the defense planning matters, the defense budget planning and disposition and the democratic control over the army. There are also some common military trainings within the PfP. The 'Enforced Partnership for Peace Programme' has been adapted during the Madrid 'Summit' in 1997. The enforced PfP changed the quality of this programme by strengthening it in the political, defense, military and above all institutional aspects. The enforced PfP's main goals are:
 - ◆ The enforcement of the element responsible for the political consultations within the PfP;
 - ◆ The development of the PfP's operational role;
 - ◆ The enlargement of the partners' countries participation in the decision-making and plannification processes;
- The NATO Mediterranean dialogue is the result of the Alliance's necessity of facing new challenges and opposing the direct threats from the South. It has to increase the security and the stabilization level in the region and come to a better understanding of the Alliance and destroy any of the prejudices that grew against it in the North African and the Near East countries.
- NATO's institutional co-operation with the Russian Federation, based on the ' Main Act on bilateral relations between Russia and NATO', and with the Ukraine, based on the 'Agreement on co-operation and security between NATO and the Ukraine'.

The Alliance's evolution – a new NATO in the international security architecture

The self-liquidation of the U.S.S.R. and the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty's structures caused the failure of the bipolar defense system. NATO entered a new era of international relations, after surviving 'political and régimes' evolvments of the 80s. The monopolar force structure, created by all the changes, and dominated by one super-power, presented brand new challenges to the Alliance.

The new international situation forced the Alliance to adapt itself to the new challenges. The radical change of situation in Europe after 1989, and especially after 1991, had put a question on the further sense of the Alliance in a situation where the enemy, against whom the alliance was proclaimed, disappeared

The unanimous declaration at the NAC ministerial session in Turnberry (June 7-8, 1990) where the sixteen Foreign Affairs' ministers claimed that they 'had no doubts about the Alliance's existence , as well as the rightness of its attributes', promising at the meantime to ' adapt the Alliance to the occurring huge changes', was an answer to all the doubts concerning the Alliance.⁶⁸

The non-precedential range and speed of the changes occurring in Europe has a direct influence not only on NATO's evolution, but also on the whole European defense system. These processes forced the Alliance's internal transformation which caused the change of the Alliance's political and military formulas. However, it remained especially a European security instrument and a stabilizing factor in the Euro Atlantic zone.

NATO's internal situation brought the expected effect, i.e. the modernization of its functions, from the purely military and defensive to the political ones.⁶⁹ Here appear two dilemmas directly concerning NATO's future.

The first one concerns the determination of the Alliance's future functions.

⁶⁸ The final announcement of the NAC ministerial session. Turnberry, June 7-8, 1990 in: J. Stefanowicz (editd.), Poland - NATO. The introduction and assortment of documents 1990-1997, Warszawa 1997, p. 44-46.

⁶⁹ E. Halizak, K. Rud, The relations Poland - NATO, in: D. B. Bobrow, E. Halizak, R. Zięba (edit.), National and international security..., same edit., p. 534-535.

Hitherto, the Alliance's functions were being defined as purely military. The analysis of the presented elements shows that there is an evolution change of NATO's defense functions into some interventionnal rights, in addition outside of the Treaty's activity described in the article 6 of the Washington Treaty.

The NAC ministerial meeting in Oslo (June 5, 1992) confirmed the participation of NATO's armed forces in the peaceful CSCE/OSCE-led operations. Some similar decisions were taken during the NAC session in Brussels (December 18, 1992) concerning NATO's armed forces' peace-maintaining actions with the Security Council's mandates.

In every case, the use of the NATO forces outside of the Alliance's Treaty's responsibility area, which means others than these described by the article 5 of the Washington Treaty, has to be authorized by an adequate CSCE/OSCE or UN mandate. This limits NATO's unfounded actions in the resolution of local or regional conflicts.

Additionally, within the peace-keeping OSCE-led operations, NATO can only undertake helping or preventive actions, next to the carried conflict-solving diplomatic process.

However, in the UN-led peace missions, the Alliance's forces can intervene in order to bring back peace, as well as to prevent the conflicts' increase and to get under control the crisis situations.⁷⁰

Considering the following, the answer to the question whether the Alliance's functions should be re-defined from defensive to intervention, is rather negative.

This is shown by the decisions taken during NATO's Brussels 'Summit' (January 10-11, 1994), which say that NATO remains above all a defensive Alliance, whose prior mission is to ensure the stability and the security of its members.⁷¹

The Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) for the special missions, created during the Brussels 'Summit', serve for the realization of goals requiring the use of the armed forces, others than these described in the article 5 of the Washington Treaty. The CJTF, as it has been established by the 16 states, are used under NATO as well as the WEU, which is supposed to guarantee the ESDI's development.⁷²

⁷⁰ P. Wiczorek, the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, in: *The European co-operation structures...*, same edit., p. 39.

⁷¹ The declaration of the heads of states and governments participating in the NAC meeting., Brussels, January 10-11, 1994 , in: *NATO vademecum*, same edit., annexe XII, p. 307-314.

⁷² Ibidem.

The confirmation of NATO's defensive character with a completing 'interventionnal' role, has been expressed in further NAC declarations and announcements, on both ministerial and heads' of states and governments levels.

It can then be considered that the Alliance isn't endangered by any revolutionnary changes of its character, its identity or its functions.

The other brought up question concerning NATO's future is its role or its place in the European defense system, which was destructed after the failure of the bipolar order.

The construction of the confidence and the partnership in the post-cold war international relations, in order to construct a monopolar peace system, requires a simultaneous re-construction, or rather a construction of the European defense system from its basis.

Different authors present three types of the future European defense systems which are different by the roles its members play. These are the Atlantic, the European and the collective security model.⁷³

It is important to answer the raising doubt on the fact whether NATO shouldn't transform itself in a collective defense organization. W. Multan pertinently remarks that 'the classical approach of the collective defense system, means that help is given when an aggression is done by a member-state, whereas in a defensive Alliance, help is given during an external aggression'.⁷⁴ That is why NATO remains a defensive Alliance, and it is very improbable that it might be transformed into a collective defense's organization.

The realization of the European model is very improbable, while observing the evolution of the events, even because of the difficulties the ESDI faced during inter-governmental conference in Turin and Amsterdam.

Many facts seem to prove that in the future, the Euro Atlantic model is going to be realized. That is to be seen in NATO's declarations and steps taken, such as the support given to the ESDI and to the role of the WEU in the realization of this conception, the creation of the CJTF- the forces that can be used by both NATO and the WEU for the undertake of operations different than these established in the

⁷³ W. Malendowski, Security by the European co-operation? NATO role in the current and future defence system, in: K. A. Wojtaszczyk, J. M. Niepsuj (edit.), NATO and Eastern Europe. NATO's enlargement to the East. The Last challenge in the XX century, Warszawa 1998, p. 46-61.

⁷⁴ W. Multan, European security visions, same edit., p. 196.

Treaty, the agreement on facilitating its access to NATO” strategic infrastructure, the establishment of strategic relations with Russia and the Ukraine, the use for the first time of arms in striking purposes (the air raid on the Serbian positions on April 10, 1994), the undertaking of actions outside of the Alliance’s Treaty’ area (IFOR/SFOR), the NATO enlargement to new countries: Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary, and above all, the U.S. presence in Europe and the fact that it takes on itself the responsibility of Europe’s defense and security.⁷⁵

Considering all the circumstances, in a longer perspective, the realization of the collective defense model might be possible. However, in spite of the highest probability of NATO’s internal transformation towards the Euro Atlantic option, it is impossible to exclude the fact that in the future the Atlantic defense system might be transformed in a collective defense one.

Abstracting from the futurology, it must be admitted that, no matter what the future evenements will be, NATO, because of its established position in the defense architecture, of its elastically-led policy and its conventional and nuclear weapons’ potential with its well built up military infrastructure, is and will stay one of the main elements of the future European defense system.

The answer to the pervasive questions was partly brought by the Washington ‘Summit’ in 1999, when the new Strategic Conception and many initiatives aiming at the Alliance’s internal reform because of the new challenges and its adaptation to new geo-strategic conditions. These goals are important for the North Atlantic Alliance (and also for this research topic), so I will try to go through them a bit more thoroughly.

⁷⁵ W. Malendowski, Security by the European co-operation? The role of NATO in current and future..., same edit., p. 46-61; M. Brenner, The transatlantic partnership in the continental perspective, in: D. B. Bobrow, E. Halizak, R. Zięba (edit.), National and international security..., same edit., p. 480-489; E. Halizak, K. Rud, S The relations Poland - NATO, ibidem, p. 533-536; W. Multan, The European security visions, same edit., p. 178-184, 193-227.

The New Strategic Concept in 1999.

The acceptance of the Alliance's Strategic Concept, determining NATO future role and starting the initiatives increasing its capability to act in the new geo-strategic environment, was a crucial element at the Washington 'Summit' on April 23-24, 1999. In the introduction to this Concept, there is the definition of the new geo-strategic environment, created after the failure of the bipolar division of the world and the induced strategic changes in the Alliance's environment. NATO, considering its special role in the North Atlantic area because of the consolidation and the maintenance of the positive changes, as well as because of the appearing challenges and dangers, must maintain its ability to collective defense, strengthen the transatlantic union and ensure a bigger participation of the Alliance's European members in order to secure the common security interests in a still unstable environment. But the most important thing for the whole Treaty, its credibility and effectiveness is the maintenance of political unity, and also of the military ability to undertake any of the possible missions.

In the Introduction, we can read that ' the new Strategic Concept is going to determine the directions of the Alliance's actions during their realization. It expresses the Alliance's invariable goal and character, its main defensive missions and it presents the details of NATO's broad approach to the defense problems and determines the further way of adapting its military forces'. This way, the Conception has been divided in 5 parts: I –The Alliance's goals and missions, II – the strategic perspectives, III – The approach to the security in the XXI century, IV – The instructions for the Alliance's armed forces, V – The conclusions.

With this new Strategic Concept, NATO's main and invariable goal still is the protection of the liberty and the security of all its members, using all possible political and military means, while maintaining a full sovereignty of all the States Parties. At the meantime, the Alliance does not restrict itself to providing the security to its members only, but also undertakes some actions aiming at creating the necessary conditions for increasing the partner co-operation and dialogue with other countries, sharing NATO's political goals.

The Alliance realizes the following defensive missions, basing them on the Washington Treaty and the United Nations' Charter:

The security: the assurance of a stable basis for a lasting security in the Euro Atlantic area, based on democratic institutions and peaceful problem-solving aiming at eliminating the use of the force or the threat of using it.

The consultations: the assurance, according to the article 4 of the Washington Treaty, of a transatlantic forum's basis, serving for consultations on all the Allies' vital matters, such as the possible threats for the states parties security, or the adequate coordination of the actions in the fields of their common interests.

The frightening away and the defense: the frightening away and the defense of each and every NATO member against any aggression, according to the articles 5 and 6 of the Washington Treaty.

And, in order of increasing the security and the stability in the Euro Atlantic area:

The crisis' resolution: the readiness, by consensus, ad hoc, and according to article 7 of the Washington Treaty of participating in the conflicts' prevention and crisis resolution, combined with peace-keeping operations.

The partnership: the promotion of a broadly understood partnership, co-operation and dialogue with the other countries from the Euro Atlantic area, in order to increase the mutual confidence and the ability to undertake common Alliance-led operations.

The Alliance, while realizing its main defense goals, will still take into account the justified security interests of other countries and will aim at peacefully resolving all the conflicts, according to the United Nations' Charter's resolutions. It will promote peaceful and friendly relations between the countries, supporting the democratic institutions. It is also important to remember that the Alliance isn't anyone's enemy.

The following new Strategic Concept, having an influence on the current Alliance's functioning and being a perfect example of NATO's adjusting to the XXI century's challenges, are worth mentioning:

NATO's ability of acting outside of the Treaty's area (the so called non-article 5 missions) has been confirmed in this Conception.

And this way, the new dimension of the Alliance's functioning has been stressed. To undertake this kind of actions, a mandate allowing them has been established by compromise, referring to the UN Charter's resolutions, without directly subordinating this decision to the UN Security Council's agreement.

The need of participating in the prevention of crisis and conflicts, which is an answer to the increasing role of the alliance's new challenges, has been clearly emphasized in the Concept. At the meantime, it has been confirmed that NATO's engagement in this kind of missions is going to be examined 'case-by-case', and the decision on a eventual participation of particular NATO members will be taken individually by every country, according to its national regulations.

The further development of the ESDI, based on a decision taken in Berlin in 1996, within the Alliance, is one of the key elements of this conception. A closer co-operation between NATO and the WEU is supposed to strengthen the effectiveness of the Allies' European operations, and also favour the construction of a co-operative defense system on the continent, especially within the development of the II pillar of the EU (the Common Foreign and Defense Policy), so de facto the tentative of creating their own military and defense dimension.

It is necessary, within the evolution of international relations, to remember the importance of the effective and multi-faced NATO co-operation and dialogue programmes with the partner states (the Enforced PfP, EAPC, the relations NATO-Russia and NATO-the Ukraine, the Mediterranean dialogue, MAP).⁷⁶

The confirmation of the continuation of NATO opening on new members policy (the so called open-door policy), according to the article 10 of the Washington Treaty, is also important for the continuation of the enlargement of the Euro Atlantic stability and defense zone.

The accession of new members will serve the Alliance's political and strategic interests, will ameliorate its efficacy and closeness and in an important manner will help the enforcement of security and stabilization in Europe.

Similarly, the importance of the transatlantic relation, being a practical expression of the Allies' common and effective actions, in order to ensure the

⁷⁶ Francois I., Partnership: One of NATO's Fundamental Security Tasks, NATO Review No 1, Spring/Summer 2000, s. 27-30.

common interests and the indivisibility of European and North American security, is a key element of the Alliance's future unity and development.

Because of the new geo-strategic conditions, the Concept mentions the need of developing, within the Alliance, new mechanisms of reacting to different military and non-military challenges, such as the existence of important nuclear forces outside the Alliance, the proliferation of massive blows armaments, the terrorism, the organized crime, the global development of military technologies and its illegal transfer to embargo-countries, the possibility of religious, ethnical, territorial or economic conflicts, as well as the progressing degradation of the environment. That explains the notations in the Concept concerning the crisis prevention and the reaction to them – which has already been mentioned- outside the Treaty-established NATO responsibility.

Still, Part IV of the Concept 'the instructions for the defense' seems to be the most important for our reflection. Its notifications express the Alliance's defensive character and emphasize the fundamental importance of the collective defense and its indivisibility, supposing that the Alliance will still maintain the necessary military capabilities, permitting the realization of all its missions. The Alliance's solidarity rules and the strategic unity will still remain extremely important for the success of all the Alliance's operations. NATO forces must be effective, they should also be able to ensure to the Alliance the freedom of action. The security of all the allies is indivisible: the attack on one of them is an attack on all of them. Concerning the collective defense (according to article 5 of the Washington Treaty), the Alliance's multi-national forces must be able to frighten away any potential aggression against NATO, if such an attack occurred, they must stop the aggressor as fast as that is possible)^{77 78}and ensure a political independence and territorial integrity of the member states. The Alliance's forces must also be prepared for the participation in the prevention of conflicts and for the leadership in crisis reaction operations, being beyond the article 5. They also play a major role in the development of the co-operation and the understanding between the Alliance and its partners and the other countries. It mainly concerns the support that can be given to the partners, in order to prepare them to the participation in the NATO-led PfP operations. This way these

⁷⁷ Francois I., Partnership: One of NATO's Fundamental Security Tasks, NATO Review No 1, Spring/Summer 2000, s. 27-30.

forces help the peace-keeping process, and are also on guards of the common security interests and the security and stability interests in the Euro Atlantic area.

By frightening away from the use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, the alliance's forces contribute to NATO's efforts aiming at forbidding the proliferation of these weapons and their means of transportation.

The Alliance's armed forces' direct missions, resulting from the Conception, result from the notifications concerning the reach of the ability to fulfill all the kinds of Alliance's missions, which emphasize the need of adjusting the forces to the new challenges. This means the necessity of increasing the Allies efforts when it comes to the modernization of the national armed forces, as well as the increase of their efficacy and mobility. The adequate resolutions in the Part IV of the Conception introduce a new approach to the matters of the categorization of the armed forces, emphasizing the need of ensuring the Alliance's the necessary forces that would be able to operate outside of their own territory within all the NATO missions. In this context, the rule of the multi-nationality of the forces, which could increase the Alliance's solidarity and the practical collectivity of NATO operations, seems to be a crucial element contained in the new document. Concerning the Alliance's nuclear strategy, it can not be underestimated that the cases where it could be really used seem to be extremely remote and the confirmation of the continuation of the sub-strategic nuclear forces. These notifications unanimously reflect the changes that occurred in the last years in the geo-strategic situation, which is why the Alliance's strategy has been actualized. However, in order to keep peace and prevent war and stop the potential opponent from using pressure, NATO will not refrain from keeping its strategic nuclear forces, fulfilling a separate frightening away function, being important in the whole NATO frightening away process and increasing its security. The nuclear weapons will still play an important role, causing the aggressor's uncertainty concerning the fact in which way is the Alliance going to answer to the military aggression. The possession of this weapon, makes every potential aggression on any of the NATO members non-profitable.⁷³

Reassuming, the Strategic Conception confirms the unchangeable Alliance's goal and traces its main defensive missions. This Conception allows to a transformed

⁷³ In the original *as far forward as possible*

and respecting the democratic values and the peaceful rules of conflict solving NATO to have an influence on the changing defense environment and to support the security and the stability.

The Strategic Concept determines the directions of the Alliance's security and defense policy, its operational doctrines, the shape of the conventional and nuclear forces and the rules of collective defense. Always, when in a secure environment important changes do occur, the defense is brought up-to-date. The unstable world makes of the need for a collective defense a current issue. The Alliance, confirming the importance of a common defense will still aim at creating a continent without any divisions, by promoting the vision of a indivisible and free Europe. It seems that such a univocal and at the mean time elastic NATO's Strategic Concept, will let the Alliance penetrate the XXI century fearless, a century which will manage to face all the new challenges and will take advantage of the given chances of playing a key role in the creation of a co-operative Euro Atlantic defense system.

The main initiatives suggested during the Washington 'Summit'.⁷⁴

The adopted in Washington new NATO Strategic Conception supposes that in the current and future strategic environment, the Alliance must keep its ability to react in case of a big-scale aggression against one or more of its members. This requires the maintenance, and above all the development of a defensive and offensive potential, better adapted to the new kinds of threats and also minimizing them with at the meantime coping with the crisis situations, long before their possible extension on the 'Treaty's responsibilities' area. That is why NATO must be ready for undertaking the operations outside its own territory, where it won't be possible to fully use the military infrastructure. That is why the Alliance must have the necessary forces and means of fast elastic reacting, ensuring the repulse of a potential threat or an effective crisis administration. Generally, this means that the future NATO operations will rather be characterized by a high inter-operational and

⁷⁴ An interesting look on the NATO initiatives had been presented in the NATO Review by Venturioni, who defined them as the 'tools' NATO used to do its job. G. Venturioni, The Washington Summit initiatives: Giving NATO the „tools” to do its job in the next century, NATO Review No 3, autumn 1999, p. 8-11.

rotational level of the armed forces, as well as their integration, than by a supplementary stable stationnement of big striking groups in some particular areas.

The Defense Capability Initiative (DCI), adopted during the Washington Treaty in April 1999, will allow the implementation of these resolutions. The main reason of its adoption was the fact that in order to face the challenges caused by the sudden changes in the defense environment in the Euro Atlantic region, the Alliance should increase its capabilities concerning the reaction to crisis. The DCI allows the amelioration of the defense capabilities in order to ensure a bigger efficacy of the future multi-national defense operations, within the full range of the alliance's missions. The DCI put an emphasis on the necessity of ameliorating the inter-operationality between the Alliance's and the Partner's armed forces, what is unanimously connected with NATO leadership in multi national operations, including the participation of the partners' armed forces.⁸⁰

We can say that the degree and the range of the engagement of different member countries in the DCI, can have a big influence on the construction of an effective NATO defensive potential in the new security environment and positively influence on the Alliance's credibility.

It is necessary to realize that in all the publications on NATO, the DCI is being treated (particularly by the U.S.) as a priority. Effectively, this initiative is the most important and long-period armed forces' and others Alliance's possibilities development programme, answering to the requests within the defense and the crisis-reacting in the XXI century. At the meantime, the close relation between the DCI and NATO defense Plannification process may cause some changes or the enlargement of the range of the Alliance's defense Plannification. Additionally, the DCI implementation can have a positive influence on the development of the defense industries, the use of new technologies, as well as the re-definition of the current defense expenses. Whereas the co-relation of the DCI with the ESDI will avoid the duplication of NATO and EU actions (NATO – a collective security, EU – actions in order to prevent and solve the crosses- the Petersberg Missions)⁷⁵. In this context,

⁸⁰ Defence Capabilities Initiative issued at the meeting of the NAC in Washington D.C. on 23 and 24 April 1999, w: NATO Review No 2, Summit Edition..., same edit .

the DCI could reveal itself as being helpful in ensuring the effectiveness of the future operations going beyond the collective defense.⁸¹

We cannot also forget, about another Alliance's initiative, reaffirmed during the Washington 'Summit'. The proliferation of the massive-blow armaments and its means of transportation is one of the Alliance's deepest worries. In spite of considerable successes in the strengthening of the international non-proliferation regimes, the main challenges remain the same. According to the Alliance, the proliferation, in spite of the preventive efforts, is still possible. That caused the creation of the Initiative concerning the massive-reach armaments (WMDI), which emphasises the end of the proliferation, especially in the context of an increasing uncontrolled transfer of the advanced technologies and their manufacturing elements.⁸²

During the Washington 'Summit', the Alliance's initiative, concerning the open-door policy and the further NATO enlargement plans, has been confirmed. This initiative is the Membership Action Plan (MAP), which establishes the mechanisms and the particular dialogue themes between the Alliance and the countries aspiring to a membership.⁸³ Basically, the MAP is a true manifestation of NATO open-door policy, precisely describing the mechanisms and the particular dialogue themes' between the Alliance and the countries in their pre-accessive stage, using for this purpose the new mechanisms available within NATO. The MAP is an integral part of the North Atlantic Alliance's strategy adopted during the Washington 'Summit'. This programme is an important element of the so called NATO external adaptation, which has to work out the complex dialogue mechanisms and the co-operation with the countries from the rest of the continent, and also a progressive opening to new members. The MAP allows the development of a multi-range co-operation between the Alliance and the Aspirants, within their eventual future membership, because of to its every-year individual national programmes. In spite of the fact that the

⁸¹ Sloan E., DCI: Responding to the US-led Revolution in Military Affairs, NATO Review No1, Spring/Summer 2000, s.12-15; Heisbourg F., European Defence Takes a Leap Forward, ibidem, p. 8-11.

⁸² Documentation of the NAC Washington Summit w NATO Review No 2, Summit..., same edit., D1-D16; C. Hain-Cole, The Summit Initiative on Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD): Rationale and aims, ibidem, p. 33-34.

⁸³ The expectancies of the international community towards the North-Atlantic Alliance in the new political, economic and social context, p. 200-202; also: Membership Action Plan (MAP), NATO Review No 2, Summit Edition, same edit., D13-D16; K.P. Klaiber, The Membership Action Plan: Keeping NATO's door open, NATO Review No 2, Summit..., same edit., p. 23-25.

realization of the MAP by the aspiring countries doesn't guarantee their automatical admission to the 'group of 19', at least it proves their determination, as well as their possibilities of coping with the Alliance's strictness. Certainly, the results of these countries won't stay unnoticeable by the Allies during their discussions.

Functions of the renewed NATO in the new European security environment

In today's world, constituting a 'global village', where the development of the transfer techniques and the informational flow, as well as the close relations in the political and economic spheres, being a result of the constant co-operation increase, the disturbance of one of the elements has immediately a negative influence on the action of other members.

The situation on the Old Continent perfectly illustrates this kind of situation; the changes in the political regimes in Middle-Eastern Europe influenced the transformation of the whole Europe.

The need to adjust its structures, as well as its procedures and its forms of action, to the new conditions concerns all the Western states' organizations and also NATO, particularly because it has the additional doubt whether it should continue existing. Some of them managed to cope with this sort of problems, others cannot find their place in the new reality, and will have to perish politically.

The North Atlantic Alliance was one of the first IGO who rapidly and positively reacted to the changes in the Eastern block, by going towards a membership at which the post-communist countries started aspiring.⁸⁴

Since its creation on April 4 1949, NATO acted as a stabilizing element of the international order in Europe, especially in the context of a very aggressive U.S.S.R. policy. This stabilization had many aspects.

First of all, the Alliance guaranteed the security and the stability of its area, regulated by the article 6 of the Washington Treaty.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ A. Z. Kamiński, NATO 1990 - 1992. The opening of the Alliance to the East, Studies and materials n° 97, PISM, Warsaw 1992, p. 5-6.

⁸⁵ The North-Atlantic Treaty Washington, April 4, 1949 in: J. Stefanowicz (edit.), Poland - NATO. The introduction..., same edit., p. 39.

The security guarantees concerned the aforementioned article 5 of the Treaty , appealing to the right to an individual or collective self-defense and defining the duty of the Allies' common defense in case of a armed attack on any of the NATO countries.⁸⁶ With this enlargement, the territory was adequately modified and was enlarging the territories containing the alliance's defense guarantees.

Secondly, the adequate Washington Treaty regulations, concerned also the economic and cultural co-operation, which was a brand-new thing in the resolution of a classical defense Alliance, such as NATO. The protection of liberty, of common nations' heritage and civilization, the cultivation of democratic rules, the liberty of the individual and the law and order contained in the Treaty's introduction, confirm that the alliance wasn't only interested in the military issues, which were the basis of the ' strengthening of the stabilization and the welfare in the North Atlantic region'.

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The economic co-operation, leading to the increase of the societies welfare, combined with the advancing democratization of the state, functioning Conformingly to the law and order rules, as it is said in the article 2 of the Treaty⁸⁸, were supposed to ensure the stabilization in this region and influence the increase of the NATO members' welfare (as well the individuals as the whole- i.e. the state).

Third, a close co-operation made possible the resolution of all the conflicts, without using the armed forces or threatening to use them. The peaceful resolution of all the crisis situations, internally stabilized not only the NATO countries, but also the whole Europe, becoming a good model for the Eastern block.

The dialogue between the countries based on partner relations, in the perspective of a close co-operation between the NATO countries, included The west Germany among the western democracies, inhibiting its eventual aspirations at having a expansive foreign policy and prepared a sound basis for a friendship and a co-operation between West Germany and France – its rival since ever.

Finally four, NATO efficiently prevented the U.S.S.R. and the Warsaw Treaty structures from further expansion on other territories and installing the 'governments of people' in the Western European democracies. The potential of the

⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 38.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, p. 37.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, p. 37-38.

conventional forces, and above all of the nuclear one that owned the U.S. and the European Allies was frightening away Moscow and its camp.

Because of that - said the general Edwin Rozłubirski- the probability of using the nuclear weapons by the Warsaw Treaty's structure in an other purpose than the defensive one didn't exist. ⁸⁹ We cannot agree with the general for two causes:

1. The Russian strategists realized what would be the consequences for Europe and for the whole globe of such a use of the nuclear weapons, what bad an influence it could have on the human race
2. A NATO nuclear retaliation was being considered, and from a strategic point of view, this would make a no score.

This is how the perfectly worked the frightening away mechanism, used by NATO up-to-date. We come also to the fifth aspect of the NATO stabilizing functions, i.e. the possession of a huge nuclear potential.

Its use was closely precised and controlled so that the danger of an uncontrolled one did not appear. In the NATO decision-making centres, a special legislating body was even appointed – the Nuclear Planing Group, taking care of all the problems concerning the maintenance and the eventual use of the nuclear weapons.

According to the directions of the elastic reaction doctrine, 'the aggressor should be convinced that NATO is ready to use the nuclear weapons if necessary, without exactly knowing when or how to use it'. ⁹⁰

Considering the above factors, we must conclude that NATO during the 'cold war' really acted as a stabilizing element of the international bipolar order in Europe, and de facto, in the world.

The end of the XX century brought a deep geo-political and regime and economic transformation of the countries of the Eastern block, including the USSR's successor – Russia. The end of the 'real socialism' period saw the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaties structures and the USSR's. The 'armaments' race' and of the 'cold war' ended up. On Europe's map, many new countries appeared after the disintegration of the soviet block.

⁸⁹ This speech by gen. E. Rozłubirskiego was pronounced during the programme „Opinie”, shown on May 10, 1998 on channel 1 TVP.

⁹⁰ B. Świetlicki, The North-Atlantic Alliance- the evolution of NATO defence policy - in: North-Atlantic treaty, same edit., p. 113-114.

The race of the socialist countries towards a 'Europe' (in which they all were present), meant that they wanted to individually decide on their fate from a pressure positions on the Euro Atlantic structures' position. These aiming were cause by completely different things than before. The peaceful expansions methods, being an addition of the own realized interests and the seeing of mutual responsibility for the shape of the future co-operation between the countries, took the place of the violence and of the subordination.⁹¹

An important role in these processes has been played by the North Atlantic Alliance together with the U.S., as well as the European Communities: the ECSC, the EAEC and the EEC, and the EU since January 1, 1993.

since 1989, NATO closely monitored the evolution of the situation in the eastern block, however, it started its real co-operation with the post-communist countries in 1991, within the NACC, proclaimed during the Rome 'Summit', being an institutional forum for the exchange of views and consultations between the Alliance and the Middle Eastern countries.

During the Madrid 'Summit', the NACC has been renamed the as the EAPC, having some more decision-making competence, especially in the military co-operation matters between the countries participating in the PfP programme and the Allies, in order to keep, consolidate and bring back the peace in Europe.⁹²

The Brussels 'Summit' in 1994, adopts the 'Partnership for Peace programme', being a form of close military co-operation between NATO and the young democracies, leading to a more or less definite future to the Alliance's enlargement to new members. Since 1992, the biggest part of the Middle- Eastern Europe started their 'race' towards NATO and the EU, treating the integration with these institutions as a national strategic goal of their defense policies.

The very rapid changes caused some of the NATO positive decisions concerning the modernization of the Alliance's structures, adjusted to the new conditions, and the modification of the defense policy, which up until then lost its objective means.

The adopted in 1991 new NATO Strategic Conception, redefined the Treaty's defensive character for the next couple of years. The internal shape of the changes

⁹¹ B. Rychłowski, The security problems in the conditions of a geo-political transformation in Europe, *Studia i Materiały* No 82, PISM, Warszawa lipiec 1994., p. 3-5.

⁹² W. Multan, The European security visions, same edit., p. 181-182.

within NATO, called the 'intensification' is opposed to an other tendency – the enlargement, i.e. the opening of NATO structures to the East.

The 'intensification' aims at adjusting the NATO structures to the new conditions and emphasizing of its stabilizing role in Europe through a series of structural reform, such as the narrowing of the transatlantic unions, the definition of the co-operation rules between the U.S. and the European Allies, whose participation in NATO is more and more emphasized, and the definition of the Alliance's relations with the WEU and the EU.⁹³

The external expression of the Alliance's reform is the reduction of the owned conventional and nuclear arsenals, the change in NATO allied command, the confirmation of the role and the participation of the European Allies in the stabilizing and defense-ensuring processes within the ESDI, the creation of the CJTF – being an institutional expression of the ESDI and by this way making stronger the European NATO pillar.

To the 'intensification' conception is opposed the conception of 'enlargement'. The opening of the Alliance to new members is the best, if not the only one way justifying NATO existence, in the new post-cold war Europe. The admission of new members would be a way for NATO of stabilizing the geo-political situation in Europe.

Some concrete actions aiming at enlarging the Alliance have already been taken (after having convinced Russia of the rightness of this idea). After the adoption of the PfP programme, the 'Study on NATO enlargement' (1995) was adopted, considering the Alliance as being the institution with the biggest influence on the security and the stability in Europe, whose increase will be guaranteed with the enlargement of the Alliance to the East.⁹⁴ The Study determines the 'how?' and the 'when?' concerning the Alliance's enlargement in order to enforce the co-operation within the PfP, which would lead to a full membership.

The Madrid 'Summit' in July 1997 officially confirmed NATO combined with the invitation for the negotiations on their future membership with the three countries of the Visegrad Group: Poland Hungary and the Czech Republic.

⁹³ M. Kaźmierski, B. Świetlicki, P. Włodarski, from co-operation to integration: the development of the relations Poland/ NATO, Polish security in the changing Europe, edition 8, Warsaw-Toruń 1996, p. 9-11, 34-38.

⁹⁴ R. Kupiecki, W. Waszczykowski, The study on NATO enlargement, BPI MON, Warsaw 1996, p. 16-18.

However, among the Alliance's politicians, the co-ordination of the 'intensification' with the 'enlargement' is more and more popular and is supposed to help NATO to adapting itself to the new conditions.

This thesis is confirmed by the results of the Washington 'Summit' from April 1999, which adopted some decisions that let the Alliance penetrate the XXI century, ready for the next enlargement stages (the EAPC reform, the enforced PfP, the MAP) and also and also to the adequate internal reforms (the changes in the command structure, the new Strategic Conception, a bigger elasticity, the development of the co-operation with the EU).⁹⁵

Reassuming the NATO achievements in order of ensuring a stability in Europe, we must affirm that the Alliance's stabilizing forms and functions didn't very much change since its creation. They have only been re-defined, but these aren't any revolutionnary changes.

The changes occuring in Europe since 1989 caused the revaluation not only of the geo-political conditions and the character of the threats, but also of the eventual enemies. These factors caused the modification of the Alliance towards a more defensive and stabilizing form. In this context, the synchronization of the NATO 'intensification' with its 'enlargement' brings some positive effects, especially after the Alliance's efforts of European stabilization.

The NATO enlargement increases the Treaty's territories, having a stabilizing influence on the new territories, guaranteeing at the meantime the new members' security.

The regulation of the relations with Russia and the Ukraine – countries having important conventional and nuclear weapons arsenals, eliminates almost definitely the probability of an aggression form the countries, especially considering the fact that the Ukraine, expressed its willingness to join the Alliance's and the European structures. Whereas Russia was satisfied with the possibility of undertaking permanent consultations on the Russia's Council's/ NATO forum, and

⁹⁵ The Alliance's Strategic Concept, approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the NAC in Washington D.C. on 23 and 24 April 1999, NATO Office of Information and Press, Brussels 1999, Documentation of the NAC 1999 in Washington D.C.: The Washington Declaration, Statement on Kosovo, An Alliance for the 21st century, Membership Action Plan, Defence Capabilities Initiative w : NATO Review No 2. Summit Edition, Documentation, Summer 1999, D1-D16.

of deciding with the Alliance on certain issues.⁹⁶ The active co-operation with the biggest part of the countries from the former Eastern block, in order to narrowing the relations and the dependencies between the new democracies and NATO, which might lead to appeasement of the tensions and a peaceful conflict-solving process in the region.

Whereas the NATO internal reforms guarantee the American presence in Europe, the development of the ESDI and the continuation of the current Alliance's political direction, aiming at the stabilization of the geo-political situation and the increase of the security level in Europe.

Unquestionably, the most important North Atlantic Alliance's function is the assurance of the individual and collective actions against an armed attack, what is contained in the Washington Treaty. Furthermore, NATO is and will remain a political and defensive Alliance. In the past couple of years, the thesis that the Alliance will have to adjust itself to the new condition, becoming more 'political' than defensive, has been very popular.⁹⁷

If this is really the way the Alliance is going to transform itself, it is then necessary to ascertain that no matter how the different accents are going to be displayed in the future NATO, its fundamental function- the maintenance of a broadly understood security to all its members, as well as to the Partners⁹⁸ under certain conditions within the new Strategic Conception- will remain invariable.

Instead of concluding, I will allow myself to quote a part of the speech of the former Polish Foreign Affairs Minister D Rosati, concerning the discussed matters: 'The Alliance by facing the new challenges, changes its up-to-date character, and at the meantime, inflicts upon the member states particular standards of international behaviour. The opponents of NATO enlargement seem not to notice that. That's why we do repeat that NATO's enlargement means the enlargement of the stability and democracy zone, and by these means serves the global peace.'⁹⁹

⁹⁶ A. Y. Manachiński, The Ukrain and NATO: the reality and the problems, in: K. A. Wojtaszczyk, J. M. Niepsuj (edit.), NATO and eastern Europe, same edit., p. 156-157.

⁹⁷ W. V. Roth Jr, NATO in the XXIst century in: Closer NATO, The Parliament's Library Information Bulletin, Year 3 book 2, Warsaw April 1999, p. 40.

⁹⁸ Lord Robertson, NATO in the new millenium, NATO Review, same.edit., p. 3-7.

⁹⁹ D. Rosati, A enlarged, safer NATO, Gazeta Wyborcza, January 8, 1997.

SUMMARY

Since the creation of NATO, together with the change of geopolitical and geo-strategic, circumstances revaluations in NATO defence doctrine has been progressed. We can observe certain regularity in transformations of the Pact's strategy in relation with changes in the international situation. In periods of escalation of tension in mutual relations between the opposed blocks, the strategic doctrine of the Alliance became "stiff" and closed. It assumed confrontation, aggression (but efficiently hidden), and first of all use of nuclear power in each case, limiting the zone of activity of NATO's forces to the area of its treaty responsibility. Periods of fall of tension, are characterised by: more flexible defence doctrines diminishing and redislocating military potential, reduction and control of armament as well as use of nuclear weapons - restricted by precisely defined rules.

Similar changes took place during "the Autumn of the People". The New Strategic Concept accepted in 1991 permitted transformation of structures, functions, tasks and role of the Alliance in the context of a qualitatively new international circumstances.

Escalation of tensions and the conflict in Bosnia together with an uncertain politico- military situation in the former USSR area forced the Alliance to make new changes in its strategy. Openness of NATO towards undertaking of operation outside its treaty area and invitations of new participants to the memberships in the Pact, changed and renewed visage of NATO. Establishing close military and political co-operation with countries of the Central-Eastern Europe as well as making available NATO's assets and capabilities for needs of the Western European Union (after internal reforms – European Union, which took over from the WEU realisation of petersberg mission) considerably raised a sense of stability and security in Europe, engaging in the creation of a new European order countries from both sides of the former "iron curtain". This has been proved by active participation of post-communist states in the programmes of co-operation, proposed by the Alliance (as: EAPC or PfP) and expressed by some of them wish for full membership in NATO.

Incessant transformations of the international situation had consequences in modification of the Alliance's strategy. Nuclear armaments race in Asia, caused collection of suitable steps by the "nineteen" countries. Tense situation in Kosovo, ruined achieved with difficulties peaceful Dayton agreement at the former Yugoslavia and led to spearing of the conflict on other countries from the Balkan region.

"New kinds of threats" the international community has to face, as proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, ethnical and religious conflicts or growing terrorists activities and activities of organised crime in global dimension - are only some of numerous reasons, causing requirement of further internal transformation of the North Atlantic Pact.

Summing up the present research project we can ascertain, that NATO is a union of free, independent and sovereign states, united by the idea of maintenance of security through mutual guarantees, confidence and partner relations between the members. The Alliance as such determines a forum, on which member states have possibility of consulting any problem and on this to base - elaborating common positions, after which concrete decisions are taken. These decisions, are nothing but reached consensus, which by the suitable NATO mechanisms, becomes one, solidar and joint position of all the allied states.

Realising its treaty tasks, NATO became irreplaceable guarantee of stable security and peace in Europe. Basing on foundations of democracy and respects of law both in the internal and the international dimension, the Alliance assures quick and effective dissolving of disputes or adjust them, not permitting on wider spreading of possible conflicts. Aiming to creations of peaceful environment of coexistence between nations, the Alliance assures by its authority and power sense of certainty of tomorrow, making possible normal existing of states participating in its activities as well as all its partners. Co-ordinating efforts of its members, in spheres of common interests, the Alliance creates frameworks of common security and defence policy, creating picture of a disciplined and unanimous organisation, enlarges its effectivity, and - what goes after this -enlarges its role in the system of European security. Additionally, because of presence in NATO allies from the USA and Canada, in advance of the NATO works, the transatlantic ties are developed, which unite America and Europe in one stable, secure and peaceful area.

All the aims, tasks and functions of NATO mentioned above, realised by its civilian and military structures, would not be realisable if not "education from

bases", inculcating of ideals and values of democracy, human rights and respects of law. And if not the people - each individuals, which comply accepted norms - implementation of these ideas would not be possible. NATO is not only the 19 states, it is also the 41 states participating in the Partnership for Peace programme, which also participate in works of Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. NATO creates also institutional frames of co-operation with the Russian Federation and Ukraine, and at last it is the 7 states of Mediterranean dialogue in frames of Mediterranean Co-operation Groups – in short - all partners and friends of the North Atlantic Alliance. All of these NATO initiatives are realised by people, because only people are able to create law, to respect and to protect. And people these abilities are acquire by people during individual development and intensive education. Such education is assured by properly prepared personnel, which can solidly and scrupulously hand down its own experiences to younger colleagues.

These initiatives serve to recognition of the Alliance "from the inside", its structures and mechanisms. Their help in breaking of barriers and mutual bios, in interstate dimension, as well as in interhuman. They just cause, that people come closer to each other, mutually learn about their countries, cultures, sometimes civilisations. It helps - with no doubt - to strengthen existing ties but also builds a new one, calling out desirable effect of spearing the area of democracy, stabilisation and peace towards territories of states which are outside the area of NATO's treaty responsibility and also enlarges area of NATO's co-operation with states which are not participants of the Alliance.

The NATO's "open door policy" made possible to obtain NATO membership by Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary – the young Central European democracies, strengthening their attachment to such values, as: democracy, responsibility, loyalty. The North Atlantic Alliance had a gigantic contribution in this process perceiving changes in the Eastern Europe, went towards expectations and needs of new democracies and advancing towards them number of initiatives referring to dialogue and co-operation. On the cards of history has already been entered such "terms" as: NACC\EAPC (North-Atlantic Co-operation Council\Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council) or PfP (Partnership for Peace), which are not only initiatives creating new, institutional forms of co-operation, but also are indications of progressive, internal transformation of NATO. This illustrates not only political will of the Alliance to overcome appearing challenges of the last decades of the XX

century, but also demonstrates high degree of effectiveness and efficiencies of NATO in situations which demand immediate activities and undertaking of quick and responsible decisions.

We cannot forget, that the transformations of the end of eighties, symbolical beginning of which has been determined by the creation of the first solidarity Government in Poland and the destruction of the Berlin wall diminished confrontational, bipolar system of international relations. The Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, together with recovery of full sovereignty, stood up before need of qualification of its own security status.

In firm majority these states choosed North Atlantic azimuth of their foreign and security policy, aspiring to NATO memberships (so as Poland) or aiming to close co-operation. The Alliance from the beginning of transformation times came towards expectations of post-communist states, trying to find a way to establish close co-operation with new democracies. From 1990, it means from so-called “ Message from Turnberry”, to the 1999 Washington Summit, NATO introduced new, more and more advanced and precise initiatives towards countries aspiring for membership, and towards these states, which are interested in development of co-operation with NATO.

In this context, it is worth to underline that the three states accepted in NATO – the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland - not being yet official participants of the Alliance, had taken active participation in process of elaboration of the New Strategic Concept accepted during, already mentioned by me, Washington Summit. This fact confirms thesis about openness and responsibility of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in the context of its co-operation with countries staying outside its structures. Thanks to this, the NATO Strategic Concept from 1999 constitutes an idea of the enlarged Alliance, taking into account interests of all the nineteen members. The Concept constitutes future role of NATO, defines new challenges for the Alliance and is initiating initiatives raising its abilities to act in the new geo-strategic environment.

The essence of the Strategic Concept is also that it performs both a role of "message" directed to international communities, informing about place of the Alliance in the European security environment and a role of document determining base for NATO politico-military planning.

The NATO Strategic Concept, as I already said, defines place and function of the Alliance in the present world, and also describes challenges, which Alliance will have to face in the XXI century. In relation with this, a question irresistibly comes on thought - how our Alliance will look like in the new Millennium?

The North Atlantic Alliance enters the third millennium "refreshed", strengthened, and first of all enlarged by three states, activity of which on its different foras is not only perceptible, but also carries in, as we estimate, a "new approach" to the policy of the Alliance. From our side, we try – and I think, that I speak in the name of three new NATO members - to be not only consumers, but contributors of the allied security. A number of co-operation initiatives with countries from outside of NATO, together with its internal adaptation and transformation, creates NATO reliable and efficient in eyes of international community. Similarly, new challenges the Alliance has to face, create completely different dimension of NATO activities than hitherto existing.

However, the most essential issue is maintenance of defensive character of the Alliance, fundamental role of collective defence and indivisibilities of security of the allies. In this context essential meanings for cohesion and further development of the Alliance has consolidation of the transatlantic ties, by active presence of the USA and Canada in Europe. And it does not mean only military potential of the allies from America. First of all I mean reliability of Europeans in eyes of our American partner. We cannot forget about help the United States of America offered to Europe after the end of II world war, about the help given in years of the "cold war", about security guarantees and nuclear umbrella. Invaluable meaning of the USA for the Alliance, for its military possibilities, has been visualised by NATO humanitarian operation in Kosovo.

Kosovo demonstrated effectivity and efficiency of activity, determination of implementation of planned intentions, and first of all - ability of elaboration of compromise, full consensus, not compliance to pressures from outside and consequence in realisation of undertaken decisions.

Nowadays, in the North Atlantic Alliance number of different undertakings and processes has been continued. Between other, they are:

- Internal adaptation of structures and mechanisms of the Alliance in relation with geopolitical changes in Europe;
- Implementation of, already mentioned by me, the New Strategic Concept, in which possibility of NATO's activity outside the treaty area of responsibility (so-called. non-art. 5 missions) has been confirmed. New dimension of NATO's works has been clearly underlined, what determines its answer on more and more often appearing conflicts and crises of local or regional range, permitting simultaneously to prevent them;
- Transformation of approach and relation of NATO to security issues. The necessity exists of clear reference to the new challenges and threats for the Alliance, as: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, smuggling of drugs, illegal transfer of military technology or weapons and fissile materials trade. However, undertaken activities should not weaken NATO as mechanism of collective defence;
- Implementation of the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) aiming at equalling challenges connected with impetuous development of the security environment in the Euro-Atlantic area. Its foundation is improvement of defence capabilities of the Alliance, and interoperability of the NATO armed forces and, if necessary, of armed forces of the Alliance and partner states, in aim of assurance of efficiency of multinational military operations in frames of full range of NATO's mission, especially in the context of crisis response;
- Implementation of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Initiative (WMDI). Initiation of this initiative can sufficiently contribute to the development of common efforts towards prevention to threats coming from WMD, in this context to the processes of proliferation of this weapons. Issue of the weapons of mass destruction should be a continuous object of international consultations, especially between the North Atlantic Alliance and the Russian Federation as well as between NATO and Ukraine.
- Development of European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) within NATO. Main axis of this initiatives is the endeavour to strengthen European members of the Alliance, also in the aspect of crisis situations activities, what in consequence should result in to increasing the sense of security on the continent. The Alliance had proved (both in the political and military dimension) its unique value as an

instrument of crisis reaction. So, process of development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) within the EU, at assumption, that European operations will refer exclusively to crisis situations, should not result in "division of competence" between NATO - responsible for collective defence and the European Union - leading activities in range of prevention and dissolving of crises. In this context the process of elaboration of mechanisms of co-operation between NATO and the UE should be underlined. They should regulate first of all the political and decision making aspects of common crisis prevention. Moreover, in the present phase of the development of the European defence identity an important element of activities will be availability of NATO assets and capabilities in future operations under strategic control of the UE.

- Development of effective and different programmes of co-operation and dialogue of NATO with the partner states in frames of the strengthened Partnership for Peace (participation of partners in "out of area" operations of the Alliance, strengthen of operational abilities within the PfP, further development of the Planning and Review Process - PARP - and closing co-operation by education and exercises), the EuroAtlantic Partnership Council and the Mediterranean dialogue as well as developing co-operation with Ukraine (NATO-Ukraine Council) and improvement of relations and renewal of pragmatic co-operation with Russia (NATO-Russia Council).
- Continuation of the "open door policy " of the North Atlantic Alliance. NATO should be open on membership of all European states, which respect "EuroAtlantic values", principles of NATO politico-military strategy and being able to contribute to strengthening security of the allies as well as of other states of the continent. In this context especially important should be the set of initiatives developing open door policy - so-called "Madrid' s package", among of which a key element is the Membership Action Plan. This document, being practical manifestation of the "open door policy" in detail qualifies mechanisms and themes of dialogue between the Alliance and the aspiring states in the pre-accession period.

All of this are only some initiatives and processes, which take place in the North Atlantic Alliance and in its nearest environment. NATO is a dynamic organisation, seeking of new concepts, ideas, solutions. Courageously enters the XXI century,

conscious of challenges, not only the Alliance and each NATO member but also the whole international community has to face. The Alliance tries to counteract them, to prevent, and also to soften their possible unfavourable results. But, as I already mentioned, the Organisation of North Atlantic Treaty, is not only bureaucratic and military machinery. The power of NATO is its human potential, their characters, intelligence, efficiency, professionalism, knowledge. And that is why so important is to develop and cultivate these features, which permit to lead the North Atlantic Alliance to the next 50 years of existing - towards the jubilee of 100-years of NATO.

The North Atlantic Alliance has been created in effect of the certain configuration, certain circumstances, which existed then in the international environment. The guiding principle of its rising was assurance of security and stability to the signatories of the Washington Treaty. These main NATO task, drawing origin directly from the Treaty, stayed unchanged as a leading goal of all other assignments, which Alliance decided to realise, to solidly and more effectively fulfil its mission in the Euro-Atlantic region.

Based on irrefutable, universal values - the Alliance standing on guard of the democratic order and peaceful coexistence, more than once proved, what an essential element NATO is in incessantly changing security architecture - not only in the European dimension, but also in the global one. Together with sometimes impetuous transformations of the international environment, also the Alliance through all the time of its fifty years existence has been transformed adapting itself to the surrounding realities. Adaptation of NATO to the new circumstances has been accompanied by simultaneous internal transformation, bearing fruits also with changes in the strategy - in degree which answers to challenges the Alliance has to face.

Today, from the perspective of time we can ascertain, that this extremely difficult task of the North Atlantic Alliance has been fully realised. The good result of this process is inclusion of the three new participants (enlargement), constructive co-operation with partner countries (dialogue and co-operation), specific "exportation of democracy" to the states, which do not know or do not want to know the rules of democracy (peaceful operations). This would not be possible, if not the flexibility, responsibility and consequence in actions and in leading the policy of NATO, in connection with sensibility, deep sense of loyalty and the friendship ties, which could

be developed without obstacles, everywhere NATO was present. These fundamental values are unchanged, in spite of often deep changes in the Alliance and in its doctrine.

I hope, that this work –at least in minimum degree - will contribute to better understanding the North Atlantic Alliance, its tasks, function, aims, structures, strategy and mechanisms of co-operation in the internal dimension, as well as in relations with Partners. If it will carry in a small part of knowledge to the scientific output dedicated to the Alliance, I will acknowledge, that my duty has been fulfilled.

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¹⁰⁰ Please note, that the following Bibliography is the same as the Final Product's. The Final Report is based on the Final Product, so I have decided not to copy it in the Annex, as the separate part of it, in order to avoidance of recurrence.

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ANNEX

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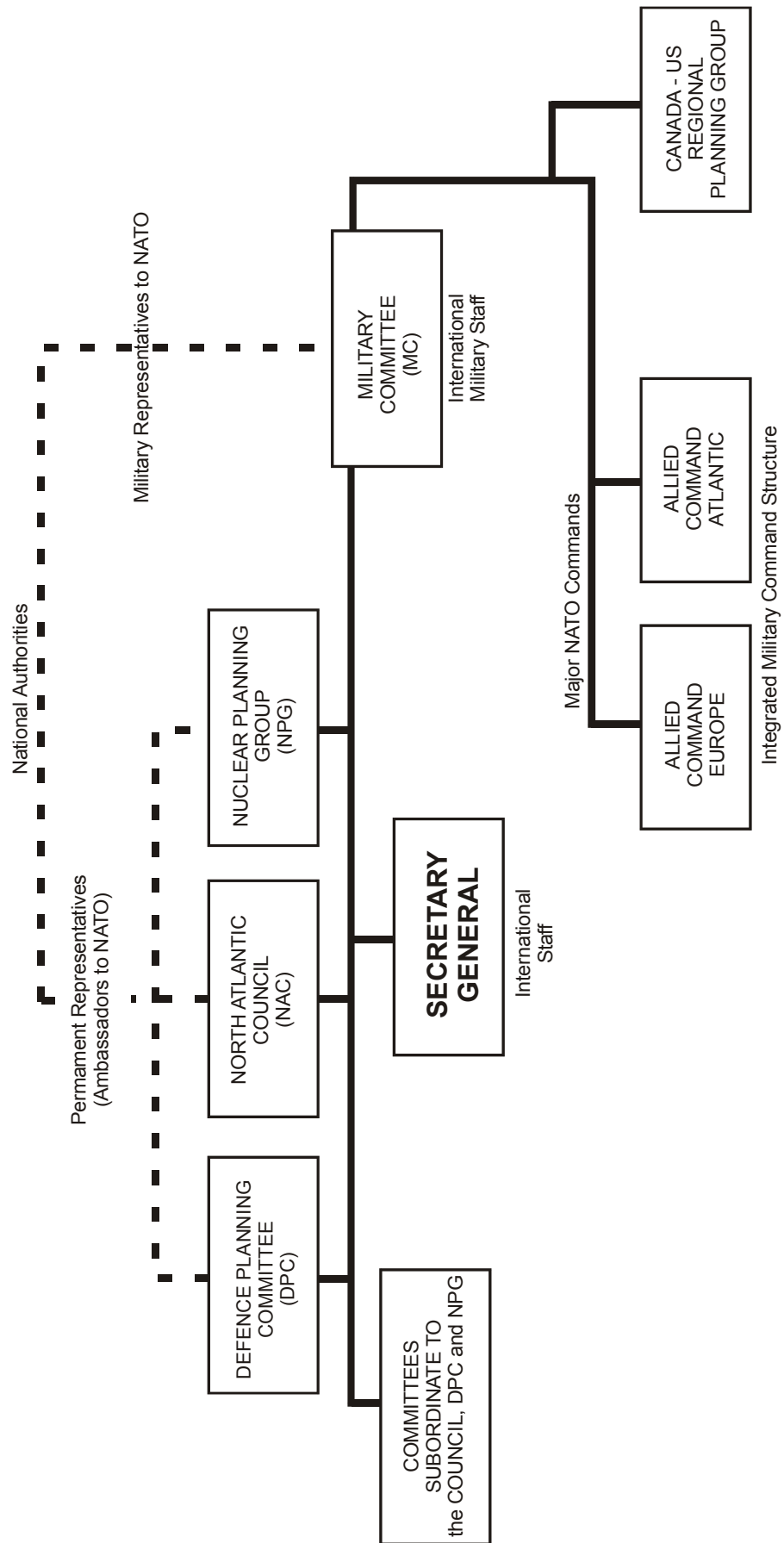
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2. Schematic Diagrams Put in the Final Product¹⁰¹

- NATO's Civil and Military Structure;
- Principal NATO Committees;
- Principal Institutions of Partnership Cooperation and Dialogue;
- NATO International Staff;
- Divisions of the International Staff;
- NATO's Military Structure;
- The International Military Staff;
- The Current Military Structure, Allied Command Europe;
- The Current Military Structure, Allied Command Atlantic.

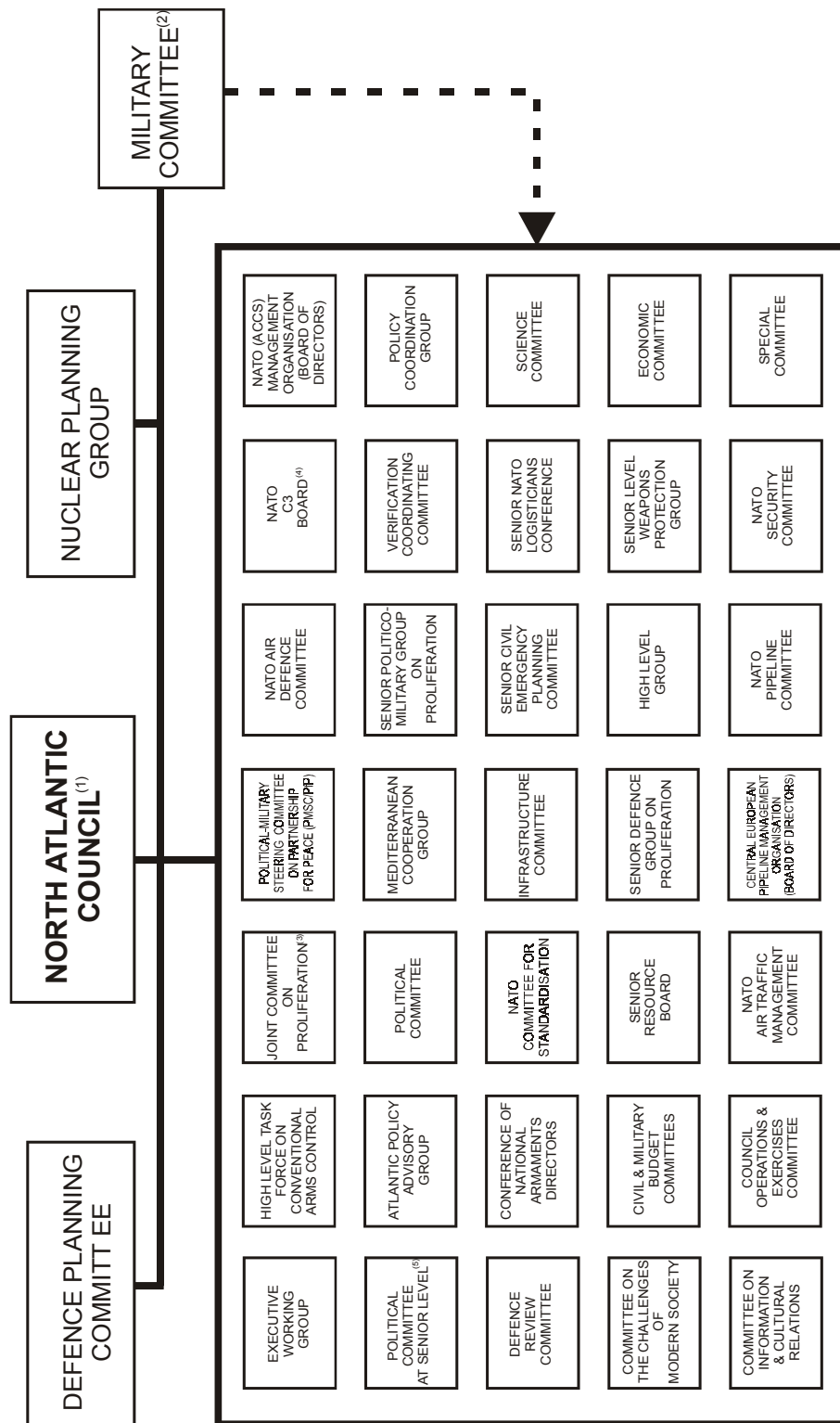
¹⁰¹ All these schemats are made in Corel Draw 9 format on the base of NATO Vademecum. The 50th Anniversary Edition, Brussels 1998, p. 36, 40, 108, 216, 218, 235, 238, 250, 252.

NATO's Civil and Military Structure



Source: The NATO Handbook. 50th Anniversary Edition, Brussels 1998, p. 36.

Principal NATO Committees



(1) Most of the above committees report to the Council. Some are responsible to the Defence Planning Committee or Nuclear Planning Group. Certain committees are joint civil and military bodies which report both to the Council, Defence Planning Committee or Nuclear Planning Group and to the Military Committee.

(2) The Military Committee is subordinate to the North Atlantic Council and Defence Planning Committee but has a special status as the senior military authority in NATO. The role of the Military Committee is described in Chapter II.

(3) Senior Politico - Military Group on Proliferation plus Senior Defence Group on Proliferation.

(4) NATO C3 (Consultation, Command and Control) Board.

(5) Reinforced with experts as required.

Principal Institutions of Partnership Cooperation and Dialogue

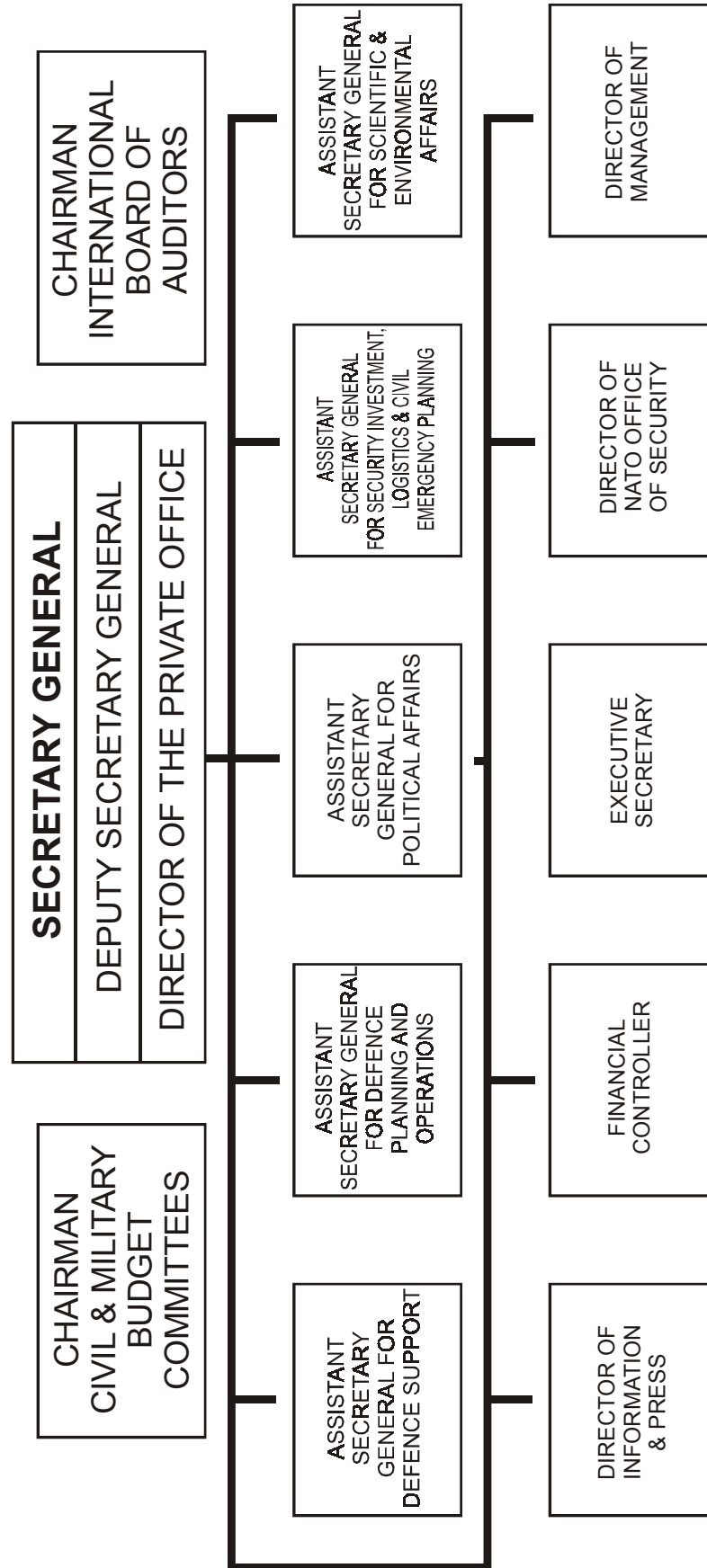


(1) Many NATO committees regularly meet in EAPC or Partnership for Peace format (see chart of Principal NATO Committees).

(2) In addition to meeting among Allies, the Mediterranean Cooperation Group also meets with representatives of countries participating in the Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue.

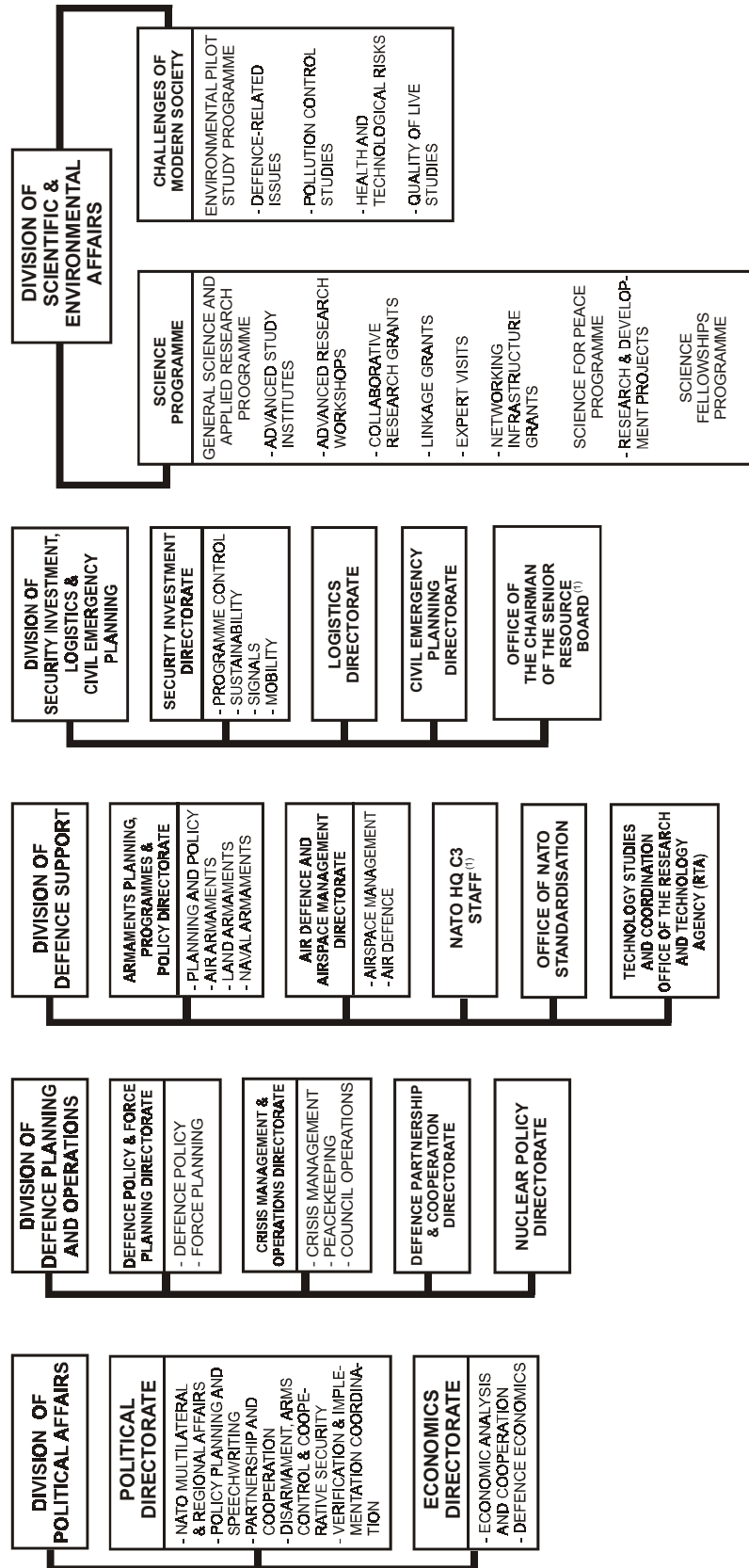
Source: The NATO Handbook..., op. Cit., p. 108.

NATO International Staff



Source: The NATO Handbook..., op. cit., p. 216.

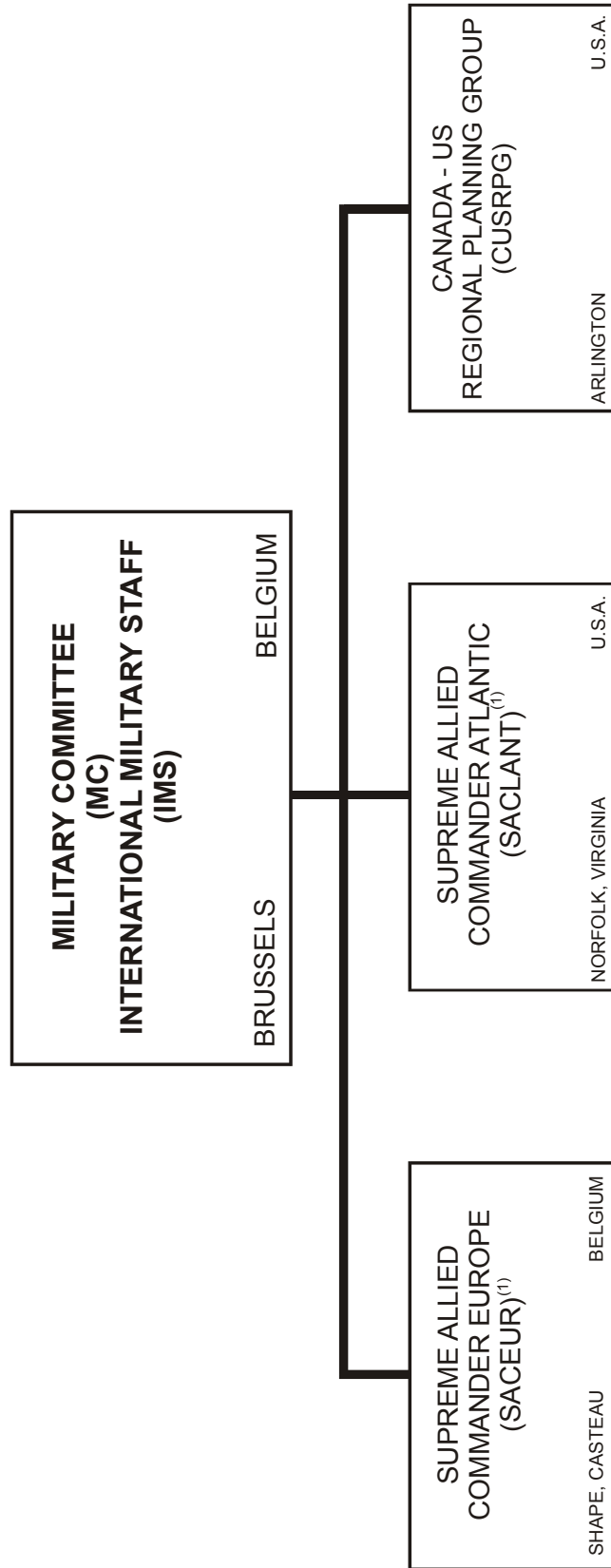
Divisions of the International Staff



(1) The management of the NATO Headquarters Consultation, Command and Control (C3) Staff is a coordinated civil/military responsibility and comes under the authority of both the Assistant Secretary General for Defence Support and the Director of IMS.
(2) Not an International Staff appointment

Source: The NATO Handbook..., op. cit., p. 218.

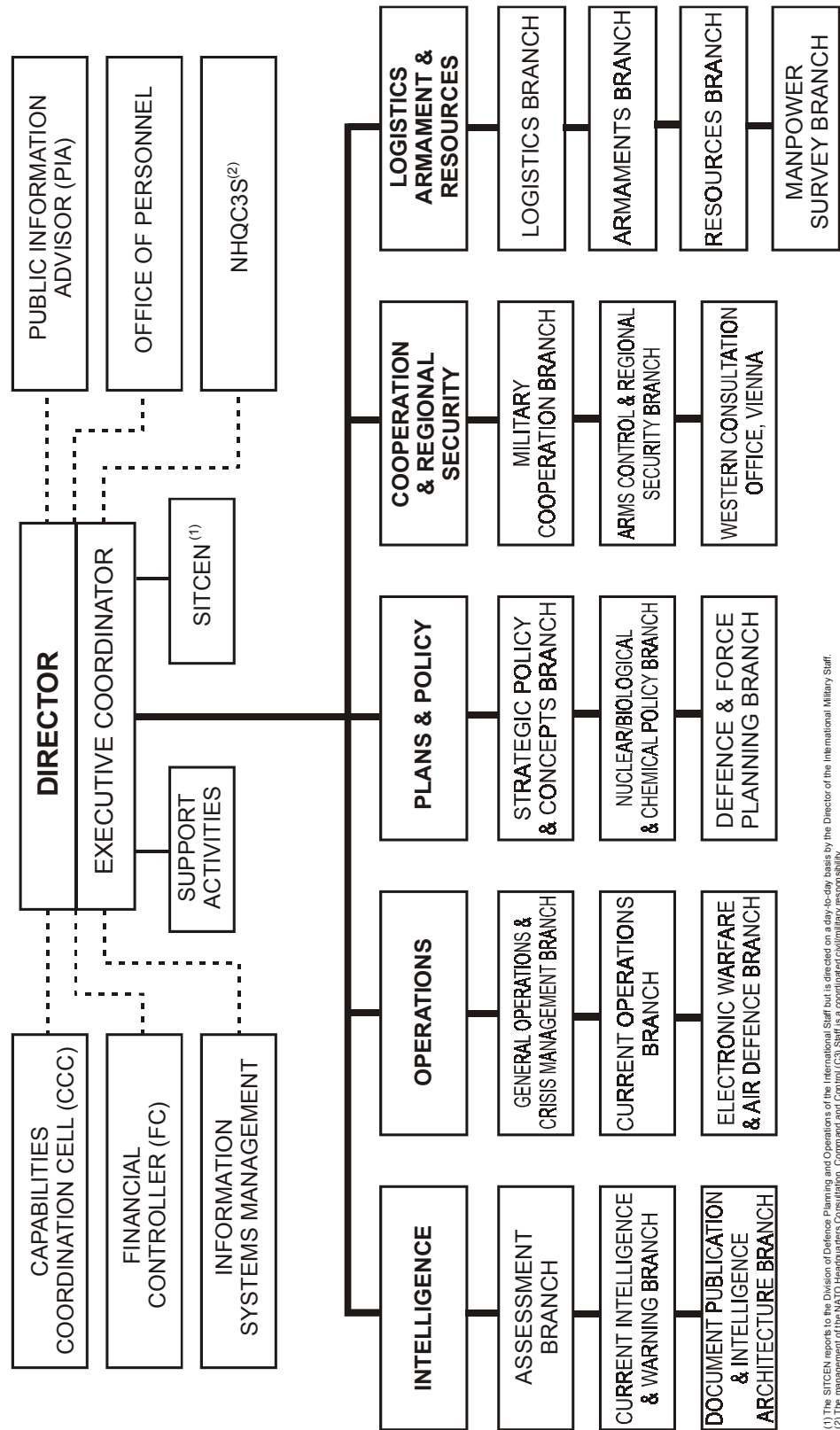
NATO's Military Structure



(1) Major NATO Commander (MNC)

Source: The NATO Handbook..., op. cit., p. 235.

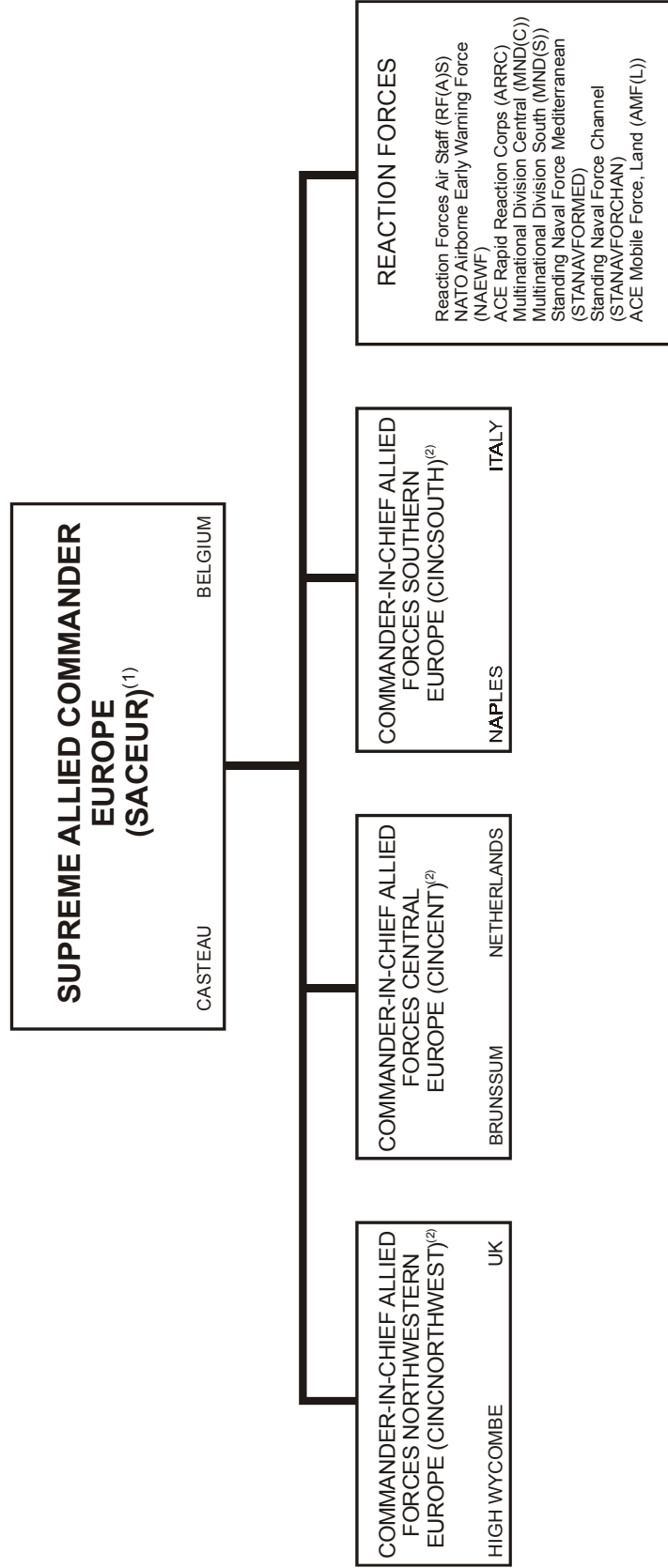
The International Military Staff



(1) The SITCEN reports to the Division of Defence Planning and Operations of the International Staff but is directed on a day-to-day basis by the Director of the International Military Staff.
 (2) The management of the NATO Headquarters Consultation, Command and Control (C3) Staff is a coordinated civil/military responsibility and comes under the authority of both the Director of the IMS and the Assistant Secretary General for Defence Support.

The Current Military Structure

Allied Command Europe

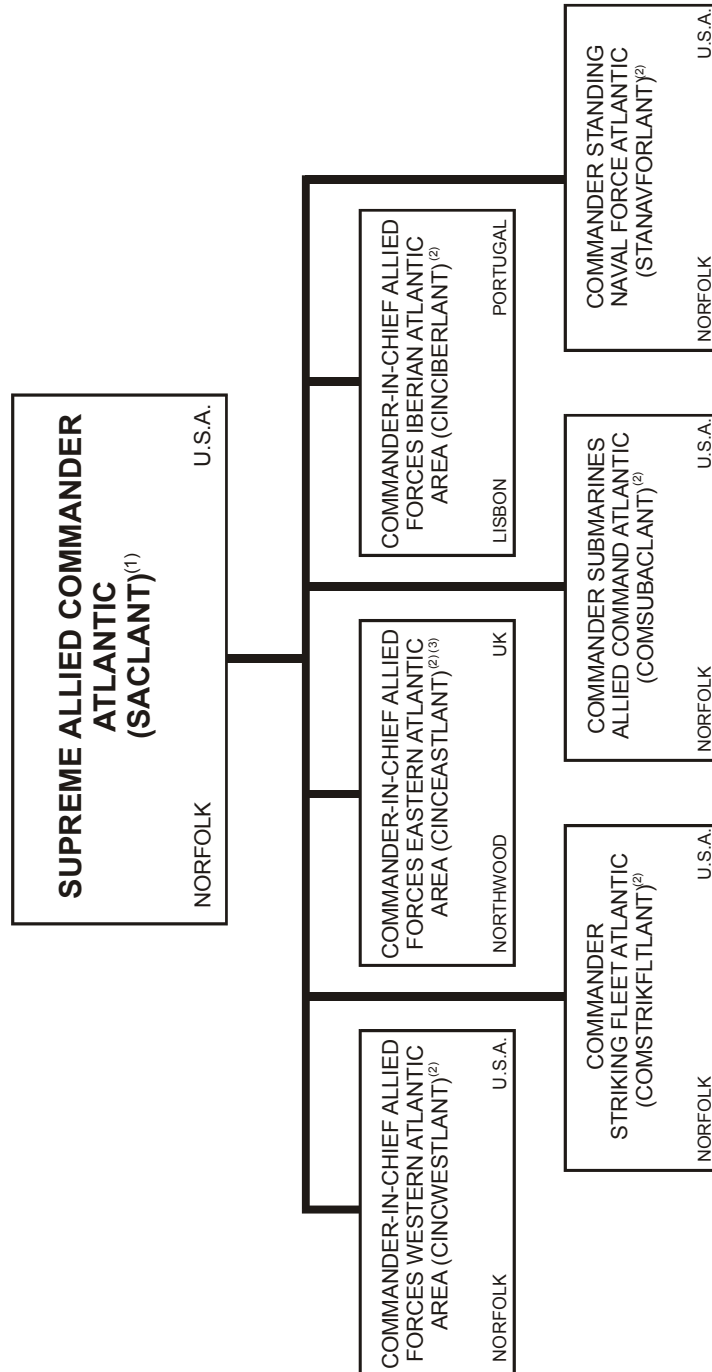


(1) Major NATO Commander (MNC)
(2) Major Subordinate Commander (MSC)

Source: The NATO Handbook..., op. cit., p. 250.

The Current Military Structure

Allied Command Atlantic



(1) Major NATO Commander (MNC)
 (2) Major Subordinate Commander (MSC)
 (3) CINCEASTLANT simultaneously serves as COMNAV/NORTHWEST and as such also comes under the Major Subordinate Command CINCNORTHWEST and under the Major NATO Command ACE.

Source: The NATO Handbook..., op. cit., p. 252.