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**A Possible Remake of Cold War:**  
**NATO Response to Crimea Takes Over Done by Russia**

Thesis

By

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Hereby assert that this thesis is the product of my own work, and it has not been previously proposed by any other party in order to attain academic degree. Any idea and information gained from other party is officially cited in accordance to the valid scientific writing method.

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Bandung, 13 January 2018



Retno Puspita Ningtyas

## Abstract

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Russia and NATO had always seen each other as enemies. While NATO tries to extend its membership to East Europe and Ukraine, Russia sees this movement as threatening to them. The Crimea takes over done by Russia in 2014 proven further how much of an enemy and threat NATO is in Russia's eyes. NATO condemns the takeover and they promise they will help Ukraine in any way possible considering that Russia had sent in military troop to Crimea. This research is written in attempt to understand and to see the amount of power that both side has and whether if they balance of power or that Russia is the hegemon of East Europe.

This research uses the concept of occupation, balance of power, and regional hegemony as an attempt to analyze the situation. It is revealed that Russia takes over to Crimea is actually a form of military occupation, in which they do use military power to take over the territory. While Waltz argues that it is about the necessity movement a state must do in order to seek their own preservation, and balance of power happens whether if they mean it or not. Marsheimer argues that it is all about gaining power through self-help and becoming hegemony so that state will not be attacked.

Russia is in fact using their military power to take over Crimea and it drives a respond from NATO, in which they promise to help Ukraine. From NATO response of helping out Ukraine and asking its member around Europe for military support in order to look out for Russia and not outright attack Russia, it is easy to conclude that Russia has successfully become East Europe hegemon.

Key words: Russia, NATO, occupation, hegemony, military movement, Crimea

## Abstrak

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Russia dan NATO selalu melihat satu dan lainnya sebagai musuh. Dimana NATO melakukan pelebaran anggota ke Eropa Timur dan Ukraina, Russia melihatnya sebagai ancaman bagi mereka. Pengambilalihan Crimea oleh Russia membuktikan seberapa serius mereka melihat NATO sebagai ancaman. Pengambilalihan itu sendiri dianggap sebagai hal terkutuk oleh NATO dan mereka berjanji akan membantu Ukraina. Skripsi ini ditulis untuk mengerti kekuatan Russia dan NATO dan bagaimana mereka akan mengimbangi satu sama lain (*balance of power*).

Skripsi ini menggunakan konsep okupasi, *balance of power*, dan hegemoni regional untuk menganalisis data. Russia terbukti melakukan okupasi militer dalam pengambilalihan Crimea, dimana mereka menggunakan kekuatan militer. Waltz berpendapat bahwa semua gerakan yang dilakukan oleh Negara itu untuk melindungi diri mereka sendiri, dan *balance of power* terjadi walau mereka tidak bermaksud untuk melakukannya. Marsheimer berpendapat bahwa semua ini merupakan tentang *power*, tentang menambah kekuatan agar tidak diserang oleh pihak lain dan menjadi hegemoni di region itu.

Fakta penggunaan kekuatan militer oleh Russia mendorong respon dari NATO, dimana mereka berjanji akan membantu Ukraina. Dari respon NATO yang berjanji untuk membantu Ukraina dan meminta bantuan dari anggotanya, cukup mudah untuk menyimpulkan bahwa Russia berhasil menjadi hegemon di Eropa Timur.

Kata Kunci: Russia, NATO, okupasi, hegemoni, pergerakan militer, Crimea

## Foreword and Acknowledgement

*“So this is what it feels like. It is a much more wonderful feeling than anything I had ever imagined. Wonderful...but it hurts sometimes. I wonder. I just want to say thank you for everything. Maybe that is why it hurts.”- Yuna, Final Fantasy X*

*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim,*

Finally, it is complete. Finally “A Possible Remake Of Cold War: NATO Response to Crimea Takes Over Done by Russia” is complete. This thesis includes what you might expect from the title, it is about Russia and NATO or to be precise, whether there is balance of power between Russia and NATO after Crimea Occupation in 2014, or if Russia gains the hegemon in East Europe. Though it is written by an undergraduate that might not know a whole lot yet, I do hope that this thesis satisfy the readers in one way or another.

This thesis had taken probably more time of my life than it is necessary and I am more than grateful to have it now finished. It has been a huge struggle, filled with blood, sweat and tears and a lot of screaming and a lot of tumbles and rolls and scratches and probably more frustration than necessary but it has finished. If it were not for everyone around me and the support I got, I would still probably scream, roll, and cry over this thesis. Therefore, with thus, I would like to express my gratitude for everyone that has accompanied me through this journey.

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her study, for all the sweats, all the tears, all the laughter's we share. I'm especially grateful of you, papa, you worked far away from home, from your family, from your wife and daughters yet you always keep strong, you always care for us and check on us, even though you're so far away, never once in my life I feel far from you. I know that takes a completely hard work to do, I know you are tired from work and I know I ask for a lot, but please do know that I love you, I really do. To my mama, you're one of the strongest woman I know, your husband works far from home and you're left with us ever since we were just children, yet you also kept strong, sure you do show how much you miss papa and all those jazz that make me and my sister tease you, but you always shower us with so much love we sometimes feel suffocated. I know I barely ever say how grateful I am of you and how much I love you, and I know I am not the best child a mother could ever ask but I am always grateful of you. Always. For my mbak, Wulan Cahyaning Lestari, I know I'm annoying, I'm a huge brat and I whine like a LOT, but you always make me feel loved and cared for, you're always there for me despite everything and beat me up whenever I need a beating. I know I don't say or show how much I love you enough, but please do know that I really do. You're my best friend and the best sister that someone could ever ask for, so please, even after you get married and have children, please know that as your little sister you can always count on me to be there for you. Of course, I will also mention my cat, Robert, or lovingly called Bobby. Thank you for sleeping on my laptop while it's open and closed and is always available for cuddles when I need one, you're one of world's best reliever ever.

For my ever-loving advisor, Dr. I Nyoman Sudira, Drs., M.Si thank you for much for your patience in guiding me through this thesis. I know I was kind of slow in taking your advice and understanding your input, but believe me I try. I know you might think you have gone too far or being too harsh to us, but believe me, your tough love works and if anything, I do not think I will get as far as I am right now without you.

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For everyone in my batch, every UNPAR's staff, every gojek driver, every angkot driver, and everyone that I cannot mention. Once again thank you, thank you for being there, thank you for all your support, without you I wouldn't be where I am right now. May God bless you all and give you the best kind of future one can only hope.

Bandung, December 13 2017

Retno Puspita Ningtyas



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This chapter will serve as a prologue to help the readers to comprehend how this research works, as it will present guidance and a sneak peek to its readers. The author's hypothesis along with basic information regarding the research's background will also be provided for the reader to know what to expect in later chapters after reading the first chapter. Other than that, this chapter will also serve as a foundation for reader to understand the topic that will be brought thorough this research.

### 1.1 Background

Russia's dominance over Crimea could be tracked way back a couple hundred years ago. The Black Sea, which now ruled under Crimea, and some under, had been resided by The Russia's naval fleet ever since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, the state was struggling against the Ottoman Empire, now known as Turkey, over naval superiority, and as a result of the Russian-Ottoman war, a Peace Treaty was made between the two powerful empires of the time. It resulted in a division

of lands, and Crimea, along with several other lands between the rivers of Dnieper and Bug were declared independent from Turkey.<sup>1</sup>

Russia was able to dominate over the Black Sea and Crimea even after the end of Cold War. As the Soviet Union met its end at 1991, following the steps of the end of the Cold War, Ukraine was given sovereignty and claimed Crimea as theirs, therefore also claiming Black Sea as their territory. By 1997, Russia and Ukraine entered the “Partition Treaty on the Status and Conditions of the Black Sea Fleet”. The treaty was roughly about Russia having 81.7% of the Black Sea fleet and Ukraine having 18.3% of it. The treaty also somewhat emphasizes the right for Russia to use and dominate over the Port of Sevastopol until 2017.<sup>2</sup>

In an attempt of even strengthening their domination and power over the Black Sea, on March 18<sup>th</sup> 2014, Vladimir Putin as the President of Russia, has signed the ratification of “the admission of the Republic of Crimea into the Russian Federation and creation of new sub-federal entities,” treaty. This treaty was also signed by several other Russian parties at the same day, showing their interest and the nation urgency and need over the warm-water port. From the day the treaty signed, the Republic of Crimea was considered as part of the Russian Federation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, “Black Sea Fleet,” accessed on February 8 2017

<sup>2</sup>Ines Gillich, “Illegally evading attribution? Russia’s use of unmarked troops in Crimea and international humanitarian law,” *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* Nov, 2015: 1194, *InfoTrac Educational Database 2017*, accessed on February 8 2017

<sup>3</sup>“Putin signs laws on reunification of Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol with Russia,” March 21 2014, accessed on February 10 2017

The takeover was not simply accepted by every Ukrainians, only Crimean people saw themselves as part of the Russia Federation and most of them were unable to accept the fact that their nation was taken away by other state. Ukraine's Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk accused Russia to robbery, one of international scale and would never be accepted by the Kiev. Even though Russia claimed that they haven't used any of their armed forces in Crimea, a part of Ukraine they'd like to claim as theirs, the government of Ukraine and even the international observers had claimed to see around 22,000 armed Russian troops were already prepared in Crimea at the start of the crisis. They were allowed to be in Crimea under the "Partition Treaty on the Status and Conditions of the Black Sea Fleet," however, their movements still need to be agreed by the government of Ukraine, otherwise it will be seen as illegal and disruptive.<sup>4</sup>

The world was at concern and some of the greatest powers of the time successfully called on an emergency meeting, trying to agree on a proper response on how they would deal with Russia's so-called invasion. NATO released an image captured by its own satellite showing Russian armored vehicles and artillery crossing to Ukraine for at least a week despite the Kremlin's denial.<sup>5</sup> Some had gone as far to accusing Putin brushing off the Helsinki Accords of 1975, the Paris Charter of 1990, the Budapest Memorandum of 1994, and other agreements and commitments made to keep the peace in Europe after the World War II ended (Balkans are exception). Many thought that if this problem left with

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<sup>4</sup> Matt Smith and Alla Eschenko, "Ukraine cries 'robbery' as Russia annexes Crimea," March 18 2014, *CNN*, accessed on 10 February 2017

<sup>5</sup> Shaun Walker, "Ukraine Crisis: Emergency NATO, UN, and EU meetings after Russian invasion claim," Friday August 29 2014, *The Guardian*, accessed on February 9 2017

no actual response, other authoritarian regimes might think that they could get away with such aggression toward their neighboring countries.<sup>6</sup>

Through their stealth forces, Russia attempted to send signals that they were trying to democratize, liberalize, and integrate their neighboring countries. Panic however arises over the Kremlin when President Viktor Yanukovich fled from Ukraine on February 22 2014. The western tried to understand Putin's 'democratizing' attempt, as there was no such attempt done to the Eastern Europe after the fallacy of Soviet Union. Admittedly the western had also done a little when Russia invade Georgia back then in 2008.<sup>7</sup>

## **1.2 Research Focus**

### **1.2.1 Problem Identification**

While the western world sees the expansion and enlargement of organizations as North Atlantic Treaty Organization toward the Eastern Europe, that was once their enemy, as a contribution to stabilize and create a better Europe, The Kremlin sees this policy as a way for them to destabilize the European security. NATO and many Western capitals had seen Russia as a yet-to-be friend where they attempted to develop partnerships. However, Moscow itself wants to be isolated. Secretary

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<sup>6</sup> David J. Kramer, "The Ukraine Invasion: One Year Later," *World Affairs*, April 2015, accessed on February 10 2017

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



General of NATO Rasmussen once said that Russia was their partner that could cooperate in Alliance; senior Russian officials denied it by saying that NATO enlargement policy and ballistic missile defense project activities were not something to be done by partners.<sup>8</sup>

The Russian had an initial plan to strengthen their Black Sea Fleet power. The plan was to add six new frigates, another six new submarines, and more big and small vessels and carriers for their naval port in Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet. But not long after the Crimea occupation, Russia's president, Vladimir Putin, had told the Ministry of Defense to immediately formulate a development program for the Black Sea Fleet in order to be able to watch over the US and NATO naval operations there. They were believed as threats for Russia's strategic nuclear forces.<sup>9</sup> The Kremlin had added not only what they initially planned, but a lot of heavy military equipment, fighters, bombers, and advanced air defense systems just to prevent any intelligence coming from NATO and its' allies. NATO had seen a sudden stop over the 25 year long attempt to create peaceful partnership in Europe done by Russia's occupation and has looked to the Baltic states. Though even with NATO's attempt, there is also risk on them getting into the blindside of the Black Sea.<sup>10</sup>

NATO itself states to stands by Ukraine. This crisis, as Rasmussen said, had serious implications for the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area as

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<sup>8</sup> "The Ukraine crisis and NATO-Russia relations," accessed on February 9 2017

<sup>9</sup> Stephen J. Blank, "Imperial ambitions: Russia's military buildup," *World Affairs*, 2015: 71, *InfoTrac Educational Database 2017*, accessed on February 8 2017

<sup>10</sup> Robbie Gramer, "Changing Tides," *Foreign Affairs*, February 8 2016, accessed on 9 February 2017

whole. He thought after the Cold War ended, it was the gravest threat to European security. He thought that there is no necessity for Ukraine to be divided and every state ought to fend for their own sovereignty.<sup>11</sup>

With the promise of help, the allies agreed on providing military trainers in an effort to modernize and improve the capability of Ukrainians and other allied armed troops. Not only that, they also agreed to strengthen Kiev's government in a political cooperation and created several trust funds to help the needed defense capacity, it includes several areas as such logistic, command and control, cyber defense, and assisting retired military personnel to get back and adapt to the life of everyday civilians. Even though NATO did not directly send in military personnel or machinery, and they are not expected to do so, they actively increase their allies' capacity around the Eastern Europe.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> NATO, "NATO Security General: Ukraine Crisis is 'Gravest Threat to European Security' Since Cold War," March 6 2014, accessed on February 10 2017

<sup>12</sup> Paul Belkin, Derek E. Mix, Steven Woehrel, "NATO and US Military Response," *NATO: Response to the Crisis in Ukraine and Security Concerns in Central and Eastern Europe*, July 31 2014, accessed on February 11 2017 <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43478.pdf>

### 1.2.2 Research Limitation

With the problem identified as explained above, the author would like to create a border or limit around this research in fear of it getting too out of hand, out of topic and far-fetched.

In this research, the actors will be limited to Russia and NATO. However, Ukraine might often be mentioned as the state of concern. The field scope is Eastern Europe. The time limitation will be around 2014, the start of Russia takes over until 2016, a few years after Crimea officially reunite with Russia as it is the most crucial moments through the event.

### 1.2.3 Research Question

Combining the background and the problem that had been identified above, the question that will highlight the whole research is: **“How does NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) response to East Europe after the revelation of Russia’s armed force involvement on Crimea takes over done by Russia in 2014?”**

## **1.3 Research Objective and Contribution**

### **1.3.1 Research Objective**

This research will describe the situation of Crimea takes over and the response NATO give toward Russia's action of taking over Crimea. To answer the research question mentioned above, this research will both try to describe and analyst NATO's response. First, in order to understand the purpose and the action taken by NATO in responding to the Crimea take over, it should be identified whether if Russia simply annexed Crimea or they occupy the region. After understanding whether if it is an annexation or occupation, it is possible to analyze whether if NATO response is a form of balance of power, or not. From that analysis, we can also see the position of Russia and NATO in Eastern Europe, is it anarchical or if one of them is hierarchy to the region.

### **1.3.2 Research Contribution**

This research is hopefully will contribute to the academic world in the means of meeting the needs of academicians, researchers, analysts, and the general audience who are looking for a further insight of the nature between Russia and

NATO after the revelation of Russia's armed troop during the Crimea takes over done in 2014. This research is written with some limitations that might leave out details that will further help others to understand this event. With that, hopefully with more events and data coming in the future, there will be other researcher interested enough with the topic to continue on the research of this topic on the upcoming years.

#### **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

To understand further about Crimea takes over, as what we would call it through this research, we also have to understand the basic meaning of military occupation – or occupation for simpler and shorter term. Though it is considered as a common term, the international world never really bother on deciding a true meaning of 'Occupation'. Various conventions on the laws of war touch the surface of the idea of what occupation is the most important indication would be The Hague Regulations 1907, Geneva Convention 1949 and Geneva Protocol I 1977.<sup>13</sup>

While The Hague Regulations focuses on mainly occupation during the war period, the Geneva Conventions touches more on making law of occupation, offered a more implicit definition, and acknowledge that war is not necessary for a

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<sup>13</sup> Adam Roberts, "What is a Military Occupation?" *British Yearbook of International Law*, Volume 55, Issue 1, 1 January 1985, accessed August 30<sup>th</sup> 2017

state to occupy another. The Geneva Protocol I simply added a detail that the law on occupations is applicable even in situations where the occupied territory was not universally viewed as having been part of ‘the territory of a High Contracted Party’.<sup>14</sup>

To close off it is safe to conclude that the concept of military occupation has international characteristic. Most occupations start by military invasion though there is no exact period between what might be considered as merely an invasion or actually trying to occupy. It is a way to control over a territory, which is not listed as part of the occupying entity, without the violation of both parties’ actual sovereignty.<sup>15</sup>

In article 42 of the 1907, Hague Regulation it is stated that a territory is considered occupied when it is placed under the authority of hostile army, and it extends when the authority becomes established. In their common Article 2, the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 states that this situation also apply even if the territory meets no armed resistance. The occupation itself started when there is military invasion or there is a proclamation of occupation. It also ended with the withdrawal of the invading military or through a treaty or agreement of some sort.<sup>16</sup>

In understanding NATO’s reaction toward Russia’s occupation to Crimea and the main reason why Russia takes over Crimea, the concept of balance of power

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<sup>14</sup> *ibid*

<sup>15</sup> *ibid*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*

will be used. In a sense that we will be seeing both parties attempt on balance of power or not. The concept of regional hegemon will also be used to see whether if Russia gains the right to be East Europe hegemon

There is no exact consensus on what to define 'balance of power' as. The term often used loosely, which leads to confusion and vagueness. The balance of power concept assumes that as soon as a state's position within the anarchical state system becomes a threat to the survival of the others, a countervailing initiative, based on one or more actors, is created to restrain the rising state and ensure the preservation of the state system. States need counter-balance to any potential hegemon to ensure its survivability.<sup>17</sup> In this research balance of power will be determined as a condition where an entity manage to counter-balance a rising entity's power.

According to Kenneth Waltz, the nature of a state is to gain war, in a sense that war doesn't always to happen, but in time where each state decide things for itself, war might happen anytime. We live in a world of anarchical system, where there is nothing that governs the higher power as such state. However, if we translate anarchy, as chaos and destructions, then we are wrong, in fact, most war and chaos happens within hierarchical system as such a state. Anarchy does not mean violence, it is not just about the absence of governing power, but it is about structure, the structure of international system.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ralf Emmers, "The role of balance of power factor within and beyond regimes for cooperative security," *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in the ASEAN and the ARF*

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth Waltz, "Anarchic Structures and Balance of Power," *Theory of International Politics*, Illionis: Waveland Press Incorporated, 2010

The international system is one of self-help, in other word, state has no one to rely on, and therefore they have to gain means to protect themselves against others. In a system as such, units worry about their survival and the worry conditions their behavior. State will always worry about securing themselves in this system. Worries create insecurity, and this insecurity makes it harder for these units to work with each other instead of against each other. Even so, spending on defense is rather unproductive even if it is unavoidable.<sup>19</sup>

For balance of power to happens, state needs to be in an anarchical international system and has desire to survive as its own. The Balance of Power theory assumes state will; at minimum seek for their own safety and at maximum drive for universal domination. For him, balance of power happens whether if the world meant it or not, every actions produces outcomes, and whether if it is expected or not, there will be a reaction, and thus how balance of power is formed.<sup>20</sup>

While Kenneth Waltz focuses on his argument on how the anarchical system does not mean violence and that state's action creates balance of power whether if they mean it or not, John Mearsheimer focuses more about state and their need of powers. He argues that the structure of the international system pushes state to pursue power. In a system where there is no guaranteed safety, it makes perfect sense that each state gains power to be powerful enough to defend themselves. He

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid



further argues that it is not as if conquest or domination is good, but being extra powerful can ensure a state's survival.<sup>21</sup>

The more powerful a state is, compared to their nearest competitor, the less likely they will be attacked. With this logic, states keep on looking for opportunities to shift the balance of power to their favor and to keep tab on which state is trying to fight them for it. The balance of power is where state invests in tangible military assets in order to keep them safe. Even so, with the anarchic nature of the international system and the desire to survive added with the uncertainty of other entity's intention, a state will rather lead itself to become the regional hegemony instead of just meddling around being 'balanced' with its competitor.<sup>22</sup>

NATO is known as a collective security organization. In a collective security system, the enemy is a threat to regional or international peace security, therefore states should cooperate to avoid said threat. State that gathers up will create a Collective Defense arrangement where they will single out any possibility of threat and defense each other from it. By accepting this system, it means that state understand the almost impossibility of being alone and that it is better to work with each other to increase their own survivability. In this thesis we will see how

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<sup>21</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

NATO members use their advantage as a member of a Collective Security Organization in order to counter Russia.<sup>23</sup>

### 1.5 Research Method

In this section, the research method in analyzing the topic raised will be given. The methodological approach that will be used is **qualitative**. It means that this research will follow the notion of inquiring, learning, understanding, and investigate certain events, mostly data, in a systematical manner. This method is chosen that this research would be able to focus on the problem and answer the research question.<sup>24</sup>

The method that will be taken on collecting the data for this research will be primarily done by library research. Most data will be taken from relating books, starting from the issued to forms of balance of power. Some data might also be taken from online sources, e-books, journals, articles, and other supporting data that will be processed later on.

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<sup>23</sup> Stefan Aleksovski, Oliver Bakreski, Biljana Avramovska, "Collective Security – The Role of International Organization – Implications in International Security Order," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol 5 (Rome: MCSER Publishing), December 2014

<sup>24</sup> Sharan B. Merriam, "What is Qualitative Research?" *Qualitative Research a Guide to Design and Implementation*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009, accessed on March 25 2014, page 3-4

## 1.6 Research Organization

The outline of the research paper will be divided as follows:

1. Chapter I: Introduction – This chapter is a form of introduction given to reader to understand the reason behind why this research is made. It will include a brief background on Russia annexation to Ukraine and how NATO response to their military involvement, the research question and contribution of the research and of course the focus of this whole thesis.
2. Chapter II: Crimea Takes Over and The revelation of military movement by Russia – In this chapter we will see the reasons, the area taken and Russia military movement to further emphasize that what Russia had done to Crimea is not just a mere annexation. It seems to be important as an author to decide and put a firm ground of opinion and common understanding – in order to make it easier for readers to understand, that what Russia had done to Crimea is a form of occupation.
  - a. Chapter II.I: The purpose of Crimea’s take over and the reasons behind it— to understand further about Crimea take over, we have to understand the purpose and reasons behind it. We will see the general purpose and reasons given by the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin
  - b. Chapter II.II: Crimea and Black Sea as Russia area of interest – In order of having a deeper understanding about the Crimea takes over, we will see the area that Russia finds as important and decide

to take, which is Crimea. We will further see that the fact Crimea borders the Black Sea would become one of the main reasons why Russia takes over Crimea.

c. Chapter II.III: Military Movement done by Russia –

Using the concept of occupation, we will see how Russia military movement classifies this takes over as occupation. We will also see how easy and quick it is for Crimea to ‘surrender’ themselves to Russia.

3. Chapter III: NATO response to Crimea takes over – In this chapter, we will see how NATO reaction to Crimea takes over translates itself in gaining balance of power. On the other hand, we will also see how Crimea takes over is a mean for Russia to gain balance of power as well. In another word, both Russia and NATO are trying to secure their own place in the international system.

a. Chapter III.I: The difference between Russia and NATO over their view on Crimea takes over – we will see whether if Russia and NATO gains balance of power in accordance to Kenneth Waltz’s view or if Russia wants something more than just balance of power. Waltz once argues that for balance of power to happens, state needs to be in an anarchical international system and has desire to survive as its own. Therefore, it is safe to say that balance of power might happen as long as there is a state that embrace self-help, and have a concern to maintain their position in such system.

- b. Chapter III.II: Russia and NATO movement after Crimea officially reunite with Russia – we will be seeing if Russia wants balance of power or to become regional hegemon in accordance to John Mearsheimer. In which he argues that balance of power happens when an entity strengthen their power, may it be expanding their area or increasing their military power, to gain relative power instead of absolute one. But state might as well pursue the means to become the region hegemon instead of having status quo in balance of power.
4. Chapter IV: Conclusion- this chapter will conclude all findings made in the previous chapters and combine them. It will be concluded holding to the Research Questions and data used to write the analysis.

## **1.7 Literature Review**

NATO RESPONSE TO RUSSIA AFTER CRIMEA: Consequences and Challenges the European and International Security

Dimitirios Dagdeverenis, Bridging Europe

NATO considered Russia's military meddling as a major security threat to the Euro-Atlantic. They have violated the international law principles of territorial and sovereignty. In a way to show their disagreement with Russia's military involvement, in April 2014 NATO suspended all practical political and military agreement and cooperation with Russia and decided to send aid toward Ukraine instead. This enhanced cooperation between NATO and Eastern European non-member states shows development on how the Alliances also focus on the East and Russia.

Starting from April 2014, NATO's intention on helping out and increase cooperation with Ukraine shows by pursuing training programmers, joint exercises, provision of technical equipment to Ukraine armed forces, supporting defense reform and sending advisor to the state. Five Trust Funds were also manifested to provide assistance in security and defense.

At the NATO WALES SUMMIT 2014 held in September, the members adopted a Readiness Action Plan, which includes a pledge of members to increase their military spending by 2% of GDP by the next ten years and also to address the fluctuating changes in the European (especially in the Eastern part) defense and security. The Readiness Action Plan might not point the Russian threat in clear focus, but it is understandable that under the Plan, there will be an increase of member's forces and exercises.

In the perspective of the military, Russia was seen as a threat to The European security. It was perceived by not only Eastern NATO members, but also by non-members such as Finland, Sweden, and Georgia given that they are closer to Russia and actually has Russians presence in their territories. The military features of Western-Russian rivalry mean that NATO (a military organization) has increased its role in European security. With this, NATO would try to continue leading Europe in improving security and decreasing threats. Russia was no longer considered as a potential partner as NATO decided to end all kind of agreement they once had.

The missing points in this journal would be how NATO sees whether if Russia takes over is a form of annexation or occupation. Sure, they claimed it as a breach in one's sovereignty but the writer doesn't really explain in what form. It does not say whether if NATO had actual 'response' itself and only try to help out in a way so that they don't seem idle.

The author's position in this research is that Russia occupy Crimea and that NATO is being idle and even almost lazy, as if they do not want to help Ukraine but they are afraid that if they do not act out they will be criticized.



## Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in the ASEAN and the ARF

Ralf Emmers

The role of balance of power factor within and beyond regimes for cooperative security

There is no exact consensus on what to define ‘balance of power’ as. The term often used loosely, which leads to confusion and vagueness. Inis Claude has largely contributed a better comprehension of the term by giving it four definitions. These are: a *situation*, referring to the distribution of power, a *policy*, associated with policies taking the power situation into account and seeking to revise its pattern; a *symbol*, seen as a sign of realistic concern with the power issue; and a *system*, the phrase refers to ‘a certain kind of arrangement for the operation of international relations in a world of many states’.

Michael Sheehan has further described the distinction between the balance of power as a policy and as a system. As policy it involves ‘the creation and preservation of equilibrium, the confrontation of power with countervailing power to prevent a single power laying down the law to all others’. As a system, the balance of power has often been used as a point of reference for studying the work of a state system. The focus is on the interdependence and interaction existing between the states part of the system.

The balance of power theory assumes that as soon as a state's position within the anarchical state system becomes a threat to the survival of the others, a countervailing initiative, based on one or more actors, is created to restrain the rising state and ensure the preservation of the state system. States need counter-balance to any potential hegemon to ensure its survivability.

Of course being a book about ASEAN it doesn't explain much about Russia, but even so this book had shown several perspective of balance of power that further help in understanding it. Cooperative security could also be explained further using the balance of power concept, which this book had lacked to work on. They also fail to mention about facts as such what if states act out of norm in this cooperation security.