

Contents

1	Introduction: A New Bipolarisation in Europe	1
	Sources	7
2	The NATO Post-Cold War Enlargement: Realist and Neorealist Approaches	9
2.1	Realism and Neorealism as the Basic Theoretical Inspiration	9
2.2	Three Great Neorealists	11
2.2.1	Kenneth Waltz	12
2.2.2	Stephen Walt	12
2.2.3	John Mearsheimer	15
2.3	The NATO Post-Cold War Enlargement as an Expansion Sui Generis	17
2.3.1	Expansion as the Central Concept of This Book	17
2.3.2	Target as a Key Concept of the Neorealist Approach to the Process of Expansion	18
2.3.3	NATO Expansion as a Security Dilemma	19
2.3.4	NATO Expansion as a Greedy Behaviour?	19
2.3.5	Three Stages of NATO Expansion	20
2.3.6	An “Expansion by Invitation”	22
2.3.7	Balancing Theory and Its Importance for the Study of NATO Expansion	23
2.4	Positive and Negative Peace	25
2.5	Research Questions	28
2.6	Methodology	29
	Sources	30
3	From Hamburg and Munich to Tallinn and Burgas	33
3.1	The First Reflexions About the Expansion of NATO Under the Presidency of G. Bush Senior	33
3.1.1	The Most Important Open Declarations	33
3.1.2	The Most Important Secret Negotiations	35
3.1.3	Key Common Denominators of the Proponents of the TLDA Strategy	35

3.1.4	Between Consistency and Hypocrisy	37
3.2	The End of the USSR and Its Consequences	38
3.3	Bill Clinton as a Political Guarantor of the Second Wave of NATO Expansion	38
3.3.1	Supporters of NATO Expansion	39
3.3.2	Sceptical and Critical Authors	41
3.4	The PfP as the First Step of NATO Expansion	45
3.4.1	Key Important Milestones	45
3.4.2	The First Round of NATO Expansion in the Light of Kenneth Waltz	47
3.5	George W. Bush as a Political Guarantor of the Second Wave of NATO Expansion	48
3.5.1	The Zero-Sum Game	48
3.5.2	The Baltic States as a New North-Eastern Frontier of NATO	49
3.5.3	The Black Sea Area as a New South-Eastern Border of NATO	50
3.6	Russian Internal Balancing and Its Consequences	51
3.6.1	Historical Aspects	52
3.6.2	Russian Balancing Face to Face with the First Two Rounds of NATO Expansion	52
3.6.3	The Russian A2/AD Systems	53
3.6.4	Russian A2/AD Systems in the Light of Neorealism	54
3.6.5	A Security Controversy Between NATO and the RF	55
3.6.6	A Clash of Perceptions and New Spirals of Security Dilemmas	56
3.7	Conclusion	56
	Sources	58
4	From the War Against Georgia to the Annexation of the Crimea and the Following Increase of Military Tension	65
4.1	From Munich 2007 to Georgia 2008	66
4.1.1	The First Negativist Speech by Putin	66
4.1.2	The Five Days War Between the RF and Georgia and Its Consequences	67
4.1.3	Doctrinal Reactions of the Russian Operational Realists	70
4.2	Basic Differences Between NATO and the RF After the Second Wave of the NATO Expansion	71
4.2.1	External vs. Internal Balancing	73
4.2.2	Virulent Reproaches of Two Presidents	73
4.2.3	The Annexation of the Crimean Peninsula and Its Consequences	75
4.2.4	Russian Doctrinal Documents Approved After the Annexation of Crimea	83

4.3	The Academic Debate After the Annexation of the Crimea	84
4.3.1	The Strongly Critical Authors	84
4.3.2	The Non-Critical Authors	86
4.3.3	Authors with Impartial Attitudes	89
4.4	The Conclusion of the Chapter	90
	Sources	91
5	The Growing Militarisation of the Baltic and Black Sea Areas	
	After the End of the Cold War	99
5.1	The Smoothly Growing Militarisation After the End of the Cold War	99
5.1.1	The U.S. NGSP as a Forerunner of a Future Expansion	99
5.1.2	The Baltic Military After the End of the Cold War	100
5.1.3	The Black Sea Military After the End of the Cold War	101
5.2	The Doctrinal Development of NATO Before the Annexation of Crimea	101
5.2.1	Lisbon 2010	102
5.3	The New Eastern Frontier of NATO	103
5.3.1	NATO in the Black Sea Area	103
5.3.2	NATO in Romania	105
5.4	Military Consequences of the Russian Annexation of Crimea	108
5.4.1	The European Reassurance/Deterrence Initiative	108
5.4.2	Reactions of NATO	113
5.4.3	Reactions of the New Member States of NATO	114
5.4.4	Military Exercises After 2014	117
5.4.5	The Russian Exercise Zapad 2017	121
5.4.6	Military Incidents Between the RF and Western Countries	123
5.5	And What's Next	124
5.5.1	Stoltenberg's Doctrinal Speeches	125
5.5.2	NATO's New Strategy of "Stability Generation"	127
5.5.3	Rand 2019	128
5.6	Conclusion of the Chapter	129
	Sources	130
6	American Military Doctrines of the New Generation	137
6.1	Key Concepts	137
6.1.1	The Basic Concepts of This Book	138
6.1.2	The International and Military Context of the US Doctrinal Documents Approved Between 2012 and 2015	139
6.2	From the NSS 2010 to the JCRA	142
6.2.1	The Grand Strategy and Security Culture of Barack Obama	142
6.2.2	NSS 2010	144

6.2.3	Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for Twenty-First Century Defense	145
6.2.4	The Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC) of January 2012	148
6.2.5	Air-Sea Battle, May 2013	150
6.2.6	The Joint Concept for Entry Operations (JCEO) of April 2014	154
6.2.7	The Joint Concept for Rapid Aggregation (JCRA) of May 2015	156
6.3	The Conclusion of the Chapter	157
6.3.1	The Primordial Importance of the Bay of Finland	159
6.3.2	Military Exercises and Growing Tension	159
	Sources	160
7	Conclusion: Waiting for a New Gorbachev and for a New Reagan ...	165
7.1	NATO Expansion in the Light of the Key Pillars of Realism	168
7.2	NATO Expansion in the Light of the Key Pillars of Neorealism ...	168
7.3	Likudisation as an Inspiration for the NATO Expansion?	170
7.4	A Clash of Two Contradictory Narratives	171
	Sources	173