

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

The study discusses Russia's Nuclear *Deterrence Counter Scheme* in reaction to NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe that threatened one of Russia's military security instruments in 2012 – 2017. As understood, Russia is one of the most influential major countries on an international scale. Russia is also the largest country among the fragmented states of the Soviet Union. It has almost all of the Soviet Union's wealth assets that can be utilized to protect aspects of its country's sovereignty, especially in the areas of security such as, military, weaponry, and others. Therefore, to maintain such sovereignty is needed a scheme that can guarantee the achievement of Russian interests from various threats as well as possible challenges that occur in the future.

One of Russia's interests is in the field of security which is an important aspect of a country's sovereignty.¹ National defense and security must be continuously improved in line with the increase in weapon technology of countries in the world. The dominant symbol of the security instrument for sovereignty can be viewed from a military point of view . Russia has almost all aspects of Soviet Union's sovereignty in terms of territory, economy, defense and security, and even weapon. As a security instrument, Russia uses nuclear as a capability strengthening tool to achieve national interests.
² During the reign of Vladimir Putin in 2000, Russia try to affrem its

¹ Christindyah Clarasati Panjaitan, *Strategi Militer Rusia Terhadap Peningkatan Presensi Militer North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) DI Eropa Timur, 2014- 2017*, Skripsi, Jurusan Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Lampung, Lampung, 2019.

² Defence Intelligence Agency, 2017, *Russia Military Power: Building a Military to Support Great Power Aspirations*. DIA Military Power Publications. Hlm.29. Diakses dalam <https://www.dia.mil/portals/27/documents/news/military%20power%20publications/russia%20military%20power20report%202017.pdf>.

commitments to maintaining and modernizing its nuclear arsenal. By 2020 Russia plans to spend \$28 billion to increase the capacity of its strategic nuclear triad. As a strategic move, Russia is determined to reestablish the center of hegemony among the countries former Soviet Union by restoring its influence after the Cold War. Russia emerged as a new great power that embraced the countries of the Eastern European region to be recognized by the international community. Russia's position as a superpower emphasizes its efforts to maintain the country's existence.³

On the other hand, the NATO (*North Atlantic Treaty Organization*) North Atlantic treaty organization initiated by the United States, formed on April 4, 1949,⁴ saw an opportunity among European countries, especially the countries of the former Soviet Union after World War II were vulnerable to security. NATO began its action by expanding its territory to expand its power to Eastern Europe.⁵ This, of course, received strong criticism from Russia the side who considered this a serious threat and obstacle to Russia's geopolitical position, because it was feared that it would reduce Russia's influence in the Former Soviet Union and hinder the formation of a new hegemony. The expansion of NATO in the region of Eastern European countries aims to undermine Russia's influence in Europe and attract countries under the influence of Russia to join the NATO alliance to expand military bases and emphasize the alliance's security to create a strategic balance that plays an important role in the establishment of the defence force. The expansion of this military base will establish new domination of Eastern Europe under NATO influence, resulting in the loss of Russian influence. This expansion has been

³ Rahyuni, Sri, *Kebijakan Pertahanan Rusia dan Dampaknya Terhadap NATO*, Jurusan Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas Ilmu sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Hasanuddin, Makassar, 2012, Hal. 6.

⁴ The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *NATO Facts and Figures*, Oktober 1971, Brussel.

⁵ Silmina, Fadiyah, *Alasan Rusia Menganggap NATO Sebagai Ancaman Dalam Sistem Pertahanan Anti Rudal Pasca Perang Dingin Tahun 2008-2015*, Jurusan Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas ISIPOL, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Skripsi, Yogyakarta.

carried out since the end of the Cold War beginning with the entry of countries in Eastern Europe such as Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in the NATO Alliance. NATO expansion in eastern Europe is considered a serious threat to Russia because it could cut off Russia's linkages to Western countries that could isolate Russia. If calculated annually until 2009, in 15 years, 12 Eastern European countries joined the Western alliance's Atlantic Defense Treaty (NATO) which was formerly under the influence of the Soviet Union. Until 2017, NATO held a large-scale *Saber Strike*⁶ (Military Exercises for NATO – allied countries) military exercise to test NATO's ability to respond to Russian military aggression.

Russia utilizes Nuclear as its national interest in foreign politics by initiating *Counter Deterrence Scheme*. The scheme is included in one of Russia's foreign policy programs under the name *Russia's National Security Strategic* in the country's defense and security efforts in 2015. "*Counter Deterrence*" is defined as an attempt to thrill the opponent by adding strength and developing new weaponry technology to prevent and thrill the opponent who intend to attack.⁷ Russia's current position that it takes the decision to use nuclear as a balance of power, retaliation efforts, and a security instrument that strengthens Russia in carrying out its actions to achieve its goals. The tensions between the two, of them has made the relationship between NATO and Russia up and down in dealing to several conflicts.

The fluctuating relationship between NATO and Russia is evidence that the *Counter Deterrence scheme* is a strategy of Russia's harsh reaction to NATO expansion in eastern Europe, especially the former Soviet Union, which is a threat and an obstacle in realizing Russia as a *Superpower*. This policy became an instrument to achieve Russia's interests through increased military power and the development of Nuclear weapons aimed at thrilling

⁶ 19 NATO Allies and Partners wrap up Exercise Saber Strike 2018, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 15 Juni 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_156063.htm

⁷ Mochtar Masud, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional : Disiplin dan Metodologi, Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial*, PT. Ikrar Mandiriabadi, Jakarta, 1990. Hlm. 190.

opponents and preventing attacks.

According to the statement NATO Expansion, which involves the former Soviet States in Eastern Europe aiming to form alliances through western defense pacts, poses a serious threat to Russia as it can stem Russian power in achieving interests. Thus, the Counter Deterrence Scheme strategy is carried out as a proof of Russia's ability to influence NATO's movements in Europe so that NATO's position is also threatened by the presence of SCD through Nuclear as an instrument of state defense and security. Russia's Counter Deterrence Strategy in reaction to NATO expansion is interesting to discuss. Because in this issue the country is required to increase defense and security, either in terms of policy or military enhancement which is the benchmark of the comparison of forces between countries in the world.⁸ And then, this study will discuss "*the Nuclear Counter Deterrence Scheme as one of Russia's Military Security Instruments against NATO's expansion of Eastern Europe 2012 to 2017.*"

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the picture of the above problem, the formulation of the problem that will be studied further, in this study is :

"Why did Russia use a Nuclear Counter Deterrence Scheme in facing the threat of NATO expansion in Eastern European Region in 2012 - 2017?."

1.3 Research Purpose

This research purpose is to analyze Russia's Nuclear Counter Deterrence Scheme as one of Russian military security protective instruments against NATO expansion in eastern Europe in the period 2012-2017 .

⁸ Anak Agung Banyu, Prawita, *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, Bandung : PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2015.

1.4 Benefit of Research

This research is expected to provide benefits, including:

1.4.1 Theoretical Benefits

- As the final assignment of international relations students of Darussalam Gontor University in Undergraduate Level. (S1).
- This research is expected to expand knowledge, especially in understanding the development and potential of a country's military security, particularly Russia.
- This research can be used as learning material in analyzing a policy especially from country based on Great Power status such as Russia.

1.4.2 Practical Benefits

This research is expected to be a reference material that assists the International Relations Study Program, the University Of Darussalam Gontor in providing information, data, and analysis related to the deepening of Russia's Nuclear Counter Deterrence Scheme against NATO expansion in Eastern Europe 2012 - 2017.

1.5 Literature Review

In the study below, the researcher found several previous studies, which were still related to the existing phenomena in the author's research, including :

First, researchers used research written by Dimas Dwi Santoso titled "*Stabilitas Hegemoni Amerika Serikat di Tengah Hadirnya Pengaruh Tiongkok Pasca Lahirnya Inisiasi One Belt One Road*" published by Lampung University 2018. Dimas tried to explain how the condition of United States as an international actor was able to maintain hegemonic stability amid the emergence of Chinese influence which is present as a competitor to U.S. dominance. Dimas used the concept of Hegemony to describe how the

influence of China's presence has proven significant in various aspects through the Economic Prebalancing strategy followed by the initiation of *One Belt One Road* which is quite detrimental to America. The dispute that occurred between the United States and China was fierce, such as the events of World War II which mutually expanded their influence among partner countries to maintain their existence in the international area.

The focus of the research lies in the differences between the two actors and strategies that lead the conflict. Dimas focuses on research on American and Chinese issues, while researchers focus on issues between Russia and NATO. In this phenomenon, the actors have the same goal in shaping interest namely stability/realization of global Hegemony. Both of them are the same actions and reactions that cause policies to emerge. America with *Economic Policy - Prebalancing* meanwhile, Russia with *Military - Prebalancing* through Counter Deterrence. Although the settlement between the two is carried out in different reaction they are equally influential.

Second, Researchers used a study written by Wayan Ulandari with the title "*Sikap Rusia Terhadap Perluasan NATO ke Eropa Timur*". Wayan explained NATO's defense policy with the principle of "*open doors*" means that basically, NATO will continue to access more countries in Europe including Russia to strengthen state the security outside the alliance as a precaution against both internal and external threats. Wayan saw the phenomenon that occurred between Russia – NATO with the concept of Geopolitics – Heartland which reveal that the mastery of geography was the main key to dominating the world. Russia is being aggressive towards NATO expansion because it feels big responsibility for the assets left by the Soviet Union. Which historically established close relations with Eastern Europe.

The focus of this research can be seen from the differences between actors and targets. Wayan focused his research on NATO as a leading actor, and Russia as a target that had impact on NATO expansionary movements. Meanwhile, this research focuses on Russia as an actor and of course, the

target is aimed at NATO which is considered a threat to the realization of Russian Hegemony.⁹

Third, The Researcher also found a discussion that could help add to the researcher's information, from Carles Nopriandi's paper with the title “*Reaksi Pemerintah Rusia Terhadap Penempatan Pasukan North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) di Eropa Timur 2017*”, in the journal *International Relations*, 2017, Volume 5, Number 3, 2017, published by Mulawarman University. Carles explained NATO's intervention in the territory in Eastern Europe, making some land as the site of the *Saber Strike* (the joint exercise between European countries and the United States) and the expansion of the territory that cause 12 countries that were previously under the influence of the Soviet Union to be considered traitors because they finally joined with the Western alliance. The use of security dilemma as a concept in this study explains that the action of country will be considered a threat to other countries, thus triggering and increase in power. NATO views the alliance's role in achieving hegemony as an important element in achieving potential strength. Carles also explained that NATO's action was a democratic strategy to gain support as a guarantor of world security by intervening on issues in European countries.

This research explains the difference in the influence of NATO expansion for both sides. Carles explained how the NATO expansion influence NATO it self, is intended to attract attention, gain support to expand allies, and eliminate the footprint of communism in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, this research will explain the influence of NATO expansion for Russia. Russia, considered NATO expansion as a serious threat, decided to act aggressively to create national security stability through improvements its military doctrine. This also motivates Russia to continue to balance forces against NATO until its interest are realized.

⁹ Wayan, Ulandari, Sikap Rusia terhadap Perluasan NATO ke Eropa Timur, Jurusan Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, Skripsi, 2015.

Fourth, further research was written by Inda Rahadiyan, titled “*Pemaknaan dan Penerapan Prinsip Resiprositas berdasarkan ASEAN Banking Integration Framework*”, in the Journal published by The Islamic University of Indonesia, Yogyakarta, 2019. Inda explained that the principle of Reciprocity is a prism that must take precedence in building integration between ASEAN countries in 2020. This research uses a normative method that says that reciprocity relationships in the principle of reciprocity aim to realize easy access for members and operational flexibility. The Reciprocal relationships based on ABIF includes reciprocal relationships in the providing market access and operational flexibility between banks originating from ASEAN member states. This principle refers to a pattern of non-discrimination as judged by the way it works by providing balanced treatment and service to all members so that they can provide an unconditional benefit. Thus, the implementation of integration by ASEAN is also expected to have a positive effect on Indonesia's interests.

This research focuses on context differences in the application of reciprocity. Inda's research explains the application of the concept of reciprocity in the context of cooperation between countries. Meanwhile, this study explains the application of reciprocity in the context of the conflicts between countries. Both are the same actions – a reaction that leads to a reciprocal relationship. However, the influence of the interactions of the two studies has significant differences. Another striking difference in the focus of the author's discussion is that Inda focused its discussion on the economic aspect, while the study focused the research on the Security aspect.

Fifth, Further research was written by John Borrie, Maria Rost Rublee, Cristina Varriale, Tnya Ogilvie White, Adrew Futter, Jammie Shea, Peter Watkins, Christine Parthemore, with the title “*Perspectives on Nuclear Deterrence in the 21st Century*”, International Security Programme, published by Chatham House, April 2020. In their research, they describe the Assumption of Deterrence strategy as a technology emerging in the 20th century that presents new challenges to the worlds of security and

defense. They also explained that America's *Extended Deterrence strategy* in an aggressor country could pose a threat to the sending country so that it requires carefully calculation of the potential use of nuclear weapons. Although nuclear can be categorized as a conventional weapon, it can also be a serious threat in peaceful conditions. Nuclear also can even change the dynamics of international security threats through the development of Cybersystems in the 21st century.

The difference in research focus , lies in actors and the use of *Deterrence* assumption. In John Borry's research and his friends, described America as one of the actors who used Nuclear in its defense strategy to deal with changing conditions of international dynamics. *Extended Deterrence* became the basic assumption that used by America in the development of defense globalization. Meanwhile, in this study, the authors describe Russia as a major actor in increasing military potential through nuclear proliferation. *Counter Deterrence* becomes Russia's basic assumption as an antidote to external threats.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

1.6.1 Concept of Reciprocity

International relations is the essence of the definition of the formation of a country based on the purpose and mind of the nation. In achieving the goal of so-called *interests*, the state will interact with other countries, whether in the form of cooperation, friendship, percent or hostility. The interaction of countries that occur between actors certainly gives a positive or negative influence, this can happen if the accumulation of power and interests between countries and each other clashes. This *conflicting* phenomenon can be responded to as the response struck between the two because, the definition of international relations refers back to activities that concern all regional and international aspects that can be done by various actors in question such as individuals, groups, countries, or organizations. In the

implementation of international law, there is a concept of Resiprositas that explains that:

“ Segala tindakan yang dilakukan oleh suatu negara terhadap negara lainnya baik dalam bentuk positif seperti kerjasama dan persahabatan, atau negatif seperti permusuhan dan pemutusan hubungan antar negara dapat dibalas setimpal”.¹⁰

Etymologically, the term reciprocity comes from the English word *"Reciprocity"* which means the reciprocal relationship that occurs between each other. Meanwhile, in international law reciprocity is a principle of reciprocity or retaliation. The view on the application of the concept of retributivism is seen from the actor's view of the ongoing issue/ experienced by the state. So that the definition of retributively can be interpreted in various research views.¹¹ Any reciprocal relationship is certainly expected to provide benefits or benefits for the parties concerned, the key to reciprocal success is the need for a system that controls the running of this relationship so that even if the resulting benefits skew at a *negative* point, the system can at least anticipate attacks so that the percentage and differences do not reach the conflict to the War.

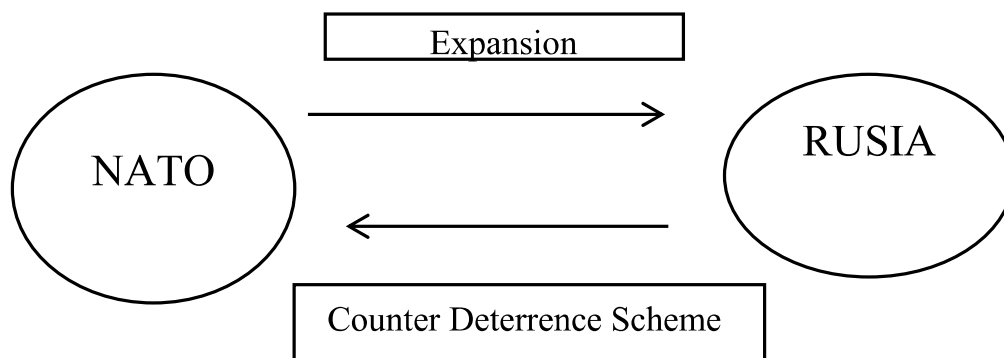


Figure: 1.1. The Correlation of reciprocity concept on Russian - NATO Conflict.

¹⁰ Wagiman Anasthasya Saartje Mandagi, 2016, Terminologi Hukum Internasional, Sinar Grafika, hlm. 50.

¹¹ <https://www.pelajaran.co.id/2020/26/pengertian-resiprositas.html>

In the analysis of the Counter Deterrence Scheme conducted by Russia. The policy of deterrence serves as an anticipation of an attack on the reaction that has led to reciprocal relations between NATO and Russia. Through the development of nuclear weapons Russia hopes to thwart NATO forces to achieve its interests namely the status of hegemony / Great Power. They tend to strengthen each other's existence in this pattern of relationships that make the relationship between the two experience ups and downs, due to mutual retaliation against each other's policies. Russia initiated the SCD to make NATO feel threatened in launching its actions in Eastern Europe. This is based on how the policy was established as a guarantor device for the Russian government's security instruments to prevent war conflicts. The threat posed by NATO by expanding into Eastern Europe is the cause of the obstacles felt by the Russian side because it is considered to cross the boundaries of power that has historically been the territory of the former Soviet Union.

1.6.2 Balance of Threat Concept

The concept of balance of threat can be said to be a revision of the concept of Balance of power born from the classic theory of realism. BOP is more defined by the equitable distribution of power in the international system so that every country feels guaranteed security. Meanwhile, the condition of the international system is anarchic, urging the country to be independent in protecting itself from various threats. That way, each country will make various efforts to continuously improve the ability that encourages it to dominate in order to rival the strength of a stronger country. The ability of the state to keep pace with other countries can be done through the balance of power.

Balance of Threat was presented by Stephen M Walt in his 1987 book "*The Origins of Alliances.*" The assumption of Balance of Threat results that the state can do balance in two ways, namely *Balancing* and *Bandwagoning*. *Balancing* is the state's attempt to offset the strength of

competitors by building similar forces. Meanwhile, *Bandwagoning* is an attempt to compromise with enemy forces in order to avoid conflict either in the form of cooperation or joining alliances.

According to Walt there is a reason for a country to choose balancing to defend itself or survival. The balance is done to suppress the dominance of other countries so as not to get stronger and prevent the occurrence of war. In his book Walt says :

"Not only is balancing more common than bandwagoning, but also that the stronger the state, the greater is likely to be its tendency to balance, or to ally itself with other states to cope with the threat posed by the politically dominant power."¹²

Bandwagoning is assumed if the state agrees with the country that is considered as the *Source of danger* or the enemy state because it has a greater ability than the country that cooperates with it. Bandwagoning balance creates *Power Sharing*, which can increase the position of weak countries to be equal to other countries, so that conflicts such as aggression due to factors considered weak countries no longer occur in the future.¹³

Based on the above concept, the conflict between Russia - NATO caused relations between the two to become ups and downs. Russia considers NATO a threat because it is launching expansion actions on countries in Eastern Europe so that, Russia needs to take action on the affirmation of its position on the state of the former Soviet Union. Russia's concerns over the NATO threat have made Russia more inclined to balancing NATO forces through the Counter Deterrence Scheme's

¹² Stephen M.Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1955.

¹³ Yulyan, Maharta, *Efektifitas Balance of Power dalam Menciptakan Perdamaian dan Keamanan Internasional*, SOH302 Politik dan Keamanan Internasional, Artikel, 16 maret 2016. Diakses dalam : http://yulyan-maharta-fisip13.web.unair.ac.id/artikel_detail-155239-SOH302%20POLITIK%20DAN%20KEAMANAN%20INTERNASIONAL-Efektivitas%20Balance%20of%20Power%20dalam%20Menciptakan%20Perdamaian%20dan%20Keamanan%20Internasional.html

nuclear proliferation policy. This indicates Russia's aggressiveness over the existential threat that threatens its country's sovereignty so that it can be reciprocated to make NATO's position threatened. Meanwhile, bandwagoning actions are only carried out both as a formality as a means to maintain the existence of both sides in the international eye by taking advantage of each, especially in ensuring the stability of European regional security. The power capability of both countries has the potential to make the two countries a source of threat judging by the influence that Russia and NATO have in the international eyes. So it does not close the possibility, Russia playing the lead actor in the conflict can be the main source of threat.

1.7 Hypothesis

As the background and formulation of the above problems. So in this study, the authors took the following hypothesis:

Russia's *Counter Deterrence Scheme* is a military defense strategy that is considered **sufficient to influence** NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe, especially in the period 2012 - 2017. Although NATO's dominance has spread across Europe, Russia's presence remains solid and is still able to compete closely in controlling the movement of the threat that is NATO. This is based on the phenomenon of hampered construction of NATO military bases in Eastern Europe. The existence of the Counter Deterrence Scheme followed by the nuclear weapons proliferation program serves as a consideration that should be considered for the risk of counter threats to NATO security.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Design of Research

This research method uses a qualitative approach, complemented by analytical descriptive writing of the phenomena discussed. Which, in the discussion, the author seeks to describe and describe a phenomenon against an object to be examined through data, samples and information

that has been collected as is, then drawn a general conclusion. In other words, analytical descriptive writing is the author's attempt to describe some of the data that has been obtained to be retrieved, processed and analyzed to be used as a material in explaining a phenomenon in research from the formulation of the problem raised and will be explained in the research process. Meanwhile, the questions listed in the problem formulation will be answered based on the data that has been obtained, described, and analyzed accordingly in the discussion of each sub-chapter.

1.8.2 Object of Research

The main object to be taken in this study is the *Nuclear Deterrence Counter Scheme* as an instrument of Russia's security against NATO expansion in Eastern Europe in 2012-2017.

1.8.3 The Technique of Data Collection

Data collection conducted by the authors in this study is using *Library Research*. This makes the research, as a literature study obtained through activities such as collecting relevant information. The author's data collection source is obtained through *Secondary Data*. Secondary data is information or source of research data obtained through intermediary media or indirectly. The information can be obtained from books, works of ilmiah, thesis, encyclopedias, the internet, Russian state documents and nato official websites. Finally, it can be used as a material for thinking on topics or problems that are used as research objects.

1.8.4 Data Analysis Technique

The author's robust data analysis techniques are carried out through data collection activities, data reduction, data display, and conclusion/verification. This method is taken from the opinion of Miles and Huberman who stated that:

"Our view qualitative analysis, we define analysis as consisting of three concern flows of activity : data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing / verification" 14

First, the author *collects data* that is the entire data obtained by the author observed and documented on the record. Then the *reduction of data* that has been collected data is filtered and selected according to the focus of problem solving used to answer research questions. The next step is the *display of data* that can be in the form of writings, images, tables and graphs to give an overview of the circumstances that occur in order to facilitate the author in the mastery of information. Lastly, is the *conclusion or verification* of data in accordance with the form of research concluded and identified the truth.

1.9 Writing Systematic

The writing in this thesis consists of four chapters, each of which consists of sub-chapters. The initial details and description of generally as follows:

Chapter I : In this chapter, explains the exposure and description of the study, which consist of Background, Research Question, Research Purpose, Research Benefit, Literature Review, Conceptual Framework, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Writing Systematic.

Chapter II : This chapter will explain how the beginning of the conflict between Russia and NATO, then Russia's efforts in increasing forces to counter NATO dominance in Eastern Europe, as well as the ups and downs of the relationship between the two in response to international political dynamics.

Chapter III : In this chapter, the author will analyze the Russian Counter Deterrence Scheme with the concept of Reciprocity and Balance of Threat from the character Stephen M. Walt. The author will also include

¹⁴ Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Analisis Data Kualitatif : Buku Sumber Tentang Metode Metode Baru*, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 1992.

a personal argument in the form of a statement on SCD affecting security conditions in eastern Europe from 2012 to 2017.

Chapter IV : Closing, In This last chapter will discuss the conclusions of the result of this study and also the author's suggestion for further research.