

The documents below consider transnational organisations. Read them **both** in order to answer **all** the questions on the paper.

Document 1: adapted from *10 Years After NATO Expansion: Successes, Challenges, Expectations*, a conference speech given by Czech Prime Minister Mirek Topolánek in 2009.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in 1949 between the US, Canada, Iceland, the UK and eight Western European countries, as a defence system against the Soviet Union. Since then NATO has expanded eastwards towards Russia, now including 28 member states, adding Albania and Croatia in 2009. The Czech Republic joined NATO in 1999.

NATO is without a doubt the most successful defence grouping in history. This is because it succeeded in its original goal, to win the Cold War. In reality, there was no direct military confrontation between the two sides during the Cold War. It was more that the NATO members proved to be more economically powerful and politically stable than the Soviet communist empire. Indeed, we can see that many former communist countries are now members of NATO.

NATO has always achieved its goals due to the right political decisions. It has carried out a just war: fighting in defence of liberty, with goals that had to be winnable in a reasonable amount of time to reduce suffering. NATO's main success is the defence of liberty. To its citizens, the free world was worth defending. As the famous US president Thomas Jefferson said, "All that tyranny needs to get a foothold is for people of good conscience to remain silent." When people can do something about their freedom, then they simply must do it.

NATO's future importance also lies in the defence of liberty. Without political stability and the will to defend liberty, its military units would be pointless, an empty shell, a paper tiger. There are three key future challenges. NATO needs to defend liberty against threats outside our borders, in countries with no tradition of democracy. It requires effort to build liberty in these areas where it has never functioned.

NATO also needs to safeguard both liberty and security inside our own borders, because of the issue of terrorism. It is only five years since the bloody terrorist attacks in Madrid which left 191 dead and about 2000 injured. The question is: How much should we limit citizens' liberty, in order to prevent a treacherous attack? Our enemies know that they cannot defeat us militarily, but fear and terror are their allies.

Additionally, NATO needs to convince other major powers such as China, India and Russia of the importance of liberty in the world's changing power map. Of all these, Russia is closest to the Euro-Atlantic area. Not just geographically, but also in terms of values. Relations with the former enemy will be crucial for the creation of NATO's security strategy in coming years. Even if we are competitors in many things, NATO and Russia have common basic interests, such as: the maintenance of the global order, the fight against terrorism, and the security balance in the world. I believe that our common interests will in the end overcome our disputes, and that the Alliance, together with Russia, will create the backbone of world security.

Liberty has not been won once and for all. Consequently, NATO will continue to be an important power in the global arena and must build upon its past successes to defend liberty.

Document 2: adapted from *NATO Expansion: Strategic Genius or Historic Mistake?* This is an online article written by Eugene Rumer in 2014, published by the New York Carnegie Forum: Rebuilding US–Russia Relations. The author is the director of Carnegie’s Russia and Eurasia Program. He is a former national intelligence officer at the US National Intelligence Council for the Russia and Eurasia region.

Twenty years after the debate began about whether NATO should expand into Eastern Europe, the sides for and against expansion both had reasons to say, “I told you so.”

NATO expansion supporters had a sound argument: the Cold War is over. Europe is at peace. The Soviet threat is no more. Central Europe needs help moving from communism to democracy. Unless NATO helps, Central Europe, where two world wars started, will once again get caught up in old rivalries endangering the hard-won peace. So, NATO has to take responsibility and act. It has to admit new members, just like it did with the Czech Republic; otherwise, the alliance will die.

But, those against NATO expansion countered: Russia will not like it; not now, not ever. Russia is weak now and cannot do much to oppose NATO expansion, but once it recovers, it will act to counter any expansion. Russia is more important to Western Europe and the US than Central Europe is. So it is better to work out the terms with Russia, than to make Central Europe happy. Besides, they added, it makes as much sense for an alliance in trouble to take on new members as it does for an unhappy married couple to have more children in the hope of saving the marriage.

However, NATO expansion supporters replied that expansion is not aimed against Russia. It is a move towards Russia, intended to bring stability and prosperity closer to its borders. Russia will eventually realize that NATO expansion is beneficial and will accept it. Expanding NATO now, while Russia is weak, is the right move anyway. It is a safeguard against a revival of future Russian empire building.

Both sides can claim to have been right. Central Europe’s progress in the past 20 years has exceeded everyone’s expectations. The region is stable, democratic and prosperous, and fully integrated into NATO and the EU. NATO expansion has paid off.

But Russia has not changed its view of NATO enlargement, which it increasingly sees as a move against, not towards it. Once Russia regained some of its strength, early in the 21st century, its policy was aimed at preventing NATO’s further expansion into Georgia and Ukraine. Russia has made it clear that it intends to keep NATO out of its neighborhood through wars in Georgia and Ukraine, and annexations of South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Crimea.

Who was right and who was wrong? The two sides, for and against NATO’s expansion, will never resolve this argument. Each side has plenty of evidence to support its case. NATO is here to stay, as is Russia’s rejection of the alliance as the backbone of security and stability in Europe. This does not signal the start of a new Cold War. Both NATO and Russia have more important things to worry about, including terrorist threats, nuclear proliferation, the Ebola epidemic and the economic rise of China.

However, what is clear from all of this is that NATO’s goal of a whole, free Europe through expansion, at peace with itself and its neighbors, is more distant now than it was twenty years ago.

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