

processes of consultations with the West which would minimize the differences between the way Russia was treated and the way Central-Eastern Europe was treated.

The issue of NATO expansion elicited an almost unique consensus among Russia's political spectrum, with almost all the political leaders strongly opposed. Even some Western academics (Kennan, Mandelbaum) saw expansion as a needless challenge to a seriously weakened Russia, a move which exacerbated deep fear in Russia about Western hostility without in any way enhancing US security. Why draw a new line dividing Europe?

However, Russia's attempts to renegotiate the post-Cold war order met with little success. NATO's bombing of Serb positions in Bosnia in late August 1995 simply underlined Russia's marginalization. Today, Russians continue to argue that if NATO keeps mechanically expanding with no qualitative transformation of the alliance, that there will be no security build-up for NATO, or for Russia, or for the countries intending to join the alliance.¹

1.2 Partnership for Peace (PFP)

The Partnership for Peace program (PFP), launched on 10 January 1994, was designed to allow each Partner (including Russia) to develop its own bilateral political relations with NATO and to devise individually tailored programs of cooperation with NATO. The focus of these Partnerships is to develop military forces that would be interoperable with those of the Alliance and to cooperate on civil-emergency planning.²

Individual Partnership Programmes are drawn up between NATO and Partner countries from an extensive menu of activities – the PFP Work Programme – according to each country's specific interests and needs. The biennial programme contains more than 2,000 activities, ranging from

¹ *RIA Novosti*, April 26, 2002.

² Military representations within Partner country diplomatic missions to NATO ensure that Partner country officers are involved in the daily work of PFP. To help coordinate PFP training and exercises, a Partnership Coordination Cell was established at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). An International Coordination Centre has also been set up at SHAPE to provide briefing and planning facilities for all non-NATO countries contributing troops to NATO-led peace-support operations in the Balkans.