

# **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

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**Final Report**

**PfP and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **Partnership for Peace and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

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European security has undergone profound changes since 1989. In this situation the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM) has been trying to find a security umbrella within NATO, which is seen as a key basis of security in post-Cold War Europe. At the Brussels Summit of 10-11 January 1994, the Alliance, issued an invitation to FYRM and to other Central and East European Countries (CEEC) able and willing to join NATO's new cooperative framework, namely, the Partnership for Peace (PfP). The PfP is and for FYRM became a practical program going beyond a dialogue and cooperation, and forging a partnership between the Alliance and the FYRM. This report describes the relationship of FYRM with PfP program and its involvement in PfP related areas of cooperation. Report begins with a review of PfP's origin, development and enhancement and FYRM's accession process to the program. It then examines the position of FYRM in the structure of the PfP. It evaluates the political and military effects of the PfP to FYRM and expectations and aims of the FYRM from the program. It concludes with a view that the PfP has led to a high degree of integration of FYRM's defense and security related structures with the Alliance. The PfP's success, has shifted FYRM's attitudes toward PfP from one of scepticism to one of enthusiastic support, and that it has become an important stage towards the full integration of FYRM in the NATO.

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## INTRODUCTION

Since 1989, profound political changes have taken place in Europe, which have radically affected the security environment. All the countries that were formerly adversaries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have dismantled the Warsaw Pact (WP) and rejected ideological hostility to the West. They have, in varying degrees, embraced and begun to implement policies aimed at achieving pluralistic democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights, a market economy and membership in the western organizations.

NATO's January 1994 Brussels Summit started a new stage in NATO's history and finally reconsidered its military-political role and the place of the organization in the changing world. NATO leaders became aware that they had to form a program that would transform the political and military relationship with Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC). Thus, they put forward the idea of the Partnership for Peace (PfP), which goes beyond dialogue and cooperation to forge a real partnership, which will allow CEEC to determine the scope and pace of their relationship with the Alliance.<sup>1</sup>

PfP is more than a program of activities. It also aims at developing closer political ties. The program has a positive and strategically important potential for all CEEC, including the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, henceforth FYRM. PfP offers FYRM certain strategic advantages. But its success or failure will be determined by the concrete mechanisms of its implementation. The response to NATO's invitation has been impressive. A year after its inception, PfP had 25 Partners (now 27, including Ireland and Croatia, which joined in late 1999 and May 2000 respectively, and excluding the three new NATO members of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary).

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<sup>1</sup> George A. Joulwan, "NATO's Military Contribution to Partnership for Peace: the Progress and the Challenge," *NATO Review*, Vol. 43, No. 2, (March 1995), p. 5.

The scope of this report is to describe the PfP and its relationship with FYRM. The aim is to present an in-depth understanding about the evolution, process, structure and implications of the PfP to FYRM and finally, to assess what PfP means for FYRM. The emphasis will be placed on how the PfP process has affected FYRM politically and militarily.

The period considered in the study ranges from 1990 to 2000. The reason for covering the years between 1990 and 1994, that is the years before the establishment of the PfP, is to describe the changed security landscape in Europe and the developments that has led to the adoption of the PfP program. This study covers all aspects of cooperation and activities in the framework of the PfP, which ranges from ensuring democratic control of defense forces to achieving interoperability between NATO and FYRM.

Secondary sources are mainly used for the purposes of this study. But the data which describes the role of FYRM in the structure of the PfP and Macedonian national perspective on the PfP, rests on primary sources in the form of official documents as well as newspapers, news magazines and the first hand information provided by international and Macedonian newspapers and news agencies, such as the Nova Makedonija, Vecer, Macedonian News Agency, New York Times, the Economist, and Reuters News Service and the interviews that have been made with academics, diplomats and officials. The comments made in all the chapters, including the conclusion, are largely based on the author's observation.

The existing literature on the PfP and its relation with FYRM consists only of official documents and speeches of NATO and FYRM officials. This study is hoped to be useful as a handbook on the PfP and FYRM relationship.

## CHAPTER I

# THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

### 1.1. The New European Order

European security has undergone profound changes since 1989. The collapse of communism and the demise of the Soviet Union (SU) completed a process of change, which led to a new European order.<sup>2</sup> In this new European order, the former communist countries have been trying to carve out a place for themselves and to find a security umbrella in the European Union (EU) and the NATO. This is a new era, in which the Warsaw Pact (WP), the former Soviet Union (USSR) and Yugoslavia, communist regimes, and the threat of a major war have all disappeared.

A new political agenda developed in the former communist states, including the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM). Nationalism, ethnic tensions, and separatism have become important features of politics. Pre-communist politics have been reasserted in the new setting of the post-communist era. Nationalism and ethnic tensions have challenged the integrity of the state and led in some instances to inter as well as intra-state tensions.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Fergus Carr and Kostas Ifantis, NATO in the New European Order, London, St. Martin's Press, 1996, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Ali L. Karaosmano lu, "Turkey and NATO in a New Strategic Environment," unpublished paper, presented at the Conference on "Mediterranean Security in the Post-Cold War Era," Naples, Italy, (27 February - 1 March 1995), p. 2.



The threat of a simultaneous, full-scale attack on all European fronts has effectively been removed and thus no longer provides the focus in the new European order. However, the new order is not entirely free of security tensions, challenges and risks, which FYRM, has considered as major challenges of its security.<sup>4</sup>

## 1.2. The Security Risks and Challenges

There are several aspects that are generally regarded as security challenges and risks the FYRM is facing or might face in future:

- i. *Uncertainty and instability* in and around the Southeast Europe and the possibility of regional crises. Some countries in and around the Southeast Europe area face serious economic, social and political difficulties. Ethnic and religious rivalries, territorial disputes, inadequate or failed efforts at reform, the abuse of human rights, and the dissolution of states can lead to local and even regional instability. The resulting tensions could lead to human suffering, and to regional armed conflicts. Such conflicts could affect the security of the FYRM by spilling over into neighboring countries.<sup>5</sup>
- ii. *Proliferation* of weapons of mass destruction, trafficking of fissile material and the nuclear brain drain;
- iii. *Refugees*: The attractiveness of the FYRM for refugee influx from neighboring countries, as was seen during the Kosovo crisis of 1999, can cause the internal economic and social instability, which can turn into the escalation of ethnic tensions. Through refugees, conflicts between opposing political, religious or ethnic groups can be 'imported' into the host country. And, the host country has not only to consider the financial implications of movement of refugees,

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<sup>4</sup> White Paper of the Defence of the Republic of Macedonia: Security and Defence Policies of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 1998, p. 4; Gary Guertner, NATO Strategy in a New World, New York, Crane Russak, 1992, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> The Alliance's Strategic Concept, NAC-S(99)65, (24 April 1999).

but also indirect social costs, caused through hostile or violent reactions by its own population;<sup>6</sup>

iv. *Environmental damage*;

v. *Trade routes and energy supply*;<sup>7</sup>

vi. The other risk is the fear of increasing “*underground organizations*” (Mafia), and their terrorist attacks, which could undermine the stability of the FYRM. For instance, the effects of the bomb attack to Kiro Gligorov, former President of FYRM, have not been diminished yet.

vii. *Internal stability*: inter-ethnic tensions in the country can be perceived as a threat to its security, political independence or to its territorial integrity.

The above-mentioned risks and challenges cannot exclusively be seen as risks to the security of the FYRM. These are risks that are faced also by west European and other Central and East European Countries (CEEC). Regarding risks and challenges, internal aspects of security are more often perceived as a danger to the country’s stability than external challenges. The FYRM is even more vulnerable to such risks than other countries in the region because the transformation processes of its economy and political systems have not yet been completed, or have not yet proved to be stable against increasing risks.<sup>8</sup> No matter how different the security situation is perceived in the FYRM, the establishment of a dialogue and different forms of cooperation with western organizations are evaluated as important steps for shaping the country’s foreign and security political profiles.<sup>9</sup> FYRM, with the 1999 crisis in Kosovo, has been dangerously sliding into a certain political, economic and security vacuum. The old, imposed political, economic and security ties have collapsed; yet new ones are developing slowly. The

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<sup>6</sup> Barry Buzan, “New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century,” *International Affairs*, (July 1991), pp. 431-451.

<sup>7</sup> Kurt H. Biedenkopf, “Facing the Challenge of Upheaval in Europe”, *NATO Review*, Vol. 42, No. 3, (June 1994), pp. 15-7.

<sup>8</sup> Laszlo Valki, “Security Concerns in Central Europe”, in *Central European Security Concerns: Bridge, Buffer or Barrier?*, edited by Jacob Kipp, London, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1993, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Andrew M. Dorman and Adrian Treacher, *European Security: An Introduction to Security Issues in Post-Cold War Europe*, Sydney, Dartmouth, 1995, p. 86.

withdrawal of the NATO forces - in case it occurs - will leave, a security vacuum, which will require filling.

### 1.3. FYRM's Security Transformation

FYRM is undergoing the change from communism to capitalism. It is still in a transitional phase. And that transitional phase is called *alcoholism*, a word used by Nicholas Williams.<sup>10</sup> In a way, FYRM has been in this alcoholic phase for a number of years. We can see two elements of the changes that FYRM has been going through. First of all, FYRM has become more actively upon the democratization of the country. The second change is that FYRM has become more concerned with stability. FYRM wants to carry out major military restructuring. It needed to develop its army from scratch. And it did it, and now it is developing capabilities to engage in missions together with NATO allies and Partner countries.

After its independence in 1991, FYRM faced a number of theoretical security policy options. These options could be summed up under few headings. The first option was to rebuild the old links with Yugoslavia (in this case, Serbia). The essential condition for this option would be full political and legal equality in future relations between Yugoslavia (Serbia) and FYRM. What matters is Serbia's internal development towards democracy and a strong economy, engagement in conflicts with neighbours, and attitude toward other nations aspiring toward independence. When judged by these criteria, this option did not look very promising. Second option: Pursue neutrality and self-defence. The following theoretical conditions to make neutrality and self-defence credible need to be fulfilled: i. a powerful economy; ii. a well-functioning system of a pan-European collective security. Neither of these conditions existed. Third option: Build a regional security system among the small- and medium-sized states in the region. This option presupposes a common will of states concerned and cohesion in their foreign and security policy. Again, despite the existence of various regional economic and political initiatives

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<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Williams, "Europe's Perspective on European Security," SAM Papers, Ankara, No. 04/97, p. 3.

the states taking part in these ventures have no desire to create security alliance. Fourth option: Pursue integration with the Euro-Atlantic security system.<sup>11</sup> It chose the fourth option of pursuing integration with the Euro-Atlantic security system, particularly NATO. This option was and is the most advantageous as it not only provides a credible security guarantee, but also assures it accelerated military and political development.

#### **1.4. Steps Toward the Joining of FYRM to the Partnership for Peace**

The adapted Alliance to the changed environment in Europe became of increasing importance to the FYRM. FYRM has seen the Alliance as a key basis of its security in the new European order. The FYRM have sought a security guarantee by wishing to join to the Alliance. This wish has been labeled as a “return to Europe,”<sup>12</sup> which means the acceptance of Western values, institutions, and political practices. Thus, it established a dialogue with NATO, and then it moved to the cooperation stage, which later led to the partnership.

The establishment of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) in 1991, as a cooperation framework, became an important consultative forum for FYRM as NACC member. NATO in the end of 1993, introduced the PfP proposal at a meeting of NATO Defense Ministers in Travemuende, Germany. The proposal offered greater military cooperation with NATO, but not membership, and was open to all states in the NACC and CSCE (now OSCE).<sup>13</sup>

At the Brussels Summit of 10-11 January 1994, the Alliance Heads of State and Government adopted the PfP proposal and issued the invitation to the NACC and OSCE to join to the new program: Partnership for Peace (PfP). At that Summit NATO leaders

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas G. Otte, “NATO’s Role After the Cold War,” Arms Control, Vol. 14, No. 2, (August 1993), p. 157.

<sup>12</sup> A word that has been used widely by leaders of CEEC after the cold war.

<sup>13</sup> M. Mihalka, “Squaring the Circle: NATO’s Offer to the East”, RFE/RL Research Report, Vol. 3, No. 12, pp. 1-9.

declared that they would “expect and would welcome NATO expansion that would reach to democratic states to our East, as part of an evolutionary process, taking into account political and security developments in the whole of Europe.”<sup>14</sup> The PfP was placed under the authority of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) and Partners were invited to participate in political and military bodies at NATO Headquarters with regard to Partnership activities. NATO did not extend its security guarantee or membership to Partner states but agreed to “consult with any active participant in the PfP if that partner perceives a direct threat to its territorial integrity, political independence, or security.”<sup>15</sup>

The PfP plan gave a new impetus to closer cooperation between NATO and non-NATO countries. It went beyond the NACC program. Active participation in PfP paved the way for integration and future membership. Almost all CEEC applied for the PfP program and signed an agreement for intensive cooperation.

The Parliament (Sobranije) of FYRM, on November 23, 1993 passed a decision for NATO full membership.<sup>16</sup> Based upon that decision which was reached by full consensus of all the parliamentary and non-parliamentary political parties and all the structures and institutions in the state, the preparations for meeting the required standards and criteria for NATO membership have been started. Based upon the unified efforts, FYRM was on of the first countries, which welcomed the PfP initiative in January 1994 and expressed its determination to join. In November 1995, FYRM became a full member country of the PfP.<sup>17</sup>

FYRM was first invited to sign a Framework Document. By signing the Framework Document, FYRM undertook a political commitment to the preservation of democratic society and maintenance of the principles of international law; to fulfill in good faith the obligations of the Charter of the UN and the principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or

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<sup>14</sup> The Partnership for Peace Invitation, Press Communiqué M-1(94)2, Brussels, (10-11 January 1994), p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Vecer, 24 November 1993.

political independence of any state; to respect existing borders; and to settle disputes by peaceful means. It also reaffirmed its commitment to the Helsinki Final Act and all subsequent Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (now OSCE), documents and to the fulfillment of the commitments and obligations it has undertaken in the field of disarmament and arms control. After signing the Framework Document, FYRM submitted Presentation Document to NATO. This document, indicated the aims for the cooperation of the FYRM with NATO, the specific areas of cooperation the FYRM wishes to pursue jointly with NATO, and the military and other assets the FYRM intended to make available for Partnership purposes.

Based on the statements made in the Presentation Document, and on additional proposals made by NATO and the Partner, an IPP was developed and agreed jointly covering a three-year period. The last developed IPP is that of 1999-2000. The IPP 1999-2000 contains statements of the political aims of the FYRM in the program, the military and other assets made available by the Partner for PfP purposes, the broad objectives of cooperation between the Partner and the Alliance in various areas of cooperation, and specific cooperation activities to be implemented for each one of the cooperation areas included in the IPP. The selection of specific activities<sup>18</sup> was made by FYRM separately on the basis of its individual requirements and priorities, in the context of the principle of self-differentiation, from a list of such activities contained in the Partnership Work Program (PWP).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> MoD of FYRM, "Partnerstvo za Mir," Skopje, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Air defense; standardization of terminology, definitions and procedures; air traffic control and airspace control and management; consultation, command and control; civil emergency planning; national defense procurement programs and international armaments cooperation; planning, organization and management of national defense research technology; military geography; language training; consumer logistics; medical services; meteorological services; military infrastructure; nuclear, biological and chemical defense and protection; peacekeeping; military exercises and related training activities; military education, training and doctrine; interoperability; adaptation of the Macedonian Army (ARM) commands within the NATO functional fields; crisis management; democratic control of armed forces and defense structures; promotion of civil-military relations; transparency of the national defense planning and budgeting; exchange of knowledge and information regarding the security, defense and military policy as well as the military strategy.

<sup>19</sup> The PWP contains a broad description of the various possible areas of cooperation and a list of available activities for each one of the areas of cooperation. The PWP, which covers a three-year period and is

The dialogue between FYRM and NATO on the NATO Enlargement Study started in May 1996. At these sessions the views of FYRM were presented as well as its capabilities to contribute to the enlargement of the European security. In June 1996, by an exchange of diplomatic notes between the Governments of the US and FYRM, the SOFA was signed. This agreement arranges the status of the forces between the NATO and PfP member countries. The same month the agreement was ratified by the Macedonian Parliament. Since July 1996, FYRM has its own representatives in NATO - liaison officers in Brussels and at the PCC at Mons. Since January 1997, FYRM has become a member of the Planning and Review Process (PARP),<sup>20</sup> which increases the cooperation with the PfP and NATO member countries and by which FYRM was included among the most serious candidates for NATO membership.<sup>21</sup>

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reviewed every year, is prepared with the full involvement of Partners. Gebhardt Von Moltke, "Building a Partnership for Peace," *NATO Review*, Vol. 42, No. 3, (June 1994), pp. 3-7.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

<sup>21</sup> Partnership Coordination Cell, "Players and Structure," Annex C to 1001.1/PCC/99, 30 April 1999, p. C5.

## CHAPTER II

# FYRM's PLACE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

### 2.1. PfP a Means for Greater Goals

The aims of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program are mentioned in the Individual Partnership Program, agreed between NATO and FYRM, and Framework Document of PfP, which describe the basic principles of PfP. They are:

- i. Facilitation transparency in national defense planning and budgeting;
- ii. Ensuring democratic control of defense forces;
- iii. Developing cooperative military relations with NATO for the purposes of joint planning, training, and exercises in order to strengthen the ability of partner countries to undertake peacekeeping, search and rescue, and humanitarian operations as well as others as may subsequently be agreed;
- iv. Maintaining the capability and readiness to contribute to operations under the authority of the United Nations (UN) and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); and
- v. Developing, over the long term, forces better able to operate with those of the Alliance.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast to NACC, PfP was hailed as the cornerstone of a new security relationship between NATO and the CEEC.<sup>23</sup> Romania was the first ex-communist Balkan state to

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<sup>22</sup> The Partnership for Peace Framework Document, Annex to M-1(94)2, Brussels, (1-11 January 1994).

<sup>23</sup> Hugh de Santis, "Romancing NATO-PfP and East European Stability," Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4, (1994) p. 65.



join the PfP in January 1994. Bulgaria accepted the Framework Document on 14 February and made clear it was seen as a first step to full membership.<sup>24</sup> Albania has also sought NATO membership and sees the PfP as a bridge to that end. Moldova and Slovenia have also signed the PfP Framework Document. K. Engelbrekt has concluded that “for the most part, the Balkan countries appear to have reached more or less the same conclusions as their Visegrad neighbors ... when assessing the PfP program, they regard it as a small but significant step forward”.<sup>25</sup> Clearly the Balkan states’ interest in cooperation with NATO is underlined by war and instability in the region.

It is a challenge for small nations and new countries to establish their position on the geopolitical map of the world. The history of our European continent has demonstrated that no country exists in isolation, in a *cordon sanitaire*, untouched by the spheres of influence of larger nations. FYRM was established in a democratic and constitutional manner as one of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia and it assumed responsibility for the international obligations incurred as part of the former state. At the same time, it is significant that, almost immediately after the establishment of FYRM as an independent state, she was invited to join NACC and PfP. FYRM’s desire to cooperate with NATO and achieve full membership, is based upon the premise that it is not possible to seek only political or economic integration with the West. Full integration requires, at the same time, the development of security guarantees within those structures which historically and fundamentally characterize Western European integration. FYRM sees its approach to NATO as a political act. Public and political opinion in FYRM, are overwhelming in favor of cooperation, and of eventual membership in the Alliance.<sup>26</sup>

FYRM wishes to be recognized, as a member of the western European community of nations, which respects and adheres to common values and, quite understandably, it requires guarantees of its own security. It seeks this within the context of its traditional

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<sup>24</sup> Edward Mortimer, “Better Part of Valour,” Financial Times, (February 2, 1994), p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> K. Engelbrekt, “Southeast European States Seek Equal Treatment”, RFE/RL Research Report, Vol. 3, No. 12, (1994), pp. 38-42.

<sup>26</sup> White Paper of the Defence of the Republic of Macedonia: Defence in Transition, Skopje, 1998, p. 7.

Western orientation. In the process of European integration, sufficiently reliable security structures are needed, not merely as a future goal but during the difficult period of transition. FYRM accepts the PfP project as an expression of a qualitative change and, at the same time, an evolutionary process on the road to full membership of NATO.<sup>27</sup> She is aware that PfP will establish forms of cooperation between the Alliance and individual countries, which will probably not be identical. She wants to contribute to European stability, especially through good relations with its neighbors.

The PfP is defense cooperation, developing in a broad range of fields, which would provide a means for FYRM to develop a practical working relationship with the alliance. A framework that will provide consultation with NATO in the event of threats to its security and develop capabilities to meet contingencies, including crisis management, humanitarian missions and peace-keeping; develop useful habits of cooperation; enable it to develop common military standards and procedures; train side-by-side with NATO members and take part in joint exercises; a means of filling the vacuum of insecurity and instability that has come with the demise of Yugoslavia. In the words of Warren Christopher, former US Secretary of State, PfP is “a structure and pattern of cooperation that will help to ensure the success of democracy and free markets in the country. A preparatory stage for the enlargement of NATO’s responsibilities, an important step in its own right, and also a key step toward NATO membership.”<sup>28</sup>

## 2.2. Interoperability and Planning and Review Process

To facilitate cooperation activities, NATO and Partner countries endorsed a Planning and Review Process (PARP) within PfP based on a biennial planning cycle, beginning in January 1995, designed to advance *interoperability* and *increase transparency* and *defense cooperation* among Allies and Partners. At their meeting in December 1994,

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Warren Christopher, “Strengthening the Atlantic Alliance Through a PfP,” US Department of State Dispatch, (December 13, 1993), p. 857.

NATO Defense Ministers attached particular importance to this process as a means of serving two of the central purposes of PfP: closer cooperation and transparency in national defense planning and budgeting. They confirmed that PfP provides an effective mechanism to develop the essential military capabilities required to operate effectively with NATO and to encourage interoperability between NATO and Partners.<sup>29</sup> Participation of PfP countries in PARP is voluntary. The participating nations identify specific forces to be provided for PfP and define their scope for improving interoperability. The first round of the PARP took place between January and May of 1995 with the participation of 14 Partner countries. FYRM became a member of PARP in January 1997.<sup>30</sup>

Interoperability is defined within NATO as "the ability of systems, units and forces to provide services to and accept services from other systems, units or forces and to use the services so exchanged to enable them to operate effectively together."<sup>31</sup> This definition has met NATO's needs within the Alliance for many years but when the issue was with Partners from CEE, particularly within the specific objectives of PfP, perhaps that definition needed to be qualified. The Major NATO Commanders, SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) and SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic), have proposed that for Partners, interoperability with NATO should include: the training of personnel and units in NATO doctrine, procedures and practices which are capable of working effectively within NATO or NATO-led organizations on specific operations; adapting or procuring equipment which interfaces with that of NATO; selection and training of staff officers in NATO doctrine and procedures, so as to be able to fill staff appointments within NATO or NATO-led Headquarters or in national posts dealing with NATO/Partnership matters.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> "Partnership for Peace," [www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)

<sup>30</sup> MoD of FYRM, "Partnerstvo za Mir," MoD of FYRM, p. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Anthony Cragg, "The PfP Planning and Review Process," *NATO Review*, Vol. 43, No. 6, (November 1995), pp. 23-25.

<sup>32</sup> Partnership for Peace, <http://www.shape.nato.int/pfp.htm>

One of the major objective of FYRM in the framework of PfP, is to develop cooperative military relations with NATO for the purpose of planning, training and exercising in order to strengthen their ability to undertake missions in such fields as peacekeeping, search and rescue and humanitarian operations. A second major objective is to develop, over the longer term, forces that are better able to operate together with those of NATO nations. These two objectives are very closely linked to the goal of interoperability.

### **2.2.1. Defense Support**

Since the launch of PfP in 1994, NATO's Defense Support committees have taken a series of steps to involve FYRM in their activities and those of their many subordinate expert groups, thereby providing one of the more practical dimensions of PfP. Those activities, when combined with the new initiatives of enhanced PfP launched at Sintra in 1997 and at Washington D.C. in 1999, are designed to bring cooperation to a significantly higher level by involving FYRM progressively in the mainstream work of the Conference of National Armaments Directors (CNAD), the NATO Air Defense Committee (NADC), the Committee for European Airspace Coordination (CEAC) and the NATO Consultation, Command and Control Board (NC3B).

FYRM's involvement in this work has facilitated interoperability between Alliance and partner forces, which is a key objective of PfP. FYRM has been afforded the opportunity to contribute substantively to the activities of these four senior NATO committees, in ways which will have a lasting impact on the operational capability of FYRM forces to operate together with NATO forces within the framework of the Alliance's new missions, such as peacekeeping, humanitarian, search and rescue operations.

### 2.2.2. Education and Training

Education & Training (E&T) activities within PfP, which are focusing on the development and improvement of individual military knowledge and skills, are the major basis of all preparation efforts to get FYRM individuals fully interoperable for NATO-led operations and for exercise preparation. E&T activities have, to various extents, logical links to exercises and they require a smooth coordination, evaluation and correction to achieve cost effectiveness.

About 60% of all activities in the PWP and IPP of FYRM have to be recognized as E&T, or at least E&T related.<sup>33</sup> In addition to “classic” training events and courses, also seminars, workshops, study periods and symposiums provide education and training possibilities of high value for FYRM.

### 2.2.3. Foreign Language Education

At the very beginning of the reform process FYRM faced the problem of insufficient knowledge of the official languages for communication with NATO. Because of this, the literature that was the road map for carrying out the reforms had to be translated in advance, and the very process of translation took valuable time. These initial problems were a sufficient indicator that the Macedonian government had to undertake urgent measures, with which the knowledge of the official NATO languages would improve, primarily of the English language.

The government immediately undertook all the necessary measures, including an organized study of the English language in the framework of the military-educational system and it sent some of the senior officers, from all profiles, to different countries in

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<sup>33</sup> Partnership Coordination Cell, “Education and Training,” Annex F to 1001.1/PCC/99, 31 April 1999, p. F1.

order to study the English language and NATO terminology. The Ministry of Defense's ultimate objective, which is that each Macedonian senior officer should have knowledge of the English language at level 3.3.3.3 – grades used by the MoD of FYRM - has not been achieved yet, but the planned process has not been completed either.<sup>34</sup>

### **2.3. Regional Military Cooperation**

Since 1997 there has been much discussion on, and developments in, “Regional Military Cooperation” (RMC), which is a positive development amongst nations living together in a particular region and having common interests.

To date, based on current initiatives, programs and activities, the major areas for RMC can be observed in CEE. The major vehicle has been PfP, and it has been developed further. Currently, NATO has initiated military RMC subjects (such as central database on Multi-national Regional Formations and PfP Training Centers) which are assessed to support the overall objectives of PfP, in particular with regard to future Peace Support Operations (PSO) in which multinational formations can, at least potentially, play an increasing role.<sup>35</sup>

It is expected that RMCs will help states in the region consolidate reforms, develop regional cooperation, and advance their integration into the European and transatlantic communities. Also Southeast Europe Defense Ministerial and the newly established “peacekeeping forces” aimed at promoting stability in the region can be considered as the examples of the RMCs developed between NATO and Partner countries of Southeast Europe. RMCs have gained impetus after the Washington Summit of April 1999.

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<sup>34</sup> White Paper, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> “Partnership for Peace,” Partnership for Peace Information Management Service, [www.ppc.pims.org](http://www.ppc.pims.org)

## 2.4. Science for Peace Program

FYRM is also a part of the Science for Peace (SfP) program, a cooperative initiative between NATO members and partner countries of CEE and Central Asia, created on 31 July 1997. This program promises to give a new dimension to cooperative activities by enabling partner scientists to engage in applied research and development projects jointly with NATO counterparts. The objectives of the program are to support applied science and technology projects relevant to industrial, environmental or security-related problems and to help partner scientists to increase contacts in NATO science community, while building a stronger science infrastructure in their home countries.<sup>36</sup>

The program is a logical successor to the “Science for Stability” program, which has, for the past years, sought to reinforce the scientific and industrial infrastructures of Greece, Portugal and Turkey. It is expected that SfP will further contribute to strengthening the ties between the scientific communities of the NATO countries and FYRM as well as other partner countries.

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<sup>36</sup> Jean-Marie Cadiou, “Science for Peace: NATO’s New Cooperative Programme With Partners,” NATO Review, Vol. 45, No. 6, (Nov - Dec. 1997), pp. 30-33.

## CHAPTER III

### FYRM's CHALLENGES

#### 3.1. The Defense Capabilities of FYRM

The current peacetime composition of the Armed Forces of FYRM is projected with 22,592 people, out of which 1,845 officers, 1,644 non-commissioned officers, 2,907 civilians, 14,456 soldiers-conscripts, 1,053 soldiers under contract and 687 cadets. However the analyses of the Macedonian Ministry of Defense showed that the desired number of conscripts is unrealistic, so the tasks given to the units are accomplished with difficulties. Of the planned 14,456 soldiers per year, the Military received up to 10,000, which means about 4,500 less than planned.<sup>37</sup>

If we think that the cycle for the discharge of conscripts during one year, is done every three months, it is apparent that the Macedonian Army always have about 2,500 incompletely trained soldiers, i.e. FYRM has about 3,000 soldiers left for combat engagement. With 3,000 soldiers, the security and defense tasks can be accomplished with a lot of difficulties.<sup>38</sup>

Any change in the security environment of the region that can affect the FYRM's security situation, would deteriorate the problem of the lack of resources and capabilities. The successful or partly successful engagement of these forces will have a decisive influence at the beginning and during the mobilization of the wartime army of about 100.000

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<sup>37</sup> "White Paper of the Defense of the Republic of Macedonia: Army," Skopje, 1998, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 3.



people. The identification of this problem initiated the process of professionalisation in a portion of the military; namely in the border units and 2 battalions (one Infantry and one Special Forces).<sup>39</sup> The number of professional soldiers is more than 500, thus making the first quality step in the segment of the personnel in the peacetime military. The goal was an admission of 10.000 conscripts and 500 privates under contract annually. This projection was not executed due to financial reasons. According to the new Action Plan of FYRM, presented in the 19+1 framework meeting between the Alliance and FYRM in early May 2000,<sup>40</sup> the Macedonian army will range between 14.000 and 16.000 men. The same Plan depicts that the Macedonian defense budget will decrease to 2% of the country's GDP of year 2001.

FYRM lacks the sophisticated, heavy military equipment, and other resources of a contemporary state. The Army is equipped with the devices and equipment that belonged to the territorial defense. FYRM's new vision is its commitment for a small, mobile military that will respond to the challenges in the region. This is also supported by its political conditions, and its expert capabilities. What it can do is, to achieve what other small countries of PfP and NATO have achieved.

### **3.1.1. Defense Budget**

The defense budget of FYRM for 1997, 1998, 1999 as a part of the Budget of the Republic, in average has been around US\$ 70 million,<sup>41</sup> which is around 2.3% of GDP of FYRM.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Nova Makedonija, 8 May 2000.

<sup>41</sup> White Paper, p. 4.

The defense resources of around US\$ 70 million are basically divided for two basic purposes:

	Purpose	Amount US\$
1.	Salaries and allowances	32 million
2.	Defense resources	38 million

The distribution of the approved resources, especially of the defense resources, was made in compliance with the Financial Plan according the following purposes i.e. categories:

	Purpose	Amount US\$
1.	Personnel	32 million
2.	Operations & Maintenance	30 million
3.	Procurement	7 million
4.	RDTE	146 thousand
5.	Other	365 thousand
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>(about) 70 million</b>

According to the National Strategy for economic development of the FYRM for the period of 1998-2002, the GDP is expected to grow with an average annual growth rate of 5.1% that is average annual rate of 4.3% of the GDP per capita. The inflation rate is expected to decrease down to 5% per year.

Within the frames of the given parameters it is expected an increase of the defense budget in the period 1998-2002, from US\$ 70 million US\$ 99 million in 2002.

If the current tendency of the economic parameters in the country holds in the period of 2002-2008, i.e. if the annual GDP growth rate stays at 5.1%, and if the defense budget follows the GDP growth tendency then it can be expected that it will reach the level of US\$ 127 million in year 2008.

### 3.1.2. Financial Resources

National financial resources influence the participation in PfP activities. Besides the Partner Nations not being included in the subsidization system of NATO for PfP activities (Austria, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland), there were five Partners, which over the last three years, did not (or only to a limited extent) ask for subsidization. For the future, however, it can be expected, that up to 19 out of the 26 Partners will continue to rely on financial support.

Experience over the last years shown that limited financial resources in the FYRM lead to reduced participation if there is no funding by NATO. In order to avoid any exclusion of FYRM from full participation in PfP activities, subsidization remains essential for the overall progress of PfP and economical conditions in FYRM cannot be expected to improve significantly in the near future. Governmental approach to the development and release of national military budgets, or parts of them, are an additional problem. NATO subsidization for specific activities will remain necessary for FYRM. NATO's PfP subsidy, due to abuse of the subsidization by the Partner nations, is getting tougher and limited. It is not advertised anymore, instead it reacts only on individual requests.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Interview with NATO Defense College (Rome) Financial Officer, (9 December 1999), Stockholm.

**3.2. Decision Making Process**

Defense management in peace and war is implemented with the execution of constitutional and legal functions of the legislative and executive branch. The president of FYRM is the supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

The Parliament (Sobranije) is the main institution for political direction and control over the Armed Forces and the other security structures. It carries out these functions through its legislative activity, the adoption of decisions and other acts and parliamentary control. In the security sphere, the Defense and Security Commission assists. The Parliamentary Defense and Security Commission participates in the preparations of all legal defense acts and supervises the implementation of the legality of the constitutional provisions in the defense as well as the provisions in the Defense Law.

The Government as a carrier of the executive branch has the following authority in the implementation of the defense: approves the Plan-proposal for Defense of the Republic, proposes state budget for state of war, reviews the issues relative to security and defense and gives proposals to the Parliament.

In the execution of the defense, the Ministry of Defense prepares defense strategy, evaluates possible military and other threats, monitors the organization and the preparation of the defense system and proposes measurements for its development and improvement; creates the defense plan; organizes transfer of readiness measurements and follows their implementation; decides on the development needs and implements the foreseen defense means; commands, recruits, mobilizes, controls and evaluates the combat readiness of the Military and executes other tasks in accordance with the Defense Law.

### 3.3. The Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in FYRM: The Democratic Control of Military

The collapse of the autocratic and strongly centralist political and economic systems brought about in its wake important transformations of the FYRM's civil-military relations.<sup>43</sup> Before the independence and systemic transformation of CEEC, the system of political control over the armed forces of these countries, had oscillated between the dictatorial and oligarchic, between completely civilian controlled and only tenuously civilian dominated, between strongly externally controlled (with in fact a double subordination of the armed forces) and independent national systems.<sup>44</sup>

NATO member nations have tended to focus on only one element of this transformation - the establishment of democratic control over defense policy. The fact is that a national strategy for the transformation of the national defense establishments has to be just that a national strategy. No external agency, individual or institution can provide an answer. But as all Western countries have had to struggle with this problem over time, there is a value in Western specialists sharing their experience and analyses of the problem, as certain elements may nevertheless be applicable to the new democracies.<sup>45</sup>

The FYRM's IPP 1999-2000 places democratic control of defense as a high priority and it has remained a focus in the activities of the PWP. With the support of NATO, there

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<sup>43</sup> Anton Bebler, "The Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in CEE," *NATO Review*, Vol. 42, No. 4, (August 1994), p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>45</sup> Both partners and allies agree that to enhance democratic control of defence is a common priority, for three main reasons. First, it is an essential element of democracy. Second, far from tying its hands, democratic control of defence is useful for the military. As demonstrated in many European countries and elsewhere in the world, a more transparent military is more efficient and effective than one, which operates, in social seclusion and above the law. Third, democratic control of defence provides the armed forces with indispensable legitimacy. In doing so, it earns them a greater degree of acceptance and respect by society at large, which they will need when seeking manpower (including conscripts) and national resources. For more information see, Marco Carnovale, "NATO Partners And Allies: Civil-Military Relation and Democratic Control of the Armed Forces," *NATO Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2, (March 1997), pp. 32-33.

have been great changes in democratic control of defense forces in FYRM, which could be summarized as follows:

- i. Increased transparency of defense policies and often a greater supervisory role by parliament and public opinion;
- ii. Civilianization of defense ministry;
- iii. Radical personnel changes in the upper echelons of the armed forces;
- iv. National emancipation, new security and defense doctrines;
- v. Partial redeployment and an altered profile for the armed forces;
- vi. A greater stress on a participatory managerial style within military establishments; and
- vii. Relative political neutralization of the armed forces.

The new post-Cold War tasks of NATO - crisis management and peacekeeping - make democratic control of defense even more important. Too frequently, the expression “political control” is interpreted as control by civil servants on behalf of the executive. However, to be truly democratic, political control must involve a substantial parliamentary role. What sort of role and how intrusive, varies from parliament to parliament. Macedonian parliament’s tasks in terms of civilian control of military, can be divided into four categories: accountability, influence, transparency and as a link to society at large.<sup>46</sup>

Democratic political control of the armed forces is therefore more than the institution of laws and practices; it is a process of which parliamentarians form an integral part. PfP and its many activities will create at the

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<sup>46</sup> Parliamentarians also have the task of explaining to their publics the need for defence and defence expenditure and of creating the public understanding and support for the armed forces. In accepting the primacy of politicians, the military have the right to assume that the political side takes its responsibilities seriously. Interparliamentary organisations form an important part of this supportive infrastructure. As NATO’s interparliamentary arm, the North Atlantic Assembly (now NATO Parliamentary Assembly) has long played a significant role in assisting legislators to become more effective in their national parliaments in influencing national defence policy. The NATO PA has been a transatlantic forum for parliamentary dialogue and a source of education, information and experience. From 1989, this role has been expanded to include the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This has been supplemented by a programme of special seminars on issues of particular topical or regional interest and by a training programme for

governmental level the necessary conditions for convergence in this crucial area.

FYRM considers the civil and the democratic control of the armed forces as one of the biggest gains of the PfP.<sup>47</sup> The further activities of development and enhancement of the situation in this sphere are directed towards many areas: defense concentration; defense budget acceptance; information on the situation and the tendencies in the defense development; regular briefing of the Parliamentary commission for defense by the Ministry of Defense; regular annual publication of the White Paper; frequent press-conferences by the Ministry of Defense for the domestic and the foreign public; regular update of the official website of the Ministry of Defense; defense budget structuring and preparation according to the NATO methods and standards; restructuring, modeling, equipping, professionalization and preparation of the Army based on the human resources and economic capability of the country.<sup>48</sup>

FYRM aims to build its defense as a system that will enable it to learn and take further steps in improvement and restructure of the defense systems according the principles and standards of NATO. The basic framework and source of continuation of the processes of restructuring the armed forces are the lessons learned from the international cooperation with the NATO.

The Ministry of Defense of FYRM has made public the information in the area of defense, which are important for the public. Education and training the public relations organs in all the segments of the Ministry of Defense and the Army components is required in the creation of complete conditions for interoperability with the different levels of the hierarchy at the Ministry.

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parliamentary staff. Charlie Rose, "Democratic Control of the Armed Forces: A Parliamentary Role In PfP," *NATO Review*, Vol. 42, No. 5, (October 1994), pp. 13-19.

<sup>47</sup> White Paper of the Defence of the Republic of Macedonia: Budget, Skopje, 1998, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The Ministry of Defense plans to further modernize and enhance the public relations component at the Ministry of Defense and Army by: publishing a book of regulations for the public relations, by which the tasks and the responsibilities in the area of public relations will be precisely defined; introducing regular press conferences; personnel and organizational structuring of the Public Relations Department in the Ministry of Defense; introducing a position of "a Public Relations Assistant to the Commander" in the Military units, starting from a battalion level; regular presentation of the activities of the Ministry of Defense and the Army in Internet and its regular up-dating; quality improvement of the Ministry of Defense publications – "Odbrana" (Defense) and "Armiski Zbor" (The Word Of The Army); publication of periodical publications as a result of important events, such as the exercises and events that has taken place in the framework of defense and PfP.

### **3.4. Military Exercises in the Framework of Partnership Program**

One of the main focuses of PfP is the development of greater cooperation in the field of peacekeeping. NATO and FYRM are increasingly likely to find themselves side-by-side in the area of peacekeeping and crisis management. The need for more coherent preparation for peacekeeping missions has grown more urgent as a result of the increased risks and greater demands for military forces for such operations as those in former Yugoslavia. Field exercises, to promote closer peacekeeping cooperation and interoperability, is a major aspect of PfP.<sup>49</sup> FYRM has not only be fully involved in the planning, but it has also host exercises on its territory.

The NATO/PfP Exercise Program started in 1994 with three exercises (Cooperative Venture, Spirit and Bridge) all at very low tactical level; two of them were hosted for the first time by Partner Nations. There was an increase in the number of exercises in the following years, and as the program matured there was a change in policy aimed at achieving more meaningful exercises. The trend was to move away from quantity and

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<sup>49</sup> Richard Vincent, "The Brussels Summit: A Military Perspective", NATO Review, Vol. 42, No. 1, (February 1994), pp. 7-11.



towards quality. The NATO/PfP Program is now balanced in terms of service (joint, maritime, land, air), hosting (NATO and Partner Nations), complexity (“difficult” and “easy”), type (Livex, Cpx, etc.) and form (Cfx, Cax, Seminars, etc.).<sup>50</sup>

NATO and Partners Nations alike have hosted exercises. Hosting an exercise is big opportunity for Partners for enhancing military co-operation with NATO and NATO Nations in general. Although it is a challenging endeavor, it provides additional possibilities to improve experience and skills in exercise planning, implementation and after action evaluation. Due to a lack of offers from some of the Partner Nations to host exercises the same nations are hosting again and again (sometimes the same exercise). This does not contribute to the development of a more valuable relationship between NATO and all Partners. Also there is a danger that exercises - like large scale LIVEXs or major CPXs - cannot be hosted by Partners, but only by NATO countries due to resource constraints.

As far as the exercise activities are concerned, FYRM’s experiences are being enriched every single day. So far, FYRM has participated with its units in joint activities with the NATO/PfP member countries as well as in several bilateral exercises with the American Armed Forces. The multilateral and bilateral exercise activities have positive influence regarding the maintenance of a higher interoperability level with the Armed Forces of the PfP and NATO member countries and are directly correlated with their multinational character. The positive influences on the confidence building measures with the neighboring countries that participate in such activities are of specific significance.

In 1997, FYRM participated in 184 NATO/PfP and “in the spirit of PfP” activities in which 768 people took part. Macedonia representatives took part in 38 initial, main and final exercise conferences, 21 exercises, 11 conferences, 26 courses, 10 mutual visits, 1 lecture organized by NATO, 29 seminars, 6 symposiums, 40 meetings and 4 other activities. 21 of these activities were held in FYRM and 163 in NATO and the NATO

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<sup>50</sup> Partnership Coordination Cell, “Education and Training,” Annex F to 1001.1/PCC/99, 31 April 1999, p. F1.

and PfP member-countries. 2 exercises with 6 initial, main and planning conferences, 1 conference, 7 visits, 2 seminars, 1 meeting and 1 exercise analysis were held in FYRM. Out of 21 exercises, FYRM participated with units in 6 exercises, as follows: Rescuer 97<sup>51</sup> and Mediceur 97<sup>52</sup> in FYRM; Cooperative Nugget'97 in USA; Cooperative Best Effort 97 in Latvia, Esperia 97 in Italy; and Joint Endeavor 97 in Germany. With staff officers in 6 exercises as follows: Cooperative Automatisation 97 in the Netherlands; Peaceful Eagle 97 in Bulgaria; Cooperative Zenith 97 in Canada; Cooperative Key 97 in Slovakia; Cooperative Determination 97 in Romania; Cooperative Demand 97 in Turkey. With observers in 9 exercises as follows: Cooperative Rescue 97; Cooperative Neighbor 97 in Ukraine; Cooperative Support 97 Romania; Open Road 97 in USA; Hazarfen 97 in Turkey; Brave Eagle 97 in Turkey; Prometheus 97 in Greece; Eloquent Nugget 97 in USA; Allied Effort 97 in Germany.

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<sup>51</sup> Rescuer '97 multinational exercise was held in Macedonia, participated by Macedonia, USA and other six countries. The exercise was conducted by a multinational command, and the units were organised in multinational battalions in order to enhance the trust and the stability in this region and to expand the interoperability of the forces. The scenario of the exercise is fully invented and has no relations with any real situation in that area. The main aim is to describe the condition and the consequences after the earthquake and effects of the toxical ammonia wave in the area.

The Exercise Rescuer '97 was performed in four stages:

Stage 1 - Preparations: arrival and allotment of the units, 10-11 May 1997

Stage 2 - Opening Ceremony of the exercise, 12 May 1997

Stage 3 - Conducting the exercise activities CPX and FTX, 13-15 May 1997

Stage 4 - Closing ceremony of the exercise and returning home of the units, 16-18 May 1997.

Participating Countries at the Exercise: MACEDONIA (a Logistics Company, an Infantry Platoon, a NBC Platoon, a Helicopter Unit, a Communication Unit, a Group of Staff Officers, Civil Protection Forces); USA (a Marines Platoon, a Special Unit, a Group of Officers); ALBANIA (an Infantry Platoon) BULGARIA (a NBC Platoon, a Group of Officers); GREECE (an Engineering Platoon, a Group of Officers); ITALY (a Medical Platoon, a Group of Officers); ROMANIA (an Infantry Platoon, a Kennel Unit for Searching after People in the Ruins, a Group of Officers); SLOVENIA (a NBC Platoon, a Group of Officers); TURKEY (an Infantry Platoon, a NBC Platoon, a Company HQs, a Group of Officers).

Observers Countries: The Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary.

<sup>52</sup> The bilateral exercise "Medceur '97, held from August 23-31 1997, is the first exercise of the type and forth according the military Cupertino program between the USA and Macedonia. Beside the military medical units of ARM and of the US Armed Forces, specialised health care units, civil protection teams, Red Cross and representatives of the World Health Organization in Macedonia participated as well along with the observers from Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece. The goal was to confirm the medical assistance organization in cases of mass injuries, which Macedonia, unfortunately, has already experienced, regarding the 1963 earthquake. This exercise included practice of the medical assistance organisational system, including assistance by foreign medical teams, medical assistance procedures on the spot where the injury occurred, first medical aid, transportation preparations, GP, surgical and specialist's assistance. This

In 1998 FYRM hosted another PfP exercise: Cooperative Best Effort (CBE) '98.<sup>53</sup> Earlier CBE exercises were held in the Czech Republic and Latvia. This was the first NATP/PfP live exercise to be held in FYRM. This exercise was a logical successor to the previous Northern European Command Infantry Competition (NECIC), which was a squad-level exercise designed to assess the quality of the infantry within NATO's former Northern Region and to foster understanding and friendship among the soldiers of participating nations.

In 2000, FYRM in its biggest military training area Krivolak, hosted the US-FYRM bilateral Cornerstone 00-3<sup>54</sup> exercise. In addition, it was among the 34 nations that participated to the Combined Endeavor,<sup>55</sup> held in Baunholder, Germany on 11-25 May 2000.

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bilateral exercise is significant since this is the first medical exercise to involve the civil and the military health care of Macedonia in line with the US medical units.

<sup>53</sup> CBE '98 was held on 11-18 September 1998 at Krivolak training area about 100 kilometres from Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. 26 nations participated to the exercise: NATO - Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States; NON-NATO - Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Ukraine. Finland did not participating with a team but it did provide technical support.

<sup>54</sup> Cornerstone 00-3 is a part of the State Partnership Program between the state of Vermont and FYRM. In addition, Cornerstone 00-3 is the first exercise to support Southeast Europe Defence Ministerial (SEDM) objectives to enhance regional stability through mil-mil operations, particularly peacekeeping and emergency relief operations. Cornerstone 00-3 develops a common understanding of military interoperability in peace support operations and fosters mutual trust, respect and cooperation between FYRM and the United States. Nova Makedonija, 8 May 2000.

<sup>55</sup> Combined Endeavor 2000 is the sixth in a series of USEUCOM sponsored exercises designed to identify, test, and document CIS interoperability between NATO and "Partnership for Peace" nation's military equipment. Nations attending the exercise will include Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), France, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kryrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republik, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uzbekistan, and host nation Germany. Additionally, NATO will be represented by HQ NATO, NATO Command, Control and Consultation Agency (NC3A), Regional Command North, and Joint Headquarters Command Center. COMBINED ENDEAVOR began in 1995 with a small group of communicators from 10 central European nations. Just getting this group together to discuss military tactical communications with one another was a major step forward. The concepts, the language, English, and the deliberate planning process, were all new to the participants. However, through a series of five planning conferences, they were able to develop and execute an Operations Plan. They successfully verified communications interoperability at the most rudimentary level. Every year since 1995, the program has grown becoming the largest Partnership for Peace exercise as measured by the number of participating nations. Not only has the number of nations grown, the complexity of interoperability testing has increased dramatically.

Exercises are the most visible part of the entire military PfP program. The development of numbers and content/layout from 1994 until today indicates a positive development – moving from a crawling start to a truly running program. Today it is ambitious, challenging and it increasingly meets the Partners', as well as NATO's, military requirements.

There are also activities, which are called "in the spirit of PfP" (ISOP) activities, which are limited in scope (bilateral or multilateral), do not demand the participation of a NATO nation and cannot be included in the PWP. ISOP activities are especially suited to train and exercise at lower levels, and they provide excellent opportunities for Partners to gain experience in participating in, and hosting, such events. FYRM has been very active in participating as well as organizing and proposing ISOP activities.

### **3.5. Crisis Management**

The other focus of the PfP is cooperation in crisis management, which is perceived that crisis management capabilities and cooperation is an important way to help to deal with the challenges of the new security environment. To develop cooperation and increase capabilities in crisis management, NATO and FYRM (and other partners) developed a variety of activities, including: crisis management exercises (such as CMX 98), meetings of the Council Operations and Exercise Committee (COEC) with partners, expert team visits to partner countries, briefings at NATO Headquarters, visits to the NATO Situation Center and support for partner-organized crisis management exercises and seminars.<sup>56</sup> It is also important to note that a wide range of other PfP activities, particularly in the field

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<sup>56</sup> NATO has also sought to enhance crisis management cooperation and capabilities by providing partners with a set of generic crisis management documents including: the Generic Crisis Management Handbook, the Generic Inventory of Preventive Measures, the Generic Catalogue of Military Response Options and the Generic Manual of Precautionary Measures. John Kriendler, "PfP Crisis Management Activities: Enhancing Capabilities and Cooperation," *NATO Review*, Vol. 46, No. 3, (Autumn 1998), pp. 28-31.

of military cooperation and peacekeeping, contribute directly to the capacity for crisis management.<sup>57</sup>

FYRM is situated in the rather sensitive region of Southeastern Europe in which during the past period, tragic military conflicts occurred and took a huge number of human lives and caused major material damage. However, FYRM with its resolute peaceful policy and with the development of its crisis management capabilities, managed to overcome open problems and challenges to which it was exposed despite the huge consequences upon its own social life and economy. FYRM supports crisis management activities in cooperation with NATO as a contribution to confidence and security building, which will prevent creation of new risks and challenges to its security.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-31.

<sup>58</sup> Ljubomir Frchkovski, Minister for Foreign affairs of Macedonia, in his speech at the acceptance ceremony for the IPP between Macedonia and NATO for 1996-98 on 12 June 1996.

## CHAPTER IV

### **Sintra 1997 and Washington 1999: The Enhanced Partnership for Peace**

#### **4.1. New Opportunities for FYRM**

In mid-1997 the Alliance, taking into consideration the military, security and political success of PfP in CEE, decided to further enhance the role of the Partnership. There was need for a partnership with a better-focused operational role that would prepare NATO and Partner countries to act together in future crises. In short, NATO wanted to forge a new relationship with partners which would engage them fully at the military level, but equally would give them a much greater say in the direction of the partnership. In Spring 1997 in Sintra, Portugal, and in April 1999 in Washington D.C., Allied Foreign and Defense Ministers launched a wide range of enhancement measures, which have added a new quality to PfP and have strengthened PfP in the political, security, and military fields.

FYRM welcomed the enhancement of PfP, and took active role in implementing the enhancements of strengthening the political consultation element in PfP, developing a more operational role for PfP, and providing for greater involvement of FYRM and other Partners in PfP decision-making and planning.<sup>59</sup> PfP enhancements became extremely important, both from the aspect of FYRM's political and economic transition, and from the aspect of global stability and cooperation.

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<sup>59</sup> Sergio Balanzino, "Deepening Partnership: The Key to Long -Term Stability in Europe," NATO Review, Vol. 45, No. 4, (July-August 1997), p. 14.

Decisions made in the context of decision-making offered a spectrum of opportunities for FYRM to associate herself with the PfP decision making process in the Political Military Steering Committee (PMSC), one of the principal organs of PfP and other relevant bodies, ranging from simple exchanges of views to full involvement in the consensus process leading to decisions.

With the enhancements, FYRM increased its involvement in the political guidance and oversight of NATO-led PfP operations, the development of a new political-military framework for PfP operations,<sup>60</sup> and became a member of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)<sup>61</sup>, a new cooperative mechanism replacing the former NACC.

The EAPC is the new flexible and dynamic framework for cooperation, which further development is of common interest of all its members. FYRM expects that the cooperation in the framework of the EAPC, will achieve, such a dynamism and quality that will enable it to become one of the most important pillars of European security architecture.<sup>62</sup>

FYRM got the opportunity to participate together with NATO Allies, in future PfP operations to be agreed by the North Atlantic Council (NAC), to be involved in the planning and conduct of PfP activities, including NATO/PfP exercises and other PfP operations, through the establishment of PfP Staff Elements (PSEs) at different NATO Headquarters, the possibility of participation to Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) exercise planning, concept and doctrine development, and operations, the possible involvement of Macedonian national personnel in CJTF headquarters, and the enhancement of arrangements for national liaison representative at NATO Headquarters

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>61</sup> The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) forms the overarching framework for an expanded political dimension of partnership as well as practical cooperation under the PfP. As stated in the EAPC Basic Document, agreed on 30 May 1997, the EAPC will take full account of and complement the respective activities of the OSCE and other relevant institutions such as the European Union (EU), the Western European Union (WEU) and the Council of Europe (CE). The EAPC provides for the inclusion of all partners - former NACC members and PfP participating countries are automatically offered membership of EAPC and can join if they so desire. PfP in its enhanced form remains a clearly identifiable element of practical cooperation in defense-related and military fields within the flexible framework of the EAPC.

<sup>62</sup> Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of FYRM, Blagoj Handziski, Sintra, Portugal 30 May 1997.

as part of the establishment of full diplomatic missions. What is the most important; the Enhanced PfP increased the scope for regional cooperation activities in the context of the Partnership, including consultations on both regional security matters and on practical cooperation, which is basis of FYRM's foreign security policy.<sup>63</sup>

Furthermore, FYRM was directly involved in every stage of process that led to the creation of the Senior Level Group (SLG), which was established in September 1996, for developing the elements of an enhanced Partnership. The PMSC, the Senior NATO Committees and the NATO Military Authorities then developed its recommendations further.

The opening up of the "NATO Security Investment Program" (NSIP) to include projects in Partner Countries and to study the corresponding modalities is part of "PfP Enhancement" that began in 1997. The Political Military Steering Committee (PMSC) was tasked to develop the political criteria, which would govern such projects. Partner Nations were asked to provide inputs for possible NSIP projects and a summary of those proposals, together with SHAPE's own ideas.

#### **4.2. The Kosovo Crisis**

The Kosovo crisis was a major crisis that FYRM has experienced since its independence. The Kosovo was a factor that put on trial some of the goals of the Macedonian Government in the foreign and security policy. The basic challenges were the questions: Did the PfP enhanced the Macedonian defense capabilities that will enable it to project stability to its northern neighboring region? Was the Macedonian government able to pass the exam of its commitment to the full-integration to the Euro-Atlantic structures?

FYRM hosted the NATO forces and it opened its territory to more than 100.000 Kosovar refugees fleeing from Serbian atrocities in Kosovo. The Macedonian national interest in

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 15.



the solution of the crisis was very clear – end to the violence, the return of the refugees, and ensuring stability in its northern borders.

The Kosovo crisis had a serious effect upon the transformation of the Macedonian foreign and security policy. In the crisis, a great step to interoperability between FYRM and NATO forces was made. FYRM used the opportunity to develop this process, making it a main part of its defense reform and its NATO membership campaign. The conclusion is that the strategic choice FYRM made in 1993 remains unchanged. It has been further strengthened with the Kosovo crisis. This was confirmed also on the NATO part, when in April 1999 at the Washington Summit, NATO Allies mentioned FYRM as one of the future possible candidates for full membership in NATO.

#### **4.3. The Washington Summit and the Application of the Membership Action Plan**

The message from the Washington Summit of April 1999 was that NATO doors remain open for every democratic European country,<sup>64</sup> which wishes to join and is able to bear the ensuing responsibilities and duties. Also the decision to propose a strategic Membership Action Plan (MAP)<sup>65</sup> was important step towards the FYRM's and other Partner countries' membership in NATO.

MAP building on the Intensified, Individual Dialogue on membership questions, is designed to reinforce the firm commitment of the Alliance to further enlargement by putting into place a program of activities to assist aspiring countries in their preparations for possible future membership.

The MAP offers possible future candidate countries a list of activities from which they may select those they consider of most important in their way to NATO membership.

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<sup>64</sup> Charles J. Dale, "Towards the Partnership for the twenty-first century," NATO Review, Webedition, Vol. 47 - No. 2, (Summer 1999), p. 29-32.

<sup>65</sup> Membership Action Plan (MAP), NATO Press Release, NAC-S(99)66, 24 Apr. 1999.

Participation in the MAP, which is on the basis of self-differentiation, does not imply any timeframe for any such decision nor any guarantee of eventual membership. However, it can be considered as a last major step to the full membership in NATO.

FYRM is steadily following its way to NATO. As an aspiring country, FYRM draw up its annual national program on preparations for possible future membership and it presented it at the meeting, which took place in a 19+1 format in Brussels in early May 2000.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Nova Makedonija, (8 May 2000).

## CONCLUSION

### THE IMPACT OF PARTNESHIP FOR PEACE ON MACEDONIAN SECURITY

In this report we have described the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program and its relationship with former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM). The aim was to present an in-depth understanding about the structure and implications of the PfP to FYRM and finally, to assess what PfP means for FYRM. The focus was on how the PfP process has affected FYRM politically and militarily.

The effects of PfP on FYRM may be evaluated in different ways, depending on the observer's point of view and on the scope of his/her perceptions. An analysis of the official statements and academic research papers presents that there are number of possible consequences of lasting importance, which will no doubt have either a positive or a negative influence in the country as well as in the region. The principal implications of PfP for FYRM are as follows:

- a. As a result of the increased stability and security, FYRM is expected to enjoy rapid economic growth and full integration to the Euro-Atlantic structures;
- b. PfP has created conditions for the development of the regional cooperation with neighboring countries and conditions to develop a regional security strategy which will strengthen the national sovereignty;
- c. By joining PfP, FYRM has entered a zone with a higher security level that has changed positively the political and economic attractiveness of the country. Foreign investors' complaints of unstable conditions for capital investment has to a great extend been diminished.

- d. The adaptation process of FYRM to the NATO standards, regulations and agreements has resulted in the simultaneous solution of legal problems of internal and international character,<sup>67</sup> such as the consolidation of the separation of powers, establishment of democratic civil-military relations.
- e. The problem of the regional military power imbalance - to which FYRM is very sensitive – has partly been diminished with the increase of defense capabilities of FYRM in terms of internal and external stability.

The report showed that FYRM has been the one, which has demonstrated the most progressive development with the PfP program and its commitment to political and military transformation has had the great impact on its activism in the program. PfP has been the first program after the country's independence that it has scored very successfully. This success has given great optimism on the part of government officials and public opinion towards the security and defense potentials of FYRM in contributing to the security and stability of Europe. FYRM's foreign policy priority is to join NATO and have its role in the expanding of the Euro-Atlantic integration, by which it will have chances to become a part of the big family and a factor of peace and progress of Europe. For a small state like FYRM, with limited resources and capabilities but with great vision on contribution to the overall security architecture in the continent, NATO is the only umbrella for the country's future integration in the stable Europe. Besides NATO, for FYRM there is not any other such organized and efficient structure that can provide opportunities for the enhancement of the country's security and defense capabilities and help it to manage the regional crises.<sup>68</sup>

This study noted that FYRM with its geographic position in the Southeastern Europe is facing various security risks and challenges. However, these challenges have implications that transcend the borders of the country, and they cover the region and the whole Euro-

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<sup>67</sup> Valeri Ratchev, "NATO and Southeastern European Security Perspectives: Implications for the Evolution of National Security Institutions and the Decision Making Process in Bulgaria," NATO Fellowship Report, Sofia/Brussels, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> White Paper of the Defence of the The Republic of Macedonia: Macedonia in the New Millennium" Skopje, 1998, p. 1-2.

Atlantic area. It has been in this area that PfP has played a major role. It has been a framework where FYRM has been working on overcoming these risks and challenges. However, these risks and challenges still persist, and the success or failure of FYRM and other partner countries as well as the NATO allies in overcoming these challenges, will shape the evolution of the security in the Southeastern Europe in coming years.<sup>69</sup>

Being active participant in the program, the PfP offered FYRM the consultation with the Alliance when it perceived a direct threat to its territorial integrity, political independence, or security, as was the case when NATO launched an air campaign against Yugoslavia on 24 March 1999.<sup>70</sup> It thus promised FYRM “soft” security assurances similar to those of Article IV<sup>71</sup> of the Washington Treaty.<sup>72</sup> The PfP agreement between FYRM and the NATO of November 1995, has turned into a really full-scale program of security cooperation, joint-defense planning and training, mutual adjustment of military equipment, and the formulation of common doctrines and command structures for peace-keeping operations.

The PfP program has been implemented by FYRM in three basic forms of cooperation: consultations by groups of experts, sharing of experiences and information; participation by civilian and military experts in courses and training sessions offered by the Alliance; and participation by military units and observers in training sessions and exercises dealing with peace-keeping, humanitarian and search and rescue operations.

PfP also provided political and moral support for Macedonian society, which has been undergoing painful reforms. It was seen as furnishing a kind of de facto guarantee to the success of these transformations.<sup>73</sup> It also helped on a larger scale in the establishment and modernization of Macedonian armed forces. It helped FYRM to sign state-to-state

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<sup>69</sup> MoD Website, <http://www.mod.gov.mk>

<sup>70</sup> The 19+1 Meeting was held with the Republic of Macedonia on 10 April 1999, [NATODOC natodoc@HQ.NATO.INT](mailto:natodoc@HQ.NATO.INT).

<sup>71</sup> “The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened,” [The Washington Treaty](#), Article IV.

<sup>72</sup> The founding treaty of the NATO, agreed in April 1949.

<sup>73</sup> [The New York Times](#), (13 March 1999).

treaties on friendly relations, as well as several agreements on cooperation in defense matters.<sup>74</sup> For FYRM, PfP is a means to help prepare her to be effective ally and to be producer and not just the consumer of security. It has given FYRM a chance to adapt its defense systems to modern European norms, and adjust its armed forces to collaboration with the armies of the western states.<sup>75</sup> FYRM also views PfP as a program that prevents the creation of gray zone, buffer state, or spheres of influence.<sup>76</sup>

FYRM also participates in the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP), which is designed to advance interoperability and increase transparency among Allies and partner countries.<sup>77</sup> In the meantime, the lack of financial resources continues to be a serious problem for FYRM in its efforts to upgrade its armed forces to a level adequate for full interoperability with NATO forces.<sup>78</sup> PfP's importance to FYRM stems from the fact that it appears to be the most dynamic and most promising element for a larger European security process. Its importance was seen during the process of NATO enlargement to Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic, in March 1999, when it helped psychologically FYRM as a NATO aspirant who was not included in the first wave of enlargement, not feel abandoned or pushed away.<sup>79</sup> An important issues raised in this report was that *PfP helped FYRM to help others*. It became actively involved in getting Croatia in the program, and it is expected that Bosnia and Herzegovina will join soon.

For FYRM, PfP initiative has clearly come a long way in just six years. But equally clear is the fact that it still has a long way to go.<sup>80</sup> The future of the PfP will be determined by the political will and capacity of NATO and FYRM as well as other partner countries to contribute to the program.

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<sup>74</sup> "Call for New Security Guarantees," RFE/RL Research Report, No. 1, (8 May 1992), p. 53.

<sup>75</sup> Hans Jochen Peters, "How NATO Must Change: The Political Dimension," in NATO Enlargement: Opinions and Options, edited by Jeffrey Simon, Washington, D.C., NDU, 1995, p.167.

<sup>76</sup> Reuters News Service, 7 December 1995.

<sup>77</sup> The Baltic Times, 20-26 June 1996.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Ivan Spilda, Embassy of the Slovak Republic, (1 March 1999), Ankara.

<sup>79</sup> Interview with Gülnur Aybet, Instructor of International Relations at Bilkent University, (15 May 1999), Ankara.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Trajan Petrovski, Ambassador of Macedonia, (24 June 1999), Ankara.

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<http://www.naa.be>

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

<http://www.osceprag.cz>

PIMS

<http://www.ppc.pims.org>

Partnership Coordination Cell

<http://www.pcc.pims.org>

RFE/RL

<http://www.rferl.com>

SHAPE: Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe

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